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# Explaining the Christianization of the Roman Empire

Older theories and recent developments \*

by

Danny PRAET

(Ghent)

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This article makes no pretence to being original. It is based on my licentiate's dissertation written in Dutch and presented to the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Ghent, september 1991. \*\* As a state of the art, this dissertation was based chiefly on the secondary literature. Only in a second instant were the primary sources consulted. The amount of literature on this topic is however so overwhelming that we were forced to make

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\*\* Verklaringen voor de christianisatie van het Romeinse Rijk. Een kritische status quaestionis. 2 vol. I. Text (231 pp.) and II. Notes, Bibliography and Selected Primary Sources with Translation (144 pp.)

a selection: it is simply not possible to incorporate all the opinions and shadings proposed by each individual scholar in a coherent text. It is clear that in writing this article we were forced to make a second selection. The general historical background was largely taken for granted and where possible the discussion of older theories was limited to a strict minimum. Therefore, the aim of this article cannot be to give a full account of the conversion of the Roman world. It should rather be seen as an attempt to provide the interested reader with a general introduction to the problem. Of course, this introduction does not make further reading dispensable and therefore a (selected) bibliography has been added to the text.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Restating the Problem

Our problem needs little or no elucidation.

Christianity started out as an insignificant sect centred on the figure of Jesus of Nazareth, "*a reforming Jew who belonged to an apocalyptic and eschatological tradition of Late Judaism.*"<sup>1</sup> The insignificance of Jesus within the religious spectrum of Late Judaism, and of early Christianity in the Greco-Roman world can be deduced from the small number and the disdainful tone of our non-Christian contemporary testimonies.<sup>2</sup>

Christianity was confronted with Jewish hostility, with *pogroms* by the pagan population, with persecutions by the Roman government, and Greek thought opposed the new religion in the writings of Celsus, Porphyry or Julian.

Julian was in fact the first to point to the absence of Jesus and of early Christianity in the works of contemporary writers and also

<sup>1</sup> FULLER, p.114-115.

<sup>2</sup> See the strongly contested *testimonia Flaviana: Antiq.*, XVIII, 63 and XX, 200. For pagan testimonies see: SUET., *Vita Claudii*, 25 (uncertain) and *Vita Neronis*, 16; TACIT., *Ann.*, XV, 44; PLINY Jr., *Ep.*, X, 96 (97); EPICT. in *Arr., Diatr.*, IV, 7, 6; MARC AUR., XI, 3; LUCIAN, *Peregr.*, 11-13 and *Alex. Abon.*, 25 and 38 and GALEN (in Arab) *Hist. Ante-islam. Abulfedae*, p.109 (ed. Fleischer) and *Peri diaph. sfugm.*, II, 4 and III, 3.



the first to use this argument from silence to prove the initial insignificance of the *Galileans*.<sup>3</sup>

Yet we all know that Julian's immediate predecessors had been Christians, and that, after Julian's death, Christianity was to become the official religion of the Roman Empire. What made this metamorphosis possible?

In older works on the christianization of the Roman Empire the process of conversion is often presented as a struggle mainly between Christianity and the pagan mystery-cults and the so-called oriental religions. These cults were thought to make up the core of pagan resistance against Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

However, contemporary scholars are increasingly convinced of the fact that this view is the consequence of a strong Christian colouring.<sup>5</sup> In accordance with the Christian idea of a *praeparatio evangelica*, the highest *survival value* was attributed to those religions that offered the strongest parallels with Christianity.<sup>6</sup>

In reality, there is no evidence to support the view that the mystery-cults and the oriental religions formed an independent alternative for Christianity, or that their resistance was more tenacious than that of other cults.<sup>7</sup>

Ernest Renan used to think that the world would have become Mithraist if the growth of Christianity had been stopped by some deadly disease, and Robert Turcan once thought that Isis would have been a safer gamble<sup>8</sup>. But in reality none of these cults possessed the acquired organization nor did they have the intention of starting an exclusivist duel with Christianity.<sup>9</sup>

As a result, our problem is not "Why Christ and not Mithras" but "Why Christianity and not paganism in all its aspects and all its variety?"

<sup>3</sup> JULIAN, *Kata Gal.*, 206 B.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. HARNACK, p.364 or CUMONT, p.188.

<sup>5</sup> LANE FOX, p. 93 and MACMULLEN or CLAUSS (see below).

<sup>6</sup> For parallels see LANE FOX, *ibid.*; HINSON, p.179 and DE LABRIOLLE, p.118-119 and 448-454.

<sup>7</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.126-127.

<sup>8</sup> RENAN in *Marc Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*. Paris, 1923 (23), p.579. Cumont and Frazer agreed (refs. in CLAUSS, p.1). Turcan (1972), p.77 - not repeated in his (1989).

<sup>9</sup> CLAUSS, p.1-2. See also NOCK (1933), p.14. And for the insufficient organization: TURCAN (1989), p.216.

## 1.2. "Conversion"

In 1933 Arthur Darby Nock defined "conversion" as "*the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right.*"<sup>10</sup> To Gustave Bardy it was a break with the past, a total commitment of the soul to a new way of life, and Franz Cumont wrote about a psychological crisis, a transformation of the personality caused by moral restlessness.<sup>11</sup>

In their view a conversion implies a notion of right and wrong concerning one's way of life and one's attitude towards the divine. In other words, it implies the acceptance of a doctrinal orthodoxy and of religiously sanctioned ethics. Now these two aspects may well be insolubly intertwined with religion in the Jewish-Christian tradition but it would be a mistake to project this fact on Greco-Roman paganism.

In the pagan world rules of life were the concern of the philosophers, not of the priests. The ancient cults only demanded ritual purity and the examples of additional moral demands are scarce.<sup>12</sup> *Ευσέβεια* was understood as the correct execution of (the proper amount of) sacrifices, with disregard of the inner feelings. The pagan world had no word for that typically Jewish mixture of cult-acts and ethics at its disposal so Judaism was called a philosophy, in the sense of "the cult of wisdom".<sup>13</sup>

The second important difference was that you could not be wrong or right in the ancient religions. A pagan could perform unsuitable or, in the worst case, inefficient cult acts but what he thought was true about the gods simply did not matter. Pagans of course expressed all kinds of views on the nature of the gods but these views were proposed without the obligation to subscribe to them, and this subscription was not a condition for calling yourself an adherent of a certain cult.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> NOCK (1933), p.7.

<sup>11</sup> BARDY, p.16 and CUMONT, p.23.

<sup>12</sup> A few can be found in BARDY, p.35-36; BARTELINK, p.85 and SIMON (1972), p.90.

<sup>13</sup> MACMULLEN (1985), p.71.

<sup>14</sup> ID. (1985), p.71-72.

Consequently, Nock and Bardy wrote that the idea of "conversion" had remained alien to the rivals of Judaism and Christianity.<sup>15</sup> Naturally pagans adopted new gods and new cults but this was a cumulative process which Nock preferred to call an "adhesion". An adhesion leads to the "*acceptance of new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes*" and it does "*not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old.*"<sup>16</sup>

What convinced pagans of the usefulness of these new worships were miracles: "*The result of a miracle is Πίστις, that is to say, those present or some of them take up an attitude of submissive reliance in the new "δύναμις" and its representatives.*"<sup>17</sup> This mechanism is confirmed by Tertullian who tells us that the pagan gods "*win faith through various signs, miracles and oracles.*"<sup>18</sup> The only convictions this faith (*fides* or *πίστις*) implied, were that a divine power had effectively manifested itself, and that the bearer of this power could affect one's life in one or other direction. The only change it implied in the life, let alone the personality of the adherent was the worship of an additional god.

However, things become interesting when we realize that conversions to Christianity sometimes ran on similar lines. Take e.g. Acts 13: Paul and Barnabas were summoned by the governor to Paphos in Cyprus. Standing before the governor, Paul strikes someone blind by a mere word and "*when the governor saw what had happened, he became a believer, being overwhelmed by the teaching of the Lord.*"<sup>19</sup> Clearly not a conversion caused by the expounding of the Christian doctrine or by moral preoccupations. Simply *πίστις* and "*submissive reliance in the new δύναμις*".

Consequently, Ramsay MacMullen has argued that the definitions of Nock or Bardy tell us more about the idealistic views of two modern intellectuals than about the way the pagan masses viewed Christianity.<sup>20</sup> Evidently, not every conversion to this new religion took on the form of a long, moral and intellectual struggle

<sup>15</sup> NOCK (1933), p.14 and BARDY, p.9 and 40. The only exception was philosophy.

<sup>16</sup> NOCK (1933), p.7.

<sup>17</sup> Nock quoted in MACMULLEN (1985), p.74. (With ref.).

<sup>18</sup> *Apol.*, 21, 31.

<sup>19</sup> MACMULLEN (1985), p.74.

<sup>20</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.4-5.

and not every conversion led to a "body-and-soul" commitment.<sup>21</sup> In order to paint a more realistic picture of the christianization of the Roman world, we should forget about the numerous books on the conversion of Augustine and take to reading the accounts of more trivial conversions such as the one in Acts 13.<sup>22</sup>

MacMullen also suspected that autobiographical accounts of conversions tend to mix up factors that inspired the first allegiance with factors that later held the convert in the faith. MacMullen would like to limit his definition of "conversion" to this first instant. The most relevant question then is: "What did pagans know of Christianity?" For "*what they saw in Christianity (...) depended greatly on what they saw of it.*"<sup>23</sup> And according to this author "*we may begin by excluding consideration of any rewards spiritual, social, emotional and financial - which came only after conversion.*"<sup>24</sup> Therefore the actual conversion to Christianity should be explained by the same factors as the ones seen at work in the pagan adhesions. In the words of Tertullian: "*quibusdam signis et miraculis et oraculis.*" Hardly surprising actually, for we can hardly "*expect that non-Christians would be converted both to new convictions and by new means*".<sup>25</sup> This would be asking too much and is, considering the evidence, quite unnecessary.

Two remarks though. For our subject, the conversion of the Roman empire, it is equally important to know what held people in the faith as it is to know what inspired their first allegiance. In this sense MacMullen's concept of conversion is not entirely adequate for our study. And, more importantly, it is simply not true that pagans knew nothing of life in a Christian community. Robin Lane Fox has illustrated this for the Christian ideal of charity and brotherly love.<sup>26</sup>

According to this scholar, conversion was a slow and gradual process of persuasion rather than "*an irrevocable first mo-*

<sup>21</sup> Think only of the "demi-chrétiens" described by Guignebert.

<sup>22</sup> MACMULLEN, *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* (1983), p.174.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* (1983), p.184 - see also (1981), p.206.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.* (1984), p.21.

<sup>26</sup> LANE FOX, p.324. See also our 3.2.2.

ment".<sup>27</sup> In his view, the long years of instruction and preparation were more important than that one miracle or exorcism, for only these long apprenticeships, this slow winning of faith can explain the willingness to die for Christ. Pre-Constantinian Christianity aimed at making real converts and not just non-exclusivist adherents.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. EXTERNAL FACTORS

### 2.1. The Roman Empire

The idea that Christianity entered the world "in the fullness of times" and that the entire history can be explained as a *praeparatio evangelica* is as old as the letters of Paul.<sup>29</sup> But one needn't see the success of Christianity as the work of divine providence to acknowledge the importance of a few external factors for the spread of this new religion.

The Roman empire undoubtedly was an external factor of major importance. The reign of Augustus put an end to decades of internal strife and extended Roman rule throughout the Mediterranean basin. The relative internal security and the extended network of roads provided an ease of travel by land and by sea hitherto unknown. Travelling was also made easier by a universally accepted currency and the protection of the same basic laws. Merchants, soldiers, slaves and administrators travelled from one side of the empire to another, brought along their own gods and got to know the local cults. The basic religious tolerance of the Roman empire<sup>30</sup> gave free rein to a vast number of cults, impossible to control. The importance of this religious *imbroglio* can be illustrated by comparing the christianization of the Roman empire with the fate of Christianity in areas where it encountered a culture with a single, state-supported religion as in Persia or China.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> ID., p.317.

<sup>28</sup> ID., p.316-317 and 330. See also Brown (1971), p.68.

<sup>29</sup> Gal., 4, 4 and Eph., 1, 10.

<sup>30</sup> For some important restrictions on this tolerance see FRENCH (1965), p.77-93.

<sup>31</sup> GAGER, p.123. See also GAGER, p.122-123, BIHLMAYER, p.37-38 for the rest of the sketch.

It is therefore not very surprising that the ancient Christians soon recognised the importance of this political unity for the rapid spread of their religion. Meliton pointed out the parallel birth and growth of the Christian religion and the Roman empire and ascribed these parallels to divine providence. So did Origen and he explicitly treated the empire as an essential condition for the spread of Christianity.<sup>32</sup> The idea caught on and was later also expressed by people as Eusebius (naturally), Ambrose, Prudentius and others.<sup>33</sup>

## 2.2. Hellenism.

The Roman empire also provided the political structure for the "world-wide" spread of the Hellenistic culture. The role this culture played in the spread of Christianity should be seen on two levels.

First of all, it offered a wide-spread means of communication: Koinè Greek. Koinè was spoken or at least understood in the Eastern part of the empire and in the great cities and commercial centres of the West. We should not forget that the first churches in the West were Greek-speaking communities and that Latin played only a minor role until the end of the second century. The (missionary) use of local languages and dialects can only be proven from the fourth century onwards.<sup>34</sup>

But not only the *signifiant* sounded familiar, the Christian message itself also enjoyed certain points of contact with the Hellenistic culture.

Thinking in terms of *praeparatio evangelica*, we should first mention Greek philosophy. Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>35</sup> wrote that philosophy had been for the Greeks what the Law had been for the Jews and we can understand this in both a negative and a positive way. To start with, the philosophical schools (esp. Platonists and Stoics) had reached certain moral conclusions that

<sup>32</sup> MELITON in EUS., *H.E.*, IV, 26 and OR., *C.C.*, II, 30.

<sup>33</sup> Eus. see of course his treatise *praeparatio evangelica* and more explicitly e.g. *Demonstr.*, III, 7, 30-35. For further examples, see HYDE, p.185 or GAUDEMET, p.25.

<sup>34</sup> LANE FOX, p.282-286. See also BIHLMeyer, p.37; HARNACK, p.951 and JONES (1963), p.17.

<sup>35</sup> *Strom.*, I, 28, 3.

paralleled the Christian message and, secondly, their rational criticism of traditional polytheism had prepared the way for a monotheistic alternative.<sup>36</sup> As early as the fifth century B.C. philosophical criticism of anthropomorphism and the immorality of mythology had led to some intellectuals denying the reality of the Olympic gods.<sup>37</sup> This intellectual climate was passed on to satirists and even to tragedians and was popularized by the diatribes of Cynics and Stoics so that by the end of the fourth century the Olympic gods were emptied of all meaning for a lot of people.<sup>38</sup>

The depreciation of the old pantheon was also caused by the disintegration of the πόλεις. The gods lost credit because of the defeat of the πόλεις and they lost a lot of their social and political relevance in the process of political unification. As E.R.Dodds wrote, "*in the city-state, religion and public life were too intimately interlocked for either to decline without injury to the other.*" The civic cults of course continued but they became "*more or less a social routine without influence on goals of living.*"<sup>39</sup>

The integration of the πόλεις in the vast Hellenistic kingdoms and the intense contacts between East and West, also widened the horizons of tradition and led to the typically Hellenistic phenomenon of religious syncretism. Different local gods were interpreted as different expressions of basically the same divinity and merged into one *Gestalt*. In a second phase, all the gods were seen as aspects, δυνάμεις or ὑποστάσεις of qualities of the one god.<sup>40</sup> From here it seems but a small step to Christian monotheism.

The anonymity and loneliness of life in the great new cities, the rootlessness of immigrants, the political alienation in the absolute monarchies, the many wars, the threat of slavery, etc. together brought about a feeling of insecurity and helplessness that found

<sup>36</sup> See DE LABRIOLLE, p.118-119 (Plato) - BARTELINK, p.94-97 (Stoa) and SIMON (1972), p.76-83 in general.

<sup>37</sup> Examples in PETERS, p.448.

<sup>38</sup> PETERS, *IBID.*, BAUS (1965), p.103 and DODDS (1951), p.258, n.31-32.

<sup>39</sup> DODDS (1951), p.241 and 242. See also Peters, p.449. In some interpretations the new unitarian, monarchic state also had an influence on the growing importance of monotheistic systems. (See e.g. DESCHNER (1968), p.210 and PETERS, p.465).

<sup>40</sup> PETERS, p.461 and MACMULLEN (1981), p.86 and 187, n.48.

its religious expression in the Hellenistic *Erlösungssehnsucht*.<sup>41</sup> People felt the need for a divine helper, a σωτήρ who stood close to them. Hence, the popularity of suffering and even dying gods such as Attis and Cybele or Isis and Osiris. Gods who stood close to the human condition but who had the power to liberate themselves (and their followers) from their sufferings.

Another aspect of Christianity not without parallel in the Hellenistic world was the possibility of a god-man. This is where the Hellenistic ruler-cult fits in the *praeparatio*-theory. The Olympic gods could also take on a human appearance but it needs to be said that the orthodox version of a god-man, incarnation, remained a schandal to the Greek mind. Docetism was as far as they were prepared to go.<sup>42</sup>

Lastly, we should mention the negative preparation formed by the decline of rationalism. Although it seemed initially that the Hellenistic age was going to bring about the final triumph of Greek rationalism, the period turned out to be characterized by a "Return of the Irrational" rather than by an ancient Enlightenment.<sup>43</sup> This "Return of the Irrational" led to a new respectability of superstitious practices such as magic, astrology or theurgy, a mystical otherworldliness, a loss of confidence in human reason and the search for knowledge based on external authorities (the Sage, oracles, dreams or revelations in inspired books).

Yet this impressive list of parallels and points of contact can be criticized on a few essential points.

To begin with philosophy: the rational criticism of the philosophers never had any practical consequences for their participation in the pagan cults. Secondly, philosophers soon started to close the gap between their critical theory and the pagan religious practices by use of allegory. But what is more important: literal myth was highly irrelevant to the pagan cult-practice. Paganism was indeed characterized by (in a Christian view) a peculiar relationship between cult and mythology: pagans did not adhere to a specific doctrine, they had no explicite *credo*. In fact, each pagan was free to think whatever he liked about the nature

<sup>41</sup> DODDS (1951), p.242-243 and (1965), p.137. See also PETERS, p.455.

<sup>42</sup> MURRAY, p.186-189 and CELSUS in OR., C.C., IV, 5 and IV, 15 and PORPH., fr.81, 82 and 84.

<sup>43</sup> DODDS (1951), p.236-237. See in fact the entire chapter VIII (p.236-269).



of the gods, he could even find the representation of the gods in poetry and myth positively preposterous and still be prepared to perform the traditional ceremonies. For here the argument of tradition was still standing. Naturally, the absence of a doctrine or an orthodoxy does not mean that sacrifices were pointless. To quote Robin Lane Fox: "*The very idea of action involves intention or motive or purpose and some relation to belief, if not in a strong Christian form.*"<sup>44</sup> In the middle of the third century A.D. making sacrifices to the gods still meant expecting their protection or warding off their anger. For "*the gods were neither remote nor increasingly obsolescent (...) they came close to their worshippers*" and "*their aid could be invoked in the daily needs of life.*"<sup>45</sup> And the most efficient way to serve these purposes was to perform those rites that were sanctioned by tradition.<sup>46</sup>

Thirdly, the whole return of the irrational proves that we can not simply use fifth-century rational criticism for the description of the religious climate in the Roman empire. For the philosophies too, had known an evolution towards belief in external authorities and they now presented themselves as "*dealers in salvation*".<sup>47</sup> But the best refutation of philosophy as a preparation is probably the fact that philosophers were among the groups that longest resisted Christianity.

Lastly, we can have our doubts about the impact of philosophical ideas on the masses. As MacMullen puts it: "*If anyone listened to Epicureans or Stoics, no signs attest to his conversion.*"<sup>48</sup>

Turning to monotheism as a preparation for the Christian message, we must remark that paganism never knew anything like monotheism. What is usually called monotheism was actually μεγαλοδαίμονία or hierarchic polytheism. When pagans talked about the highest god, they had in fact in mind a pyramidal struc-

<sup>44</sup> LANE FOX, p.32.

<sup>45</sup> FRENCH (1987), p.226, paraphrasing Lane Fox. The latter has collected an impressive body of evidence for the continuing vitality of the pagan cults and the closeness of (even the Olympic) gods in his (1986).

<sup>46</sup> See also LANE FOX, p.32, 93 and 95; MACMULLEN (1985), p.71-72, WLOSOK, p.67 on the entire doctrine-part; DE STE. CROIX, p.26 on philosophers and cults and NILSSON, p. 693 on allegory.

<sup>47</sup> DODDS (1951), p.248.

<sup>48</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.77. See also SEN., *Ep.* 29, 10.

ture which by no means implied that the lower parts were denied the status of gods.<sup>49</sup>

Neither did syncretism lead to monotheism: some gods had indeed dissolved into a single one but in most cases the gods who were put together remained discrete beings and the reduction of the number of individual gods never reached a level where it could affect the essential character of polytheism.<sup>50</sup>

We should conclude our criticism of Hellenism as a *praeparatio* with the general remark that the political part of this theory focuses too much on Greece. If we see the decline of the city-state as an external factor for the growth of Christianity, we forget that this religion achieved its first important successes in Egypt, Asia-Minor and Syria, three regions that had always known totalitarian monarchies. It might therefore prove more relevant to the history of Christianity to discuss the political evolution in the Hellenistic age as the continuation of eastern political and religious structures, with a new Greek hierarchical top in stead of talking about the decline of the city-state and its cults.

### 2.3. Judaism

As a Jewish sect, early Christianity had the advantage that it could spread by way of the large network of Diaspora-synagogues. There were Jewish communities in every major town of the Mediterranean basin and our evidence clearly shows that this is where the Christian missionaries held their first sermons. Furthermore, the synagogues did not only enable a rapid geographical spread, they also provided Christianity with the possibility of contacting Gentiles who were completely, (proselytes) or only partly, (the god-fearers) converted to Judaism. To the latter, who objected to circumcision or the food-restrictions, Christianity must have seemed a most welcome solution to their dilemma.<sup>51</sup>

A second advantage of Christianity's Jewish origins was that it was at first not recognised as a new (and perhaps unwanted) religion. Christianity could thus live through its earliest fase of ex-

<sup>49</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.89 and LANE FOX, p.34-35.

<sup>50</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.92-94.

<sup>51</sup> ANGUS, p.2 and 277; DESCHNER (1968), p.210-211 and HARNACK, p.5-8 for the network; GAGER, p.138 (dilemma) and LATOURETTE, p.117.

pansion and consolidation, as Tertullian put it, *sub umbraculo licitae Judaeorum religionis*.<sup>52</sup>

But the importance of Judaism for the Christian expansion went much further than bridge-heads and the protection of resemblance. First of all, early Christianity got its sacred Scripture from Judaism. The Jewish Old Testament provided Christianity with a collection of texts of divine origin and unparalleled antiquity. In an age where antiquity and authority were increasingly seen as the only criteria of sure knowledge, the Bible turned out to be a major apologetical argument.<sup>53</sup>

Hellenistic Judaism could also offer several methods of interpretation that could make these old texts understandable and acceptable to the pagan intellectuals. Christianity thus adopted the use of typology and allegory but also of more technical methods of rabbinic exegesis.<sup>54</sup>

Allegory e.g. was widely used in the work of Philo, but this Jewish philosopher also made a more fundamental contribution to the success of Christianity: if Christianity wanted to become important in the Greco-Roman world, it had to come to terms with the existing Hellenistic culture and here Hellenistic Judaism offered the golden mean between rejecting and adopting Hellenism.<sup>55</sup> Of major importance was the coming to terms of Judaism with Greek philosophy. All the major themes of the Christian apologists had already been used by their Jewish predecessors and in fact, the sole heir of Jewish Hellenistic philosophy was the Christian philosophy of people like Clemens and Origen.<sup>56</sup> The importance of this intellectual synthesis for the gradual conversion of the pagan upper-classes and so, in the end, of Roman society can not be overestimated.

But Hellenistic Judaism did not only offer intellectual weapons, the purely institutional aspect of diaspora Judaism was just as important. The churches simply adopted the basic structure of

<sup>52</sup> TERT., 21, 1, 5 in ANGUS, p.272.

<sup>53</sup> GAGER, p.126-127; LATOURETTE, p.131 and HINSON, p.263-264 for examples of chronologies that proved that Christianity was the oldest and therefore the true religion. Also important was that the Bible was already available in several Greek translations. (e.g. the Septuagint - GAGER, p.126).

<sup>54</sup> GAGER, p.127 and HINSON, p.251 ff. and 262 and 269.

<sup>55</sup> GAGER, p.127-128.

<sup>56</sup> GAGER, p.127-128 and HINSON, p.262-265.

diaspora-synagogues: meetings at least once a week in addition to an annual calendar of holy days, the basic structure of worship services, baptism, communal care for the sick and the elderly, a council presided over by one leader with authority over the entire community, regular contacts with other communities etc. All this was offered by diaspora Judaism.<sup>57</sup>

So many were the resemblances between Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity that we can ask the question why Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman world and not Judaism. The original also had the advantage of the status of *religio licita*, why then was the copy more successful?

Did the ritual prescriptions and circumcision form to great an obstacle? There was indeed a group of semi-proselytes, the god-fearers, who objected to this aspect of Judaism but two problems arise. First, we do not know to what extent diaspora communities saw circumcision as a necessity.<sup>58</sup> Secondly, we should not forget that these prescriptions were not seen as an obstacle by the considerable number of pagans who did fully convert to Judaism. Gager even states that (because of their exotism) the distinctive features of Jewish life were more important reasons for conversion than e.g. monotheism or Jewish ethics.<sup>59</sup>

Another reason for the failure of Judaism could be the Jewish wars. The armed conflicts of 70, 115 and 135 produced a considerable change in the relationship between Judaism and the Roman world. They caused a wave of anti-semitism on the pagan side, and for the Jews the Hellenistic culture had become the culture of their oppressor. Hence, the end of the rapprochements between Judaism and Hellenism and the replacement of Hellenistic Judaism by the more nationalistic rabbinism.<sup>60</sup> But were these nationalistic tendencies the effect or the cause of the Jewish wars? If these conflicts were only a "spin-off" of a deeper cause, Judaism would never have become a universal religion anyhow.<sup>61</sup> However, this view ignores the fact that the uprisings

<sup>57</sup> Enumeration given by GAGER, p.128.

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. JOS., *Ant.*, 20, 38-45 for a discussion on this topic. (GAGER, p.138 - see also id., p.148, n.108 for another example.)

<sup>59</sup> GAGER, p.137-138. See also SIMON (1948), p.438.

<sup>60</sup> HARNACK, p.20; DESCHNER, p.210 and GAGER, p.139.

<sup>61</sup> GAGER, p.137-138.

received little or no support from diaspora-Judaism and therefore we would like to suggest another explanatory factor, and one that had a direct impact on diaspora-Judaism: Christianity.

This theory was developed by Marcel Simon.<sup>62</sup> In the first century A.D. Judaism was making considerable progress in the pagan world and a lot of possibilities remained open. Now, according to Harnack, there are two possible ways of turning a national religion into a universal one: one is to reduce the religion to a few essential points that are acceptable to everyone, and the other is to incorporate a lot of elements from the religions and the cultures that one wants to conquer.<sup>63</sup> Christianity is the perfect expression of the latter type of religion so its appearance limited Judaism to the first possibility. Consequently, Judaism was left with a doctrinal poverty and the absence of mystical elements. The Christian attacks on the Law forced Judaism to reaffirm the connection between Thora and Judaism. So the evolution towards rabbinic Judaism should be explained by the instinct of selfpreservation and the attacks of Christianity. Rabbinic Judaism did indeed succeed but Judaism had once again become the religion of Israël and conversion to Judaism was once again a kind of naturalization. Christianity however, was explicitly a universal religion with inclusive ideals: "*Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.*"<sup>64</sup>

### 3. INTERNAL FACTORS

#### 3.1. Religious Factors "Stricto Sensu".

##### 3.1.1. *The decline of paganism*<sup>65</sup>

E.R.Dodds once wrote that "*one reason for the success of Christianity was simply the weakness and weariness of the opposition.*"<sup>66</sup> In his view, fourth-century paganism can be described

<sup>62</sup> SIMON (1948), p.432-446. LATOURETTE, p.166 partly agrees.

<sup>63</sup> HARNACK, p.20.

<sup>64</sup> TERT., *Apol.*, 18, 4. See also *infra* 3.2.1.

<sup>65</sup> Naturally, the decline of paganism can not be called an internal factor for the succes of Christianity. But its discussion would have overburdened our *praeparatio*-chapter and a small sophism permits us to equate the decline of paganism with the extraordinary vitality of Christianity.

<sup>66</sup> DODDS (1965), p.132. More recently: HINSON, p.23.

as a kind of living corpse, a meaningless tradition artificially kept alive by State support and a rigid conservatism.

This fading vitality is usually explained by referring to the traditional *praeparatio*-factors such as rational criticism or the decline of the πόλις. As clear symptoms for the rapid decline in the third and the fourth century A.D. one is often asked to consider the gap in pagan inscriptions from the 260's onwards or the virtual absence of pagan martyrs.<sup>67</sup>

As far as we know, Geffcken was the first scholar to draw religious conclusions from the gap in our epigraphic evidence. But a lot has been said about these missing inscriptions since Geffcken's *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* first appeared in 1929. First of all, the gap needs redefining. Apparently, some regions remained untouched by whatever caused this gap and, secondly, the Tetrarchic period saw a slight revival of pagan inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> But what is more important for Geffcken's religious conclusions: the gap should be extended to all sorts of inscriptions. Therefore, in the words of Ramsay MacMullen, "*it was not the priest but the stonecutter who was silenced.*"<sup>69</sup>

Rostovtzeff and Frend in a way adapted Geffcken's theory by saying that the inscriptional gap should be ascribed to the general crisis of the third century and that this crisis should be held responsible for the decline in confidence and faith in the old gods, hence for the decline of the pagan inscriptions.<sup>70</sup> But according to MacMullen this crisis-theory fits neither chronologically (the inscriptions should have stopped earlier) nor geographically (in some areas the crisis had little or no impact but the inscriptions stop all the same).<sup>71</sup> The traditional picture of the third century crisis could indeed be called exaggerated. There is no doubt that the crisis had a devastating impact on certain areas and social groups, but "*in the years of crisis, many leading inhabitants of Mediterranean towns must have gone quietly about the routine duties of*

<sup>67</sup> See DODDS (1965), p.133 for the lacking martyrs and GEFFCKEN, p.20-21 for the lacking inscriptions.

<sup>68</sup> LANE FOX, p.582 and BROWN (1978), p.28.

<sup>69</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.127 and LANE FOX, p.575.

<sup>70</sup> Rostovtzeff in BROWN (1978), p.28 and FREND (1965), p.390. See also the digression on the third century crisis sub 3.2.2. for broader remarks.

<sup>71</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.128.

*administration.*''<sup>72</sup> Most recently, Robin Lane Fox has expressed his doubts about the link between a series of disasters and a decline of faith in the pagan gods. In his view, a polytheistic system such as ancient paganism could offer an external explanation for misfortune: the disastrous events were ascribed to the anger of the gods and led the pagans not to the churches, but to the oracles and the altars.<sup>73</sup>

Consequently, recent works attribute the inscriptional gap to a change in the epigraphic habits, a change in the *euergetism*-mechanism itself.<sup>74</sup> Roman society in the Antonine age had been ideal for this mechanism: it knew an indirect type of government through the urban élites, the traditional mechanisms were left intact, the exertion of power was marked by a certain reticence, it was a period of political and economic stability and the number of significant others in the municipal élites was still large enough to function as a focus for their *φιλοτιμία*. In the third century all this changed. We now see an evolution towards a type of "hard government": a stronger central government, an expanded administration with a rigid hierarchy and a direct impact on the local government, and a growing explicitness in the exertion of power. One's place in this new imperial hierarchy now formed the basis for status and the monopolizing of riches had reduced the peer group for *φιλοτιμία* in the cities. The "higher" source of power also made the local rich less sensitive to pressure from the lower social strata so *euergetism* was less needed as a protection of their position against envy. These three developments help to explain why the surplus was being used to a lesser extent for public buildings, temples or sacrifices and increasingly for the building of large private palaces in and around the towns. Add to this that, from a *φιλοτιμία* point of view, putting up pagan inscriptions became counterproductive once paganism had lost the imperial

<sup>72</sup> BROWN (1971), p.24. See also the digression on the third century sub 3.2.2.

<sup>73</sup> LANE FOX, p.575. However, LIVY XXV, 1, 7 (people abandoning the traditional cults in 213 B.C.) and JULIAN, *Ep.* 89b - BIDEZ, p.137 - (undeserved misfortune as one reason for abandoning the old gods) contradict his theory.

<sup>74</sup> The following paragraph is based on BROWN (1978), p.27-53, MAC-MULLEN (1981), p.132 and LANE FOX, p.52-55, 75-82 and 574-575.

support and the fading away of the pagan inscriptions becomes somewhat more understandable.<sup>75</sup>

But what has all this to do with religion? Doesn't this whole mechanism point to a religious cynicism rather than to the vitality of the pagan traditions? In a way, it does. But, as Lane Fox has argued, the rich financed the civic cults and the pagan processions because they were still linked to the welfare of the community and this link still existed because the majority of the population still thought of the old gods as of the protectors of city and empire.<sup>76</sup> In this case, the religious cynicism of one group would proof the upright beliefs of the rest of the population.

However, in this case, the gap in the pagan inscriptions could also be attributed to the decreasing belief in the old gods as protectors of the community, along with, or on top of, the social-economic mechanisms we have described. Therefore, if we are to refute Rostovtzeff and Frend, we must take into account a different kind of evidence.

As has been said earlier, the virtual absence of pagan martyrs is interpreted as a second symptom of the rapid decline of paganism.

First of all, we should never forget that "*as a consequence of the victory of Christianity, the greater part of our information about the extinction of paganism has a Christian bias*".<sup>77</sup> But in spite of this bias, the sources still offer a considerable amount of evidence for pagans using violence or suffering from it because of their religion: there are a lot of examples of pagans defending their temples and idols against Christian attacks, of pagans burning down churches in revenge of their destroyed temples, and of pagans getting killed because they refused to convert to Christianity. The most telling example is probably offered by John of Ephesus: this Christian author tells us that at the end of the sixth century Tiberius was still confronted with tenacious remnants of the pagan cults. Tiberius then decided to send in the army and in what could be called an anti-pagan crusade pagans in Baalbek and

<sup>75</sup> This paragraph is based on the explanations offered by BROWN (1978), p.27-53; MACMULLEN (1981), p.132 and LANE FOX, p.52-55, 75-82 and 574-575.

<sup>76</sup> LANE FOX, p.80.

<sup>77</sup> BONNER, p.340. See e.g. EUS., *H.E.*, VIII, 2, 2 for a sort of *manifesto* of the idealized Church-history.



the Bekaa were arrested, humiliated and crucified or killed in some other way.<sup>78</sup>

But active, violent resistance was not the most important form of pagan opposition against Christianity.<sup>79</sup> This can probably be explained by the absence of martyrdom-ethics in paganism: people who are not convinced that dying for their faith will guarantee them a privileged position in the here-after or, stronger still, people who are not convinced that there will be a here-after, are less likely to search a heroic death. But the fundamental reason was probably the innate tolerance of a polytheistic religion such as ancient paganism. In the fourth century, the old argument that the Christian "atheism" threatened the *pax deorum* had been refuted by events and pagan "theology" had developed the theory of the "unknowable god".<sup>80</sup> So it was possible that Christianity had found the (another) right way to honour the supreme god and paganism was capable of offering a form of coexistence inconceivable to any Christian. Actually, it remains doubtful whether the pagan party really fully understood the Christian exclusiveness and their fundamental intolerance. This "*misinterpretation which characterized pagan response to Christianity*" can still be sensed in the famous words Symmachus spoke as late as 384: "...*quid interest, qua quisque prudentia verum requirat? Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum.*"<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, "*pagans were prepared to pay, if not to suffer, for their faith.*"<sup>82</sup> But long before pagans had to bribe the authorities, most pagan ceremonies had been banned by the legislation of the Christian emperors. Yet we see that a lot of temples simply remained open, that pagans simply continued to make sacrifices and that pagan festivals were held despite all legal

<sup>78</sup> JOH.Eph., III, 3, 27-34 in CHUVIN, p.147-148. For other examples see e.g.: MACMULLEN (1984), ch.X, p.86-101; BONNER, p.346-348; CHUVIN, p.66, 81 and 145-146; DESCHNER (1986), p.331 ff. and 508; GAUDEMET, p.637; JONES (1964), p. 939-941 and LANE FOX, p.664-665.

<sup>79</sup> JONES (1964), p.943.

<sup>80</sup> LANE FOX, p.672. See e.g. *Pan.Lat.*, 12, 26, 1; SYMM., *Rel.* III, 10 and *Max.Mad.* in *AUG.*, *Ep.* 16, 1.

<sup>81</sup> O'DONNELL, p.76 and SYMM., *ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> JONES (1964), p.943 (quoted) and CHUVIN, p.99 and 133.

measures.<sup>83</sup> Ramsay MacMullen even came to the conclusion that "*the empire overall appears to have been predominantly non-Christian in A.D. 400.*"<sup>84</sup>

An important indication for the unbroken spirit of paganism is also formed by the repeated legislation against apostates: in 381 Theodosius denied apostates the right to make a will, two years later the law was expanded with other measures, in 391 Honorius made apostates lose their titles and even in 426 the old gods could turn Christians into apostates.<sup>85</sup>

Once the public expression of paganism had been made impossible by the destruction of temples and altars, by the violence of the army or the monks and by social discrimination, we see that pagans went underground and practised their rites in secret sanctuaries.<sup>86</sup>

However, all these glimpses of a surviving paganism should not make us forget that it did eventually disappear. But we believe that it has become clear that the task of the first Christian missionaries was not simply to fill up an already existing religious gap. The rise of Christianity can not simply be explained by the decline of paganism but should be attributed to its own attractive features.

### 3.1.2. *Miracles and exorcisms.*

Turning to these positive explanations, we should begin with one of the best documented reasons for conversion to early Christianity: miracles and exorcisms.<sup>87</sup>

Although little or nothing is to be found in the letters of Paul, the Didachè or the letter of Pliny, conversions through miracles are abundantly attested in the Gospels and Acts and they become

<sup>83</sup> See 3.5.4. for the anti-pagan legislation. Examples of pagan cults surviving this legislation and the Christian violence can be found in MACMULLEN (1984), p.81-84 (a survey of remnants all over the empire with numerous refs. - p.155-157.); CHUVIN of course (passim); and further evidence in BONNER, p.353; HILLGARTH, p.53-55; JONES (1963), p.17-23 and (1964), p.939-943 and TROMBLEY, p.329-331 and 344-348.

<sup>84</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.83.

<sup>85</sup> CT, XVI, 7, 1 (381); 2 and 3 (383); 4 and 5 (391); 6 (396) and 7 (426).

<sup>86</sup> Examples from Canope and Edessa in CHUVIN, p.110-113 and 147-149.

<sup>87</sup> BROWN (1971), p.55 and FRENCH (1984), p.565.

even more frequent in the Apocryphal Acts and the Apologetic literature.<sup>88</sup>

To Ramsay MacMullen the evidence seemed so overwhelming that he concluded that miracles and especially exorcisms formed the most important, if not the only reason for conversion to Christianity in the pre-Constantinian age.<sup>89</sup> This is hardly surprising, MacMullen argues, since conversions to pagan gods were also caused by the manifestation of some divine δυνάμεις (the number of gods to choose from was simply too great to decide in another way) and pagans naturally looked at Christianity in a pagan way. Furthermore, the importance of exorcisms for conversions to early Christianity can be explained by the virtual absence of pagan exorcists. The pagan cults offered remedies for all kinds of diseases yet for mental illness pagans had to "*trust to luck or to some not very respectable help bought in the shadows.*"<sup>90</sup> The only alternative was formed by the Christians and they worked free of charge. Another significant fact about Christian exorcisms was that they were a demonstration of a theological position, they were a test of strength aimed at proving that the pagan gods were no more than inferior demons and that the only true god was the Christian one. In other words, they made converts in the exclusivist sense of the word.<sup>91</sup>

But we see that as early as the beginning of the third century Christian authors admit that the "Golden Age" of miracles is over. Marc Van Uytenghe has, in an article on a much broader subject, collected the evidence for a real *malaise* concerning contemporary miracles in second- and third-century Christianity.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> HARNACK, p.157 and 220-239.

<sup>89</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.96 "Nothing else is attested." and p.168 and 191 for numerous refs.; (1983), p.187; (1984), p.21 and (1985), p.73-74 repeat the arguments and complete the refs.

<sup>90</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.50 (quoted) see also LANE FOX, p.327.

<sup>91</sup> NOCK (1933), p.104; MACMULLEN (1983), p.180-181 and (1984), p.109. For pagan gods who were forced by the Christian exorcists to confess that they were only inferior demons, see e.g. TERT., *Apol.* 23, 4-7; CYPR., *De Idol. Van.*, 7 and *Ad Demetr.*, 15 or THEOPH., *Ad Autolyc.*, II, 8.

<sup>92</sup> VAN UYTFANGHE, p.210-211. (with many refs.) See also BARDY, p.159 and MACMULLEN (1984), p.132. The Church seems to have regained its miraculous powers in the fourth century. By this time, there was less chance that Christian miracles could be confused with pagan ones and thus become discredited. (VAN UYTFANGHE, p.211.).

How then can miracles and exorcisms have formed the most important reason for conversion to pre-Constantinian Christianity?

But even if Christianity had retained its miraculous powers in these crucial centuries, it remains questionable whether they would have had such an impact. For pagan gods also produced miracles so why would a Christian miracle be so convincing that it led to an exclusivist conversion?<sup>93</sup> Even a firm belief in Jesus' or Jahweh's exceptional efficiency concerning exorcisms does not necessarily lead to the acceptance of the Christian exclusivism.<sup>94</sup> In magical papyri the use of the "name" of the Jewish god is frequently attested but nothing points to the fact that these magicians had been converted to Judaism. In Acts 19, 13-16 we read about the seven sons of Scevas who used "the Jesus preached by Paul" in their conjurations. Had they converted to Christianity? And what to think of the pagan exorcists in Origen who used the names of the patriarchs next to those of Salomon or Jesus?<sup>95</sup>

Furthermore, not everyone was impressed by the Christian miracles. Neither party denied the existence of the miracles wrought by the others but they did give them an alternative explanation: pagan miracles were of course interpreted by the Christians as demonic trickery and Celsus ascribed Jesus' miracles to simple magic and compared them to the exorcisms and healings you could buy for two oboles on each Egyptian market-place.<sup>96</sup>

And were these pagan magicians really less efficient? As A.D. Nock remarked: "*superstition provides its remedies*" and paganism had developed a whole apparatus of amulets and purifications.<sup>97</sup> Of course, the Christians denied the efficiency of

<sup>93</sup> It is interesting to see that in Acts 14, 8-20 and 28, 3-6 Paul is immediately identified as a pagan god because of two miraculous healings.

<sup>94</sup> See also LANE FOX, p.329-330: exorcisms only awakened the interest; real converts were only won in a long process of conviction and persuasion.

<sup>95</sup> NOCK (1933), p.62-63 and LANE FOX, p.327 (papyri) - Acts 19 knew a dramatic turning but Cypr., *De Rebapt.*, 7 tells us that other non-Christians did succeed when using Jesus' name. - ORIGEN C.C., I, 22.

<sup>96</sup> MACMULLEN (1983), p.179 and 189, n.23 (on pagan miracles) en Celsus in ORIG., C.C., I, 68 (see also I, 6; II, 32 and II, 48) See also VAN UYTFANGHE, p.207 for Jews on Christian miracles. And JUST., *Dial.* 60, 6: miracles only impressed eye-witnesses.

<sup>97</sup> NOCK (1933), p.106. Be it noted that the absence of pagan exorcists should not be taken too literally. (See also PHIL., *Vita Apoll.*, 4, 10 and 8, 7, 9.).

all these pagan remedies but if we see that even "orthodox" and "heretical" Christians accused one another of failure and fraud, we could begin to doubt their objectivity.<sup>98</sup> The Christian efficiency seems to have depended partially on the factor "belief". As Van Uytenghe has illustrated, from the New Testament onwards, "belief" is often presented as a *conditio sine qua non* for miracles. And this not only for the miracle-worker but for the "receiver" as well.<sup>99</sup>

*Digression: The methods of the missions in the early Church*

As is said earlier, miracles and exorcisms are one of the best documented reasons for conversion to early Christianity. Therefore this seems a suitable time to look at some other methods the Church used for spreading the faith.

In 1970 W.H.C. Frend had to admit that "*we are singularly badly informed about the organisation and method of missions in the early Church after the Apostolic Age.*"<sup>100</sup> Twenty years later our knowledge still largely consists of what the Church didn't do.

The Didachè and 3 John speak of Christians travelling from church to church but their task was probably explaining the faith to fellow-believers. The people mentioned by Origen more obviously tried to reach non-Christians but this is the only example we have and Origen seems to treat them as something rare.<sup>101</sup> Only two missionaries are known to us by name and one of them, Pantaenus, operated in India.<sup>102</sup> In fact, there was no official and organised missionary effort until the fourth century. There was no out-of-door-preaching, there were no recognizable temples or priests, no public ceremonies and non-believers were only partially or not at all allowed to attend the indoor services. Moreover, it can be doubted whether those indoor services would have made a big impression on the ordinary pagan.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>98</sup> As did HARNACK, p. 160.

<sup>99</sup> VAN UYTFANGHE, p. 207-208.

<sup>100</sup> FREND (1970), p. 3.

<sup>101</sup> *Did.*, XI, 3; 3 John, 5-8 and OR., C.C., III, 9 See LATOURETTE, p. 115 and MOLLAND, p. 59 - MACMULLEN (1984), p. 35 erroneously rejects the example given by Origen.

<sup>102</sup> EUS., H.E., V, 10, 2 - the other one is Gregory the Wonderworker.

<sup>103</sup> NOCK (1933), p.192-193 and 202-203; BROWN (1971), p.68; MACMULLEN (1984), p.33-34 and LANE FOX, p.314-315.

How then did Christianity reach the pagans? The catechetical school of Alexandria was also open to pagans but it remained an exceptional and small-scaled initiative.<sup>104</sup> Nor did Christian writings reach the pagan public: Tertullian explicitly tells us that nobody who wasn't already converted, read the Christian literature and from Lactantius we know that pagan intellectuals who chanced upon writings from Cyprian soon dismissed them with contempt. Apparently the only pagan intellectuals who turned to the Christian literature were people like Celsus or Porphyry.<sup>105</sup> As to public discussions between intellectuals, Frend believed that they played some role in the conversion of the Roman world but other scholars doubt the veracity of our accounts, point out the lack of Christian rhetoricians and other intellectuals or refer to the unsuccessful outcome of some of our accounts.<sup>106</sup>

However, the alleged intellectual debates have, at last, brought us to the most commonly accepted answer. According to most scholars the early Church reached the non-believers in face-to-face encounters, in informal conversations about the Christian faith with relatives, friends or fellow-workers.<sup>107</sup> The Mediterranean way of life, the lack of privacy in the ancient cities and the *bazaar*-economy were all the more opportunities for the Christian to communicate his new faith and this informal way of proselytizing is corroborated both by pagan contemporaries and by recent sociological research.<sup>108</sup> But how did these Christians represent their new faith and which arguments did they use to convince their pagan acquaintances? Naturally, this question is not easily answered. Arthur Darby Nock and Ramsay MacMullen are the only two scholars we know of who have dealt with this problem. The most striking aspect of the Christian self-representation given by these two authors is undoubtedly the inherent antagonism, the blacks and whites in the Christian message, but can it be proved that this aspect was also the most convincing?<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> HOLL, p.7.

<sup>105</sup> TERT., *De Test. An.*, 4 and LACT., *Div. Inst.*, V, 1, 22-27. In general, see FREND (1970), p.5, MACMULLEN (1984), p.21 or BARTELINK, p.19.

<sup>106</sup> FREND (1970), p.6 contra: MACMULLEN (1984), p.33

<sup>107</sup> FREND (1970), p.6; GAGER, p.130 and LANE FOX, p.315-316.

<sup>108</sup> GAGER, p.130 (with refs. for the soc. research) and CELSUS IN OR., C.C., III, 50 and 55.

<sup>109</sup> NOCK (1933), p.13-14 and MACMULLEN (1984), p.32.

There is a second problem: how can this theory of face-to-face-conversions explain the considerable rate of growth of the early Church? <sup>110</sup> There must have been group-conversions as well and therefore Christianity must have had other ways of reaching the pagan masses.

The activities and the positive qualities of the ancient churches might have proved attractive to some pagans but according to Nock the most public manifestation of early Christianity was, next to miracles, martyrs. <sup>111</sup>

### 3.1.3. *Martyrs*

Modern studies have distinguished two ways by which martyrs could produce conversions: pagans could ascribe the Christian courage to the inspiration of a powerful god - they could see martyrdom as the manifestation of a divine δύναμις - or they could judge that a faith that was worth dying for was certainly worth living for. <sup>112</sup> Conversions through martyrdom are also made plausible by a considerable amount of contemporary evidence: Tertullian's "*Semen est sanguis Christianorum*" is undoubtedly the most famous but by far not the only piece of evidence. <sup>113</sup>

A lot of modern scholars have simply adopted these Christian claims and presented martyrs as one of the major causes of the Christian success. <sup>114</sup>

However, the pagan testimonies seem to tell a different story: both Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius ascribed martyrdoms to theatricality, plain stubbornness and an irrational death-wish. <sup>115</sup> The ordinary pagan might have had similar thoughts: no pagan god demanded his exclusivist loyalty and the existence of a hereafter could not be proved. Therefore the Christian courage could

<sup>110</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.32.

<sup>111</sup> NOCK (1933), p.193.

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. *Passio Perp.*, 9, 1 and 16, 4 or TERT., *Apol.*, 50, 15. In general: DODDS (1965), p.132 and MACMULLEN (1984), p.30.

<sup>113</sup> TERT., *Apol.* 50, 13. See also JUSTIN, 2 *Apol.*, 12; HIPPOCR., *In Dan.*, II, 38; LACT., *Div.Inst.*, V, 22, 18 or BASIL., *Ep.* 164. Additional examples in HARNACK, p.507 and BIHLMAYER, p.69.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. BAUS (1968), p.474; BIHLMAYER, p.69; BROWN (1971), p.65 TROCMÉ, p.308-308 or ELIADE, p.392.

<sup>115</sup> ARR., *Diatr.*, IV, 7, 6 and M.AUR., XI, 3. More positive was GALEN. (Ref. in HARNACK, p.232, n.4).

also cause amazement and incomprehension. Often even hatred: ancient paganism was a community-religion and the Christians could be seen as anti-social elements because their refusal to honour the gods endangered the *pax deorum*.<sup>116</sup>

But most relevant for the correct assessment of the value of martyrdom as a reason for conversion is of course the nature of the persecutions themselves. Or more specifically: the number, the duration and the severeness of the ancient persecutions.

The history of the persecutions can be divided in three phases. The first phase (ending just before the Neronian persecution in 64) is of little or no relevance: the violence Christians could meet with was the result of Jewish hostility. The general attitude of the pagan authorities was one of "*impartiality or indifference towards the religious squabbles between Jews and Christians*." <sup>117</sup> Police-measures against riots between Jews and Christians were the only measures taken.

The Neronian persecution was the first to be initiated by the Roman government but it remained limited to the city of Rome: no general edict was promulgated.<sup>118</sup> It is impossible to discuss this phase in any detail. Practically every emperor of the first and the second century is said to have persecuted the Church<sup>119</sup> but in reality this period saw only isolated, local persecutions. As de Ste. Croix said: "*Until the third century (...) it is better not to think of persecutions primarily in terms of emperors. It was the provincial governor in each case who played the significant role - and even his attitude might be less important than what I must call 'public opinion'.*" <sup>120</sup> The governors acted on Trajan's "*conquirendi non sunt*"-principle<sup>121</sup> so most persecutions were the official answer to private complaints or to brief outbreaks of pagan popular violence. The number of Christians killed may have been considerable, although Origen wrote on the eve of the Decian

<sup>116</sup> LIEBESCHÜTZ, p.212 and MACMULLEN (1984), p.30.

<sup>117</sup> DE STE.CROIX, p.6 and 7 (quoted).

<sup>118</sup> TAC., *Ann.*, XV, 40 and DE STE.CROIX, p.14.

<sup>119</sup> See e.g. LATOURETTE, p.136-144 or BAUS (1965), p.148-162 Contra: DE STE.CROIX, p.7 and BARNES (1968), p.32-44.

<sup>120</sup> DE STE.CROIX, p.15.

<sup>121</sup> PLINY Jr., *Ep.X*, 97.



persecution that "*only a small number of people, easily counted, have died for the Christian religion.*"<sup>122</sup>

The third century saw a change in the persecutions. We still hear about spontaneous outbursts of popular anger<sup>123</sup> but the principal initiative now came to lie with the government.

The proselytism-edict of Septimius Severus is probably unhistorical<sup>124</sup> and Maximin's general attack on the Church never took place<sup>125</sup>, but Decius' reign clearly marks a new phase in the history of the persecutions. From this time onwards persecutions were started by imperial edicts that were operative all over the empire and the Christians were sought out by way of a general sacrifice-order.<sup>126</sup> But even these general persecutions did not last very long: the Decian persecution went on for about a year, the one under Valerian less than three years and the so-called "Great Persecution" lasted two years in the West and, intermittently, ten years in the East.

Our only reliable evidence for the number of Christians killed, dates from this last, the Tetrarchic persecution. In his work on the martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius of Caesarea counted, for the two provinces of Palestina I and II, 91 victims. But 44 died in captivity in the mines, 13 had volunteered and 18 had drawn the attention of the authorities so, over a period of nearly ten years and during the most severe persecution, only 16 Christians were actually sought out and put to death entirely on initiative of the authorities.<sup>127</sup> But usually the number of Christians killed is exaggerated by Christian contemporary sources.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>122</sup> OR., C.C., III, 8 and DE STE.CROIX, p.7.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. in Cappadocia (235) and in Alexandria (249) - see CYPR., *Ep.*, LXXV, 10 and EUS., *H.E.*, VI, 41, 1-9.

<sup>124</sup> *Vita Sev.*, 17, 1 - see BARNES (1968), p.40-41 and FREUDENBERGER, p.135.

<sup>125</sup> FREND (1965), p.390-391 and BAUS (1965), p.254. We do have evidence for a persecution in Asia-Minor caused by earthquakes.

<sup>126</sup> For a short but detailed survey of this phase see FREUDENBERGER, p.138-140 (Decius), p.141-142 (Valerian) and p.143-145 (Tetrarchy).

<sup>127</sup> GRANT (1977), p.5 with ref. to DE STE.CROIX. FREND (1965) - p.536 "only" has 86 victims.

<sup>128</sup> See e.g. DESCHNER (1986), p.202 for the example of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne in 177.

We have considerable evidence to support the view that the pagan authorities were not always keen on executing the Christians. They often tried to reach some sort of a compromise and they readily accepted bribes. In some cases Christians were even released immediately.<sup>129</sup>

Another aspect that could shade our judgement of the *semen-sanguis*-argument consists of the reasons for the persecutions. The most important reason no doubt was the monotheistic exclusiveness of the Christians. The Christian refusal to recognize the divine status of the pagan gods and their consistent refusal to perform cult-acts was thought to provoke the anger of the gods. Their refusal endangered the "contract" between man and the gods, it threatened the *pax deorum*. As a result, each event that could be interpreted as a consequence of this anger could lead to a closing of the pagan ranks, and from there to a persecution of the Christians.<sup>130</sup> This line of thought should not only be ascribed to the pagan masses: Maximin Daia used it to justify his persecution and it might have played a role in the Decian persecution as well.<sup>131</sup> The relevance of all this is of course that pagans who persecuted the Christians because they refused to sacrifice are not very likely to become converted because the refusal was repeated.

A similar line of thought can be followed when we consider that much underestimated reason for persecutions: voluntary martyrdom.<sup>132</sup> We know of Christians who presented themselves before the authorities with their hands bound behind their backs, shouting that they were Christians and demanding to be thrown to the beasts. Another Christian caused his own martyrdom by shouting out (in a full court room) "*I wish to die for I am a Christian!*"<sup>133</sup> Undoubtedly, this conduct attracted attention but

<sup>129</sup> DE STE.CROIX, p. 13 and LANE FOX, p.421. For bribes see the 'libellatici' in the Decian persecution.

<sup>130</sup> See of course TERT., *Apol.*, 40, 1-2 Further refs. in ALFÖLI (1967), p.288-289 and DE STE.CROIX, p.37, n.136. LANE FOX, p.425 sees this as good evidence for "the essential continuity of pagan religiousness".

<sup>131</sup> EUS., *H.E.*, IX, 7, 3-14 and 8, 3 (Maximin) and see below note 229 (crisis) for Decius. For further motives of the pagan élite see DE STE.CROIX, p.16-17 and 30 and for the masses: id., p.20-21 and LANE FOX, p.425-427.

<sup>132</sup> DE STE.CROIX, p.21.

<sup>133</sup> EUS., *Mart.Pal.*, 3, 2, 4 and *Passio Eupli*, 1. Other examples in DE STE.CROIX, p.22.

it remains to be proved whether the pagans present saw more than a pathological yearning for death in these martyrdoms. In one case where all the Christians of an Asian town presented themselves before the proconsul, we know the pagan's reaction. He told them to use ropes or precipices if they wanted to die.<sup>134</sup>

In conclusion we can point to the fact that during the persecutions of onorthodox by orthodox Christians the blood of the former no longer formed the seed of different beliefs for the latter.<sup>135</sup>

All this - the local and sporadic character of the persecutions until the middle of the third century, the limited duration and the lax execution of the general persecutions, the relatively small number of victims and certain reasons for the persecutions - make that martyrdom was probably not a major cause of Christian success. On the other hand, its importance should not be minimized: the two positive pagan reactions remain plausible, there is the cliché of the forbidden fruit and we could add the negative argument of Julian's reluctance concerning bloody persecutions<sup>136</sup> or, after the persecutions had stopped, the importance of the cult of the martyrs for the christianization of popular paganism.

### 3.1.4. *The Christian hereafter*

The Christian martyrs were of course strengthened by their idea of an afterlife and the privileged position they would enjoy there.<sup>137</sup> We will now try to find out whether these Christian views had yet another importance for the conversion of the Roman world.

Ancient paganism offers an astonishing spectrum of differing opinions on the topic of afterlife. For our period there is evidence for belief in the old Homeric view of life in Hades, the hereafter could be interpreted as the survival of a vital spark in the grave, there is belief in metempsychosis, in astral immortality, etc.<sup>138</sup>

Most striking however is the wide-spread disbelief, the outright denial of eternal life in general. On tombstones the formula

<sup>134</sup> TERT., *Ad Scap.*, 5, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Except perhaps in the Montanists' case. MACMULLEN (1984) p.134, n.13.

<sup>136</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.371.

<sup>137</sup> See TERT., *De Anima*, 55 on the *praerogativa martyrum*.

<sup>138</sup> NILSSON, p.547-548 and LANE FOX, p.95-98.

"*Non Fui, Non Sum, Non Curo*" was so popular that it congealed into an abbreviation. And according to Ramsay MacMullen even the longing for immortality is not much attested.<sup>139</sup> The σωτηρία offered by pagan Saviours was *diesseitig* in a lot of cases and even rituals such as the taurobolium which, according to Cumont, could provide the soul with eternal life, offered nothing more than a temporary purification.<sup>140</sup>

Confusion and scepticism were wide-spread when Christianity entered the world with its new message: the Second Coming of Christ is at hand, this will bring about the end of the world. The dead will rise from their graves for judgement-day: the righteous will enter upon the joys of Heaven but the unjust will be handed over to burn in eternal flames.<sup>141</sup>

How did the Roman world come to accept these views? A preliminary remark could be that it didn't. At least not entirely. There was one aspect that sounded absurd, if not disgusting to every right-minded Greco-Roman: bodily resurrection. Resistance against this concept can be traced back to the earliest Christian writings: in Acts we see that the moment the Athenians stopped paying any attention to Paul was the moment he started to preach about the resurrection of the dead.<sup>142</sup> The *restitutio in integrum* remained unacceptable to a lot of pagans - that is to the intellectual pagans whose views are known to us. We could quote Celsus' revolted outcry or Porphyry's proof of its absurdity and we can also point to the importance of this problem in the Christian apologetic writings.<sup>143</sup> As a result, Christianity soon preached both concepts: bodily resurrection and immortality of the soul. The new religion was forced to allow a certain ambiguity on this issue as is illustrated by someone like Synesius who could still believe in the pre-existence of the soul and, as a Christian bishop,

<sup>139</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.53 (a very critical survey is offered on pp.53-57).

<sup>140</sup> CUMONT, p.64 but now TURCAN (1989), p.58. "*Diesseitig*": MACMULLEN (1981), p.57 and TURCAN (1989), p.31 (although enriched with "*Jenseits*"-expectations in an early stage).

<sup>141</sup> MACMULLEN (1983), p.183.

<sup>142</sup> Acts, 17, 32.

<sup>143</sup> OR., C.C., V, 14 and PORPH., fr.94 - further refs. in NESTLE, p.83-84. For the apologists: MACMULLEN (1983), p.181.

doubt the *resurrectio corporis* and the eventual destruction of the cosmos.<sup>144</sup>

Another disconcerting aspect of Christian afterlife were, according to MacMullen, the eternal punishments: "*What Christianity put forward was the fearful novelty of a God who would burn you alive in perpetuity for their manner of life (...) as He would correspondingly reward the virtuous.*"<sup>145</sup> But this is not entirely true: afterlife-punishments for the unjust and rewards for the righteous can be found in other religious cultures as well. The Apocalypse of Peter describes a considerable amount of particularly hellish chastisements but Nilsson has sought and found parallels for most of them in Greek mythology or in Aristophanes, Plato, Lucian or Plutarch. Unfortunately, he concluded, hell is a Greek invention.<sup>146</sup> This point can be pushed a little further: when we take into account both pagan and Jewish earlier writings, we should conclude that the early Christians held no new, independent views on either the topography or the conditions of afterlife.<sup>147</sup>

But this only makes our initial question more acute: if a part, perhaps even a considerable part of the population no longer believed in the Greco-Roman version of afterlife punishments, why then would they take the Christian ones seriously?

The process can be explained externally. This is in fact how MacMullen tackles the problem.<sup>148</sup> The christianization is divided in three phases: What did pagans already believe? Which new views did Christianity propose? And how were the pagans convinced to adopt these new ideas. The persuasiveness of the ideas themselves is minimalized. Exceptions are made for pagan intellectuals<sup>149</sup> but most pagans were converted by clear manifestations of a superior divine δύναις. In other words: through miracles, exorcisms, martyrs, military victories and the unpunished destruction

<sup>144</sup> SYN., *Ep. 105* in DODDS (1965), p.131.

<sup>145</sup> MACMULLEN (1983), p.181.

<sup>146</sup> NILSSON, p.566-567 (parallels) and p.568 (paraphrased).

<sup>147</sup> SANDERS, *passim* and esp.p.428-432 (with abundant refs.) and VAN UYT-FANGHE (1989), p.350 for recent refs.

<sup>148</sup> Both in his (1983) and his (1984).

<sup>149</sup> ID., (1983), p.184 gives Tatian's example.

of pagan temples. The Christian theories were accepted along with the unique and supreme power of the Christian God.

This is no doubt a very plausible line of thought: a lot of pagans were convinced by one or a few aspects of Christianity and took over the rest (or, who knows, they didn't). But what should interest us here is whether the Christian views on afterlife were one of those persuasive aspects.

We have a few explicate pieces of evidence to affirm this. Tatian came to the faith (partly) because he had learned that Greek writings lead to our judgement and conviction, whereas the Sacred Scripture puts an end to all slavery. Augustine wrote in his *De catechizandis rudibus* that there are no conversions without fear.<sup>150</sup> There are still other sources to confirm the fact that Christians used the argument of eternal punishments to persuade non-believers. We could cite Justin, Clemens or Celsus<sup>151</sup> but the most significant example is perhaps offered by the *Passio* of Ptolemaeus and Lucius. This text describes a woman who became Christian and subsequently warned her husband of "*punishments in the eternal flames for those who do not live modestly and according to right reason.*"<sup>152</sup>

In our opinion, these last words reveal the true novelty of the Christian views on afterlife. Punishments for the unjust were not new. New was the fact that Christianity extended the category of the unjust to people of a different religious persuasion. Or, to be more precise, the Christian renewal consisted in the adoption of this Jewish thought and the use of it in the struggle for religious supremacy.<sup>153</sup>

As a result, ancient Christianity was the most suitable religion for the satisfaction of moral self-complacency and resentment. The blessed were no longer divided from the doomed solely by moral conduct - it was now also of crucial importance to hold the correct views on the divine. This gave Christianity the powerful psychological attraction inherent in every intolerant élitist system of thought.

<sup>150</sup> TAT., *Or.*, 29 and AUG., *De Cat.Rud.*, 5, 9.

<sup>151</sup> JUST., 2 *Apol.*, IX, 1; ORIG., *C.C.*, VIII, 48 and CLEMENT, *Strom.*, 7, 69, 8 - see also MACMULLEN (1983), p.181 and 185.

<sup>152</sup> *Passio SS Ptol. et Luc.*, 2 in MACMULLEN, *ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> NILSSON, p.558.

And we should perhaps not overestimate the existing scepticism. Pagan Platonists did not believe in punishments after death and Origen did not believe that the punishments in his religion should be taken literally but all were convinced of the usefulness of eternal punishments in impelling the *simpliciores* to lead a virtuous life.<sup>154</sup>

And once we have established a certain willing suspension of disbelief amongst the lower classes, Christian views might prove more attractive after all, for they were more extreme. In the words of Dodds: "*Christianity wielded both a bigger stick and a juicier carrot.*"<sup>155</sup> What Christians claimed was actually that they had overcome death: they would live for ever. Hence their burial-places were called κοιμητήρια - sleeping or resting places.<sup>156</sup> This eternal life would be experienced *body and soul* and, as Dodds remarked, "*human egotism will be satisfied with nothing less than the permanence of the ego, and of this the resurrection of the body appeared to give a firmer assurance than anything the Platonists could promise.*"<sup>157</sup> Accordingly, body and soul punishments awaited the doomed: they would burn in eternal flames and worms would gnaw their way all through their ageless bodies.<sup>158</sup>

All this because you had not acknowledged the Christian god, or not acknowledged Him as the sole God, or not acknowledged Him as the sole God in the right way.

But the most important thing about the Christian views on the hereafter was perhaps that the Christians provided proof: prophecies from age-old writings and living witnesses or recent accounts of the central miracle, Jesus' resurrection from the dead.<sup>159</sup> This historical aspect of the Christian religion and its possible importance for the conversion of the Roman world is what we will deal with next.

<sup>154</sup> LANE FOX, p.97 (Platonists - other refs. on p.95) and ORIGEN, C.C., V, 16.

<sup>155</sup> DODDS (1965), p.135.

<sup>156</sup> BARTELINK, p.176.

<sup>157</sup> DODDS (1965), p.130, n.1 - same idea in MACMULLEN (1981), p.56-57.

<sup>158</sup> Fine examples in HILLGARTH, p.15.

<sup>159</sup> BARDY, p.145.

### 3.1.5. *Christianity as a historical religion*

By calling Christianity a historical religion we can mean two things. The first relevant aspect is that Christianity adopted the Jewish interpretation of history as an unfolding of the divine providence. In this sense, the success of Christianity was also the success of a linear, teleological view on history to the detriment of the Greco-Roman cyclic concept.<sup>160</sup> In the second sense of the word, Christianity surpassed Judaism. Christianity had a historical founder, who was explicitly situated in human history, even in recent historical times. His birth, teachings, death and resurrection took place in the reigns of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius and until the end of the first century, the ancient Church could produce living witnesses who claimed to have seen or spoken to the Saviour.

The anti-Christian polemics never denied the historical existence of Jesus<sup>161</sup> and, as a result, a lot of modern scholars have seen this historical character of Christianity as the most important improvement on the pagan salvation cults and, therefore as a major, even the major reason for its ultimate success.<sup>162</sup>

The pagan gods were encumbered with a mythology which was either positively offensive to people or at least in need of the defence of allegory.<sup>163</sup> The death and rebirth of Attis or Osiris could be seen as an allegory for the eternal return in nature. This return could be applied to human life through the idea of the *συνπάθεια τῶν ὅλων*. The mysteries of the pagan gods were based on an *imitatio* of their sufferings and death and on the presumption that the initiate would also partake in the god's triumph over death. But there is no explicit reassurance that their chthonic death and resurrection had a cosmic redeeming value. These gods did not die with the purpose of giving life to humanity. Christ did.<sup>164</sup>

The unique personality of the historical founder is sometimes seen as another important aspect. To quote Angus: "*Christianity*

<sup>160</sup> MESLIN (1970), p.186.

<sup>161</sup> JOLY (1979), p.25.

<sup>162</sup> E.g. NOCK (1928), p.102; BARDY, p.145; SIMON (1972), p.298; JOLY (1979), p.25 and see below for NILSSON e.a.

<sup>163</sup> NOCK, *ibid.* and NILSSON, p.710.

<sup>164</sup> SIMON (1972), p.103-105.



also had the unique advantage over all its competitors (...) in having an historic Person as Founder, whose Person was greater than his Teachings. Herein lay its greatest originality and the main secret of its success." <sup>165</sup> And Latourette organized his discussion of a few possible reasons for the Christian success in such a way that he could make the unique personality of Jesus and "*the vast release of energy, unequalled in the history of the race*" <sup>166</sup> the fundamental reason. For only Jesus' uniqueness can explain the Christian inclusiveness, its exclusiveness, its organization, charity, etc.

Nock has thoroughly criticized this view. He believed "*this idea to be the product of nineteenth-century idealism and humanitarianism. In early Christian literature (...) all the emphasis is on the superhuman qualities of Jesus (...) and not on his winning humanity. The personal attractiveness of Jesus had done much to gather the first disciples, though even then the impression of power was probably more important than the impression of love...*" <sup>167</sup> E.R.Dodds could only agree, and he ascribed the unimportant role played by Jesus' human qualities and human sufferings in the Christian propaganda to the influence of pagan criticism on incarnation and on Jesus' moral qualities themselves. <sup>168</sup>

Gager adopts a more shaded view: can it be a coincidence that the three major world religions (Buddhism, Islam and Christianity) all have a historical and inspired founder? According to the theories of C.G. Jung it is precisely the blending of a unique human personality with an indeterminable divine nature which proves most attractive. <sup>169</sup>

Nevertheless, "*the very unsteady focus on the role of Jesus*" <sup>170</sup> remains a striking aspect of early Christian literature. And the same can be said about the Christianity of that well-known fourth-century convert, Constantine.

<sup>165</sup> ANGUS, p.309.

<sup>166</sup> LATOURETTE, p.167-168.

<sup>167</sup> NOCK (1933), p.210.

<sup>168</sup> DODDS (1965), p.119.

<sup>169</sup> GAGER, p.141.

<sup>170</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.21 (see also 135, n.15).

John Ferguson has tried to give a few arguments in favour. The unique personality of Jesus is a major factor but the central role of Christ is not stressed by the apologists "*because it was taken for granted: no need to repeat in the second century what was in the Gospels. That the person of Christ was central is seen in the critiques of Celsus and Porphyry, in the exaltation of Apollonius by Philostratos and Hiërocles as a counterblast and in the heroic writings of Polycarp.*"<sup>171</sup>

His first argument reads as an *ad hoc* and can not possibly be verified. His second argument, the central role of Jesus in the critiques of Celsus and Porphyry, should be connected with Dodds' explanation of the virtual absence of Jesus in early Christian literature, namely embarrassment caused by their criticism. In this case, the positive and the negative argument disprove one another.

That Apollonius' exaltation was meant "*as a counterblast*" can also be doubted. It is true that Christ is often compared with pagan θεῶι ἀνδρες but the purpose of these comparisons was to degrade Jesus. The purpose was not to deprive Christianity of its unique advantage by offering pagan substitutes. It was to prove that Christ had been nothing more than just another Apollonius, probably even less, therefore certainly not a god.<sup>172</sup>

The history of Christian heresies and the first councils reveal the problems Christians had with this aspect of their religion. The central role of Christ in the early Christian art, in the services or in the thoughts of Polycarp cannot be contested but do these facts point to a central role of Jesus in the process of conversion? Christ is of course the central figure in the Gospels, but we do not know which role the Gospels played in attracting new members. "*After conversion*", Gager wrote, "*the Christ-symbol must have touched religious sensibilities in many ways that we can no longer measure. But to assert that it was the major cause of Christianity's success is to claim more than the available evidence will allow.*"<sup>173</sup>

But let us return to the contrast between the historical Jesus and the mythological pagan Saviours. No man ever witnessed the tauroctony or the rebirth of Osiris - all this happened in a misty,

<sup>171</sup> FERGUSON (1970), p.126.

<sup>172</sup> LABRIOLLE, p.9, 173-174 and 309 - but see e.g. Hiërocles in LACT., *Div.Inst.*, V, II, 12 ff.

<sup>173</sup> GAGER, p.142 - see also p.141.

mythological past. In contrast, Jesus had lived in Palestine in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius and the Gospels explicitly state that the resurrected Christ was seen or even touched by several people. As Marcel Simon remarked: to us the advantage is clear.<sup>174</sup> But was it so clear in Late Antiquity?

As is said earlier, the pagan polemics never denied the historical existence of Jesus - for his life in the early Empire caused two major problems. If Christ was sent down to show man the sole road to salvation, then why did he come so late? Why were entire generations of righteous people denied the very possibility of salvation?<sup>175</sup> And, secondly, in the Late Antique mind the notions true and valuable were insolubly intertwined with the notions old and traditional. So in this respect too, Christ had come too late.<sup>176</sup>

In refuting these two objections, Christianity remained within the boundaries of ancient thought. The Christians started to prove that their religion was not the most recent but the oldest and therefore the only true religion. This the Christians tried to accomplish by simply taking over the Jewish Old Testament and by proving both that it was older than the earliest Greek writings and that it was one long prophecy of Christianity.<sup>177</sup> The other problem was of course solved by the entire *praeparatio*-concept. The efficiency of these two refutations is illustrated by Tatian's conversion. Tatian wrote that he came to his faith (partly) through "*the reliable prophecies in those 'barbaric' writings, older than the doctrines of the Greeks.*"<sup>178</sup>

However, there is still another problem. Jahweh is a historical god but what did he ever accomplish for his Chosen People and what have the Christians gained by honouring him? Celsus answered his own question: the Jews got the Diaspora and extinction through persecution is what awaits the Christians.<sup>179</sup> Julian asked the same ironic question: what did Jews or Christians ever

<sup>174</sup> SIMON (1972), p.298.

<sup>175</sup> ORIG., C.C., IV, 7 and PORPH., fr.81 and 82 - also DE LABRIOLLE, p.274 and NESTLE, p.87.

<sup>176</sup> LATOURETTE, p.131 and GAGER, p.127.

<sup>177</sup> HARNACK, p.289-299 and HINSON, p.263-264.

<sup>178</sup> TAT., *Or.*, 29.

<sup>179</sup> ORIG., C.C., VIII, 69 - see also VIII, 39 and V, 41 After the conversion of Constantine Christianity could become a success-religion.

accomplish? The sciences and the arts are dominated by Egyptians, Chaldeans or Greeks and the Romans attained hitherto unknown heights of political power and legal thought. How did the god of the Christians or the Jews show his power?<sup>180</sup>

As a result, we may wonder whether it would not be more relevant to look at the efficiency and reality attributed to the pagan gods. The stories about Isis or Jupiter were set in the misty times of myth but, here and now, Isis made apparitions, Asclepius did healings and Jupiter had made Rome the super-power that it was. In this respect, the pagan gods were just as historical as Jahweh or Jesus. Perhaps even more.

### 3.1.6. *The adoption and adaptation of pagan religious forms*

The end of the nineteenth and the first half of this century produced an enormous amount of studies concerning the influence of the pagan mysteries on Christianity.<sup>181</sup> This discussion can be traced back to Christian antiquity itself: Christian apologists explained possible parallels as demonic trickery aimed at keeping people from the true faith, and pagan polemics ridiculed the Christian claims on originality by arguing that this "new" religion was nothing more than age-old yet misunderstood and misformulated paganism.<sup>182</sup>

Given the immense literature on this subject, we are forced to limit our treatment to a few general remarks and nuances. To start with, recent research has re-emphasized the Jewish origins of Christianity and at the same time it has stressed the important Greek influence both on diaspora- and on Palestinian Judaism.<sup>183</sup> It is nowadays generally accepted that Christianity cannot be derived from either the totality of the pagan mysteries or from one cult in particular. Possible resemblances lose their importance compared with fundamental differences such as Christian exclusiveness or the historical and moral character of this religion.<sup>184</sup> Words or cult-practices adopted from the pagan mysteries, were adapted to and incorporated in the new Christian context. The active research on

<sup>180</sup> JUL., *Contra Gal.*, 176A - 194D.

<sup>181</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.448 ff. and HINSON, p.179 give refs.

<sup>182</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.118-119 and 448-454.

<sup>183</sup> FERGUSON, p.222-223 and HINSON, p.179.

<sup>184</sup> BARTELINK, p.80.

this subject had at least this one result that over the years a few methodological restrictions were formulated. Caution seems to be the key-word here.<sup>185</sup>

Nevertheless, Christianity did adopt a few aspects of Greco-Roman paganism with the clear purpose of facilitating the conversion of pagans or, in other cases, with the purpose of limiting the attractiveness of paganism to Christians.

The cults of the martyrs have been interpreted in this way. Scholars as Lucius and Anrich used to think that these Christian cults were developed as deliberate substitutes for the pagan cults of gods and half-gods. But nowadays a consensus has been reached to ascribe their development to internal ecclesiastical factors.<sup>186</sup>

However, this does not exclude their deliberate use as substitutes after they had come into being. For there is explicit evidence that well-known church-leaders did exactly that. Gregory of Nyssa ascribed these tactics to Gregory the Wonderworker<sup>187</sup> and, later, Gregory the Great would tell his missionaries to turn the pagan temples into Christian places of worship by replacing the idols by relics. The pagans could even go on making sacrifices but only if they were made in honour of the Christian god, on a martyr's birthday or on the occasion of the consecration of a church. "*If we allow them a few external pleasures*", Gregory explained, "*they will taste the internal joys easier.*"<sup>188</sup>

This is completely in accordance with what we know of ancient paganism. The pagan cults had an important social function: for most people there was "*no formal social life (...) that was entirely secular*"<sup>189</sup> so religious festivities were often the only festivities there were. But we should avoid to look at these pagan forms of worship from a Christian, moralizing point of view: there are no objective reasons to call fasting more religious than heavy drinking in honour of a god. The importance of pagan festivities does not point to a moral crisis in the ancient world or to a declining religious feeling. In adopting this view we would identify with the

<sup>185</sup> See DE LABRIOLLE, p.453-454 and add BARTELINK, p.81.

<sup>186</sup> SIMON (1972), p.331 and BARTELINK, p.78 (with refs. for Anrich etc.).

<sup>187</sup> *Vita Greg. Thaum.*, PG, 46, 893 ff. - see BARDY, 292.

<sup>188</sup> GREG. MAGN., *Ep.*, XI, 56.

<sup>189</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.40.

Christian position too much.<sup>190</sup> On the other hand, the participants of banquets and festivals should not be idealized. For a lot of them the heavy drinking might well have been more important than the religious context. But in any case, Christianity had to offer an alternative for this entertainment-aspect of ancient paganism.

Naturally, festivities were not the only aspect of ancient paganism in need of a substitute. Certain age-old rites proved too strong and were incorporated in local Christianity. Frank Trombley has given us some fine examples of this *Ritenchristianisierung* in his article on paganism in the Greek world at the end of antiquity. Christian monks often took over some of the functions of the rustic shaman and thus passed on pre-Christian and even pre-Greek customs in an only slightly christianized form.<sup>191</sup>

Also, Christianity incorporated aspects and functions of Greco-Roman gods by projecting them on Christian figures. Maria took over the myrionymical aspect of Isis and was venerated as Queen of Heaven, *Stella Maris*, etc. From Cybele she took over the title *Theotokos*. Saint Dionysius became the inventor of wine,... Our list could be continued with several other examples.<sup>192</sup>

Christianity also took over very popular pagan festivals. The most telling example is undoubtedly the adoption of 25 December for the birth of Christ. The early Christians did not celebrate Jesus' birthday but in Egypt and in the East this custom gradually became connected with a New Year festival on 6 January. But 25 December was the winter solstice and the nativity of the Sun. It was also the birthday of Mithras and consequently the date of a very popular pagan festival. Popular with Christians as well and a Syrian writer tells us explicitly that it was this popularity that made the church-leaders decide to give 25 December a new, Christian meaning.<sup>193</sup>

Our limited space does not permit us to give any further examples but we hope that this short impression has made S.J. Case's general conclusion understandable. According to this scholar

<sup>190</sup> MACMULLEN (1985) p.79 - other examples: pp.76-80.

<sup>191</sup> TROMBLEY, p.337-341.

<sup>192</sup> See for these and other examples: NESTLE, p.100 or FERGUSON (1970), p.241-242.

<sup>193</sup> FERGUSON (1970), p.238-239.

*“Christianity’s hope of final victory was to be realized in the last analysis (...) through a gradual process of growth by which the Christian movement developed more adequately its own capacity to duplicate those features of the rival (...) cults that still had greatest survival value for satisfying the desires of the populace.”*<sup>194</sup> And Case is supported in this view by, amongst others, Harnack, Bonner, Joly and Lane Fox.<sup>195</sup>

### 3.2. Social and Economic Reasons

#### 3.2.1. *The inclusiveness*

In Gal. 3,28 Paul wrote that the distinctions between Jew or Pagan, slave or free man, man and woman had disappeared: all were one in the person of Jesus Christ. Christianity wanted to be a universal religion and it pursued this goal by remaining faithful to these inclusive words of the Apostle.

First of all: due to its early antagonism with Judaism, Christianity was no longer bound by any national or ethnical ties. Converts to Judaism practically had to become Jews first and even the oriental cults remained to some degree tainted by their origins, but Christianity had become homeless and therefore truly universal.<sup>196</sup>

Secondly, Christianity wasn’t hindered by any geographical ties. Most pagan gods were closely connected with a specific locality and only a minority of the pantheon won supra-local renown. But even then some cults (e.g. the Eleusinian mysteries) remained limited to their own irreplaceable site. As Robert Turcan has pointed out for the oriental cults: in a mobile Roman Empire the importance of transportable, mobile, and almighty gods appears obvious.<sup>197</sup>

The Eleusinian example brings us to yet another aspect of the Christian inclusiveness: Nero and even Apollonius of Tyana are said to have been refused as initiates in the mysteries of Demeter

<sup>194</sup> CASE, p.239-240 - Case is actually only talking about the oriental religions.

<sup>195</sup> HARNACK, p.309; BONNER, p.350; JOLY (1979), p.26 and LANE FOX, p.676.

<sup>196</sup> NOCK (1928), p.102; NILSSON, p.701 and WALSH, p.17. Although for some pagans breaking up with the ancestral traditions (i.e. Judaism) meant losing all rights of existence. See DE LABRIOLLE, p.405.

<sup>197</sup> TURCAN (1989), p.24.

and Persephone. Classical paganism was in fact meant for the healthy and the righteous and not for the sinners and the sick.<sup>198</sup> Of course, in our period this situation had changed to such an extent that Ramsay MacMullen could write in his "*Paganism in the Roman Empire*" that "*the chief business of religion (...) was to make the sick well.*"<sup>199</sup> But on the moral side there remained (theoretically?) a gap for Christianity to fill. Since Jesus hadn't come to call the righteous but to call the sinners, the Christian communities were prepared to accept the latter if they tried to mend their ways.<sup>200</sup> Conversion to Christianity could therefore be experienced as a new start, as a moral rebirth. The best known example of this type of convert is of course the description Cyprian gave of his life before and after baptism.<sup>201</sup>

Furthermore, Christianity was open to men and women alike. It is clear that a universal religion can not afford to exclude (the female) half of the world-population as Mithraism did. Far from this, Christianity seems to have appealed especially to women so that in the third century women probably made up the majority in a lot of churches.<sup>202</sup> The importance of women for the spread of Christianity will be dealt with later on.<sup>203</sup> What retains our interest here, are the recent explanations for this extraordinary success. In 1984, Ramsay MacMullen cited "*the ardent credulity*" of ancient women - a "fact" acknowledged both by pagan and Christian (male) contemporaries. A hardly surprising fact, MacMullen argues, since "*women, except at the absolute top of society, did in fact enjoy far less access to advanced education and wide reading than men, and women, except at the very bottom of society, had far less liberty to stir about in the towns and gain a wide*

<sup>198</sup> FERGUSON, p.100 for Eleusis and HARNACK, p.132 for the general statement.

<sup>199</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.49 - a somewhat exaggerated view according to LANE FOX, p.694.

<sup>200</sup> Mc. 2, 18, Lc. 5, 32. According to Celsus (OR., C.C., III, 59) and Porphyry (fr.88) the Christians actually preferred crooks.

<sup>201</sup> CYPR., *Ad Donatum* 1-4 and 14-15. On this see FINK-DENDORFER, p.37-46 and p.88-107 but also the critical remarks by MACMULLEN (1984), p.36: how many in the Roman Empire felt like Cyprian and is what he describes really the reason for his conversion or only the effect?

<sup>202</sup> HARNACK, p.589-611 and LANE FOX, p.310.

<sup>203</sup> See below n.299 and 370.



*experience than men. So their capacity for critical discrimination would be less well developed.*"<sup>204</sup>

Two years later, Robin Lane Fox noted the same contemporary stereotype of women as credulous and irrational beings. He also connects the numerical importance of women with the special zeal some Christian "missionaries" appeared to have for the conversion of women: for rich widows and virgins could be expected to leave at least some of their money to the Church or to their spiritual benefactor.<sup>205</sup> But of course this zeal doesn't explain the success so here also irrational credulity seems to be the only explanation.

Two problems arise however: first, anyone who equates irrational credulity with a special aptness to Christianity should prove first that the pagan cults stand for rationalism and critical sense and, secondly, they should explain why even rich women were converted although according to MacMullen their education got them close to the male capacity for critical discrimination.

Jan Bremmer has dealt with the conversion of rich women in a less stereotypical way. This scholar proposes three explanations: membership of a church gave rich women the possibility of gaining a bigger social influence by acting as financial patronesses, the Church enabled them to be heard and to participate in meaningful intellectual discussions and, thirdly, the Christian ascetism offered an alibi to escape the often pre-arranged marriages with a much older husband and an emotional control which was steadily increasing.<sup>206</sup> As to the old and the poor women, who were poorly appreciated in pagan society, the Church could offer them a sense of usefulness and of selfrespect. Finally, the Christian charity must have been very attractive to these women, but we will deal with that subject in our following chapter.<sup>207</sup>

The fifth aspect of the Christian inclusiveness was the absence of social and financial barriers: rich and poor could be initiated in the Christian "mystery".<sup>208</sup> Baptism was free: there were no

<sup>204</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.39.

<sup>205</sup> LANE FOX, p.309-310.

<sup>206</sup> BREMMER, p.41-42 (social), p.42-43 (intellectual) and p. 43-46 (sexual).

<sup>207</sup> BREMMER, p.46-47.

<sup>208</sup> This aspect is indeed mostly seen as an advantage over the pagan mysteries. We will deal with the costs of "ordinary" paganism in 3.2.3.

special initiation-clothes, no expensive sacrifices or fees for the priest.<sup>209</sup> Furthermore, once initiated, the community treated the poor as equals - they could become priest or even bishop. And although the social differences reappeared, limiting this equality to a more spiritual level, rich and poor at least remained within the same community.<sup>210</sup>

Our next aspect is closely connected to the social inclusiveness of ancient Christianity - namely its intellectual egalitarianism. Christianity pretended to be the true philosophy and generations of Christian intellectuals laboured to harmonize the Christian message with the contemporary philosophical systems - yet its message could also be explained in a few simple sentences. The Christian "philosophy" could be taught by people who didn't even know the alphabet (to paraphrase Justin) whereas the religious appeal neo-platonism could make was, by the philosophical jargon, limited to an intellectual élite.<sup>211</sup>

Finally, it should be noted that Christianity was not an ecstatic, extreme type of religion. Therefore it didn't have to face the psychological objections people might have against the self-mutilations of followers of the Dea Syria or the Magna Mater, or even against the bloody ritual of the taurobolium.<sup>212</sup>

Now one could raise the objection that this advantage was limited to one over (a few of) the oriental cults or even that most of the given arguments are still inspired by the old Christianity-versus-oriental cults-hypothesis. And indeed, it is true that the individual limitations of the pagan cults matter less once we realize that Christianity was up against the entire spectrum of paganism. Nevertheless, it remains striking that this single religion, this single, organized Church was able and willing to incorporate the entire social spectrum of the Roman Empire. Christianity was willing to accept everyone as spiritually equal before God and, not entirely unimportant, the Church was ready to do this without

<sup>209</sup> NOCK (1933), p.56-57 and MACMULLEN (1981), p.53.

<sup>210</sup> JOLY, p.24.

<sup>211</sup> JUSTIN, *I Apol.* 60 in GAGER, p.135. See also DODDS (1965), p.134 and LATOURETTE, p.164-165.

<sup>212</sup> ANGUS, p.257.

changing the real inequalities that existed between its members.<sup>213</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that a lot of scholars saw and still see the Christian inclusiveness not only as a *conditio sine qua non* but also as an important reason for the ultimate success of this new religion.<sup>214</sup>

### 3.2.2. *Charity*

The Christian ideal of charity was not new: "*there is no single moral aphorism recorded as spoken by Jesus which cannot be paralleled, and often verbally paralleled, in the rabbinic literature*" or in pagan (Egyptian, Greco-Roman,...) moral writings.<sup>215</sup> Nor were the Christian churches innovating in that they formed communities which were organised to put these ideals to work - for here we have the example of the synagogues.<sup>216</sup> But, as is shown above, Judaism started to fold back because of Christianity, so we can state that the new thing about the Christian ideal of charity was that it was realized by organised communities of an inclusive type.

We hardly need to describe this organisation or enumerate the beneficiaries of Christian charity.<sup>217</sup> What interests us here is the question raised by MacMullen whether this charity was known to the pagan outsider, hence, whether it could have been a reason for his conversion.<sup>218</sup> MacMullen of course answered "no" to these questions but there are a couple of reasons to question his doubts.

Lucian ridiculed the Christian practice of visiting and supporting imprisoned fellow-believers, the pagan in Minucius Felix' *Octavius* reproached the Christians for loving each other almost before knowing each other and Tertullian tells us about pagans who shouted "*Look how they love each other!*" while watching

<sup>213</sup> JOLY, p.24 and LANE FOX, p.325.

<sup>214</sup> Apart from the already cited Angus, Dodds, Gager, Joly, Lane Fox, Latourette and Nock see also ALFÖLDI (1948), p. 12-13, BROWN (1971), p.66 or SIMON (1972), p.297.

<sup>215</sup> FULLER, p.120 for the quotation and DODDS (1965), p.136 and VEYNE, p.45.

<sup>216</sup> GAGER, p.128-129 and 136.

<sup>217</sup> See e.g. HARNACK, p.170-220.

<sup>218</sup> MACMULLEN (1981), p.206; (1983), p.174 and 184 and (1984), p.21.

the public execution of Christians.<sup>219</sup> Three examples of pagans who were obviously not impressed but who did at least know of the Christian charity practice.

It is indeed hard to believe that certain activities of the ancient churches remained unnoticed. For instance, we know of two cases where Christian communities raised money to free fellow-believers (of another church) taken hostage by invading barbarians.<sup>220</sup> The contrast with the way Roman lawyers treated these cases led Peter Brown to say that "*to be a Christian in 250 brought more protection from one's fellows than to be a civis romanus.*"<sup>221</sup> The Christians were also active during famines or epidemics by distributing bread, nursing the sick and burying the dead. And here we have an example of pagans drawing religious conclusions out of what they saw of Christianity: Eusebius tells us that during a famine and pestilence under Maximin the heathen sung the praises of Christian charity "*and all men glorified the God of the Christians and owned that they alone were pious and truly religious.*"<sup>222</sup> But the most explicite and the best known "*loci*" for conversion through charity come from none other than the emperor Julian himself: "*Why do we not observe that it is their benevolence to strangers, their care for the graves of the dead and the pretended holiness of their lives that have done most to increase atheism? (...) For it is disgraceful that, when no Jew ever has to beg, and the impious Galileans support not only their own poor but ours as well, all men can see that our people lack aid from us.*"<sup>223</sup>

This kind of evidence has brought about that the Christian charity is almost unanimously regarded as one of the major, sometimes even as the major cause for the victory of Christianity in the ancient world. It is also one of the rare explanatory factors

<sup>219</sup> LUC., *Peregr.*, 12-13; MIN.FELIX, *Oct.*, IX, 2 and TERT., *Apol.* 39, 7.

<sup>220</sup> CYPR., *Ep.* 62 and BASIL., *Ep.* 70, 35-43.

<sup>221</sup> BROWN (1971), p.76.

<sup>222</sup> EUS., *H.E.*, IX, 8, 11-14 (transl. G.A.Williamson) - see also *H.E.*, VII, 12, 7-10 and CYPR., *De Mort.*, 16 or PONTIUS, *Vita Cypr.*, 9 ff.

<sup>223</sup> JUL., *Ep.* 22 (84a - Bidez) - transl. Loeb. See also *Misopogon* 363 A.

whose appreciation seems to be independent from *Zeitgeist* or ideology.<sup>224</sup>

The more enthusiastic statements should however be treated with caution. For instance, was the pagan φιλανθρωπία really never more than a theoretical ideal, as some Christian authors would like to have us believe? Lane Fox has collected evidence for "*gifts and contributions from the pagan rich to their lesser contemporaries*". We know of individuals who gave money for burial, education or even dowries to people in need, who made donations to their fellow-citizens at festivals or after an earthquake. Cities distributed grain to their class of "grain-recievers". Apparently, the beggars in and around temples and sanctuaries didn't always meet with pagan heartlessness and to complete the picture we can also mention the practical ethics of solidarity Paul Veyne has found to have been at work among the lower classes of the Roman Empire.<sup>225</sup> However, there remain a few differences between pagan φιλανθρωπία and Christian charity: φιλανθρωπία was not religiously motivated, it remained intertwined with φιλοτιμία and love of the home town. Thus the beneficiaries were different - most donations were made to male citizens only, women and non-citizens generally recieved nothing. Thirdly, Christian charity was organised on a more permanent basis and it combined the generosity of the rich with the spirit of sacrifice of the less well endowed.<sup>226</sup>

But, to pick up our line of thought, pagan heartlessness could be exaggerated - and so could Christian charity: it would have been impossible for the ancient churches to set up a system of social security for the proles of an entire city. The Church simply didn't have the means to do this: only after the conversion of Constantine and the large land owners did such a task become feasible.<sup>227</sup> On the other hand, the religious effect of charity should not be limited to the number of poor and widows who recieved material help from the churches for it is obvious that peo-

<sup>224</sup> ALAND, p.36; BAUS (1965), p.474; BROWN (1971), p.67; CASE, p.243; CHADWICK, p.56; DESCHNER (1968), p.211; DODDS (1965), p.136-137; GAGER, p.170; GRIMM, p.170; etc...

<sup>225</sup> LANE FOX, p.61-62 and 591; MACMULLEN (1981), p.37 and 42 (beggars) and VEYNE, p.44-50.

<sup>226</sup> LANE FOX, p.61 and 323.

<sup>227</sup> LANE FOX, p.591.

ple who were not in need of this help could just as well become impressed.

But we should push the question a little further: the early Church was not able to help everyone but would it have been prepared to do so? In other words: were charity and brotherly love the only aspects known to the pagan outsider? We do not believe so: intolerance and hatred formed just as well part of ancient Christianity and there is no reason to believe that this dark side of the new religion remained concealed from non-Christians. We have seen that Lucian knew of and ridiculed the Christian practice of visiting fellow-believers but we should contrast this with what one group of Christians did to the imprisoned members of another group in Carthage, in 304: they set whips and scourges and armed men in front of the prison gates in order to prevent people from supplying food and drink to their "fellow-Christians" of a different persuasion. Ammianus Marcellinus has put this other aspect of Christianity into the following words: "*no wild beast is such an enemy to mankind as are most Christians in their deadly hate for one another.*"<sup>228</sup>

#### *Digression: the crisis of the third century*

The crisis of the third century influenced the christianization of the Roman Empire both in a negative and in a positive way. By the negative influence we mean, of course, the persecutions. Paganism explained disasters to be the expression of the gods' anger which could be seen as the result of the Christian atheism. On the level of the philosophy of history, the crisis could be seen as the *nadir* of the empire. But given their cyclic concept of history, the Romans believed in a *restitutio temporum*. "*The only thing that was necessary for this renaissance was the return to the right moral order (...), or as the persecutors of the Church demanded, (...) the return first of all to εὐσέβεια*".<sup>229</sup>

Oddly enough this negative influence is hardly ever mentioned: most authors see the crisis as a catalytic factor for the process of christianization. Three reasons are given: the never ending

<sup>228</sup> *Acta Mart. Saturn.* et al., 17 in MACMULLEN (1984), p. 92 and AMM.MARC., XII, 5, 4.

<sup>229</sup> ALFÖLDY (1974), p.105 and 108.

disasters shook the belief in the old gods; the Church, with its strong organisation and its charity, was better equipped to deal with the misery here and now and, thirdly, the Christian metaphysics were better sited to give consolation and hope in these dark hours.<sup>230</sup>

But these last two decades the appreciation of the crisis has changed: leading scholars have argued that the period has often been described "*with a false air of melodrama*". The period is protracted from the 240s to the 280s to be able to put everything together in one long list of never ending catastrophies.<sup>231</sup> Secondly, there is no geographical shading although not every region suffered equally. According to Lane Fox "*much of the map suffers more from obscurity than demonstrable gloom.*" Yet the regions that suffered most do not necessarily show the highest percentage of Christians and the most christianized provinces were often less affected.<sup>232</sup> Furthermore, the crisis-theory has led to the selection of disastrous events and the passing over of a considerable amount of evidence for social and religious continuity. The example of Egypt is quite interesting: the literary sources and the lack of inscriptions seemed to tell the usual story of social disintegration and general insecurity. But here we have papyri to complete the picture and the story they tell is one of continuity in urban life, religious festivals and games.<sup>233</sup> Still according to Lane Fox new inscriptions attesting the vitality of the traditional cults continue to be found in Syria and North-Africa as well. As a consequence arguments from silence have become more questionable.<sup>234</sup>

All this brings us back to the question whether the crisis of the third century hasn't been dramatized. Geza Alföldy has studied the contemporary appreciations of the crisis and did indeed find a widespread pessimism concerning the future of the Roman Empire round the middle of the century. Yet, with the reign of Gallienus Roman society regained its confidence and optimism

<sup>230</sup> Cfr. 3.1.1. and ELTESTER, p.9.

<sup>231</sup> BROWN (1978), p.2 (quoted) and LANE FOX, p.577.

<sup>232</sup> LANE FOX, p.577-578 for the quotation and p.577 for the example of North-African towns.

<sup>233</sup> ID., p.578 ff.

<sup>234</sup> ID., p.581.

and on the whole Alföldy concluded that people in the third century were astonishingly less pessimistic than they might have been expected.<sup>235</sup> In 1978 Peter Brown wrote that he had "*long been dissatisfied with the idea of a general "crisis" of the third century as a passe-partout explanation for the emergence of the distinctive features of Late Antique religion.*" Partly because he does not believe that is the way people change their religion but also because he is not fully convinced by the traditional picture of the third-century world.<sup>236</sup> The majority of the population consisted of subsistence farmers who were "*well cushioned against the effects of two generations of political instability*" and the consequences of the inflation could be avoided by returning to a trade-economy.<sup>237</sup> But what is most important, what happened on the frontiers had little or no impact on daily life in the heart of the Empire, the towns around the Mediterranean. And clearly it was in these towns that the most important growth of the new religion took place.<sup>238</sup> We should therefore think about reassessing the value of the third century crisis as an explanatory factor for the christianization of the Roman Empire and look for explanations in the less dramatic daily life of the third century or in the less dramatic fourth century.

### 3.2.3. *Christianity as a cheaper alternative*

It has been said that one of the reasons for the success of Christianity was simply that it was cheaper than ancient paganism. Not in the sense that one could get more out of it through charity but in the sense that one spent less on it.<sup>239</sup>

For the average pagan this financial advantage is thought to lie more specifically in Christianity's rejection of bloody sacrifice. However, this apparently sound economic analysis forgets that paganism too had known an evolution towards bloodless cult: the use of incense and candles, lamps and hymns is widely attested in

<sup>235</sup> ALFÖLDY (1974), p.94, 97 and 107.

<sup>236</sup> BROWN (1978), p.4-5.

<sup>237</sup> BROWN (1971), p.22 (quoted) and LANE FOX, p.578 (trade).

<sup>238</sup> BROWN (1971), p.24.

<sup>239</sup> DESCHNER (1968), p.211.



the texts and inscriptions of our period.<sup>240</sup> So Christianity wasn't the only alternative for someone who found bloody sacrifices too expensive. But was the bloodless piety really solely inspired by economic considerations? In other words: was bloody sacrifice really so expensive? If we think of cattle, the answer seems clear: this lay beyond the possibilities of the ordinary pagan. But no one expected him to sacrifice bulls and cows at every occasion. Pigs would do just as well and they were much cheaper, as were sheep (especially ewes) and poultry. Furthermore, a sacrifice was never wasted: the sacrificial meat was distributed among priests and participants. Sacrifices could be merry occasions, little parties with invitations sent to relatives and friends.<sup>241</sup> A pinch of incense or the "sacrifice" of a pure heart were no doubt still cheaper, and faster, but we are inclined to believe that someone who changes religion because of the price of a small sacrifice is past the need of religion altogether.

If we turn to rich pagans, we see that some of them continued to finance the pagan festivals and pay for elaborate sacrifices but that others preferred to spend their money on luxurious villas outside the towns or on games in circus and arena. So we can't say that money had become a problem, therefore religious meanness can not have been the reason. Peter Brown has suggested a more satisfactory explanation: this scholar has interpreted the growing disinterest in financing sacrifices as the growth of a new ceremonial of power that redirected the surplus from community-affirming (religious) ceremonies to the (secular) expression and exaltation of the power and the wealth of the individual *potentes*.<sup>242</sup> There were of course also rich pagans who stopped paying for sacrifices because they had been converted to Christianity but this only meant that they now spent their money on charity or helped to finance church buildings. Admittedly, all this must have been cheaper than financing sacrifices or temples, but are we really to

<sup>240</sup> Especially in Egyptian cults and the worship of Asclepius or the Most High God - LANE FOX, p.70-71.

<sup>241</sup> LANE FOX, p.71 for the costs and id., p.70 and MACMULLEN (1981), p.36 ff. for the meals.

<sup>242</sup> BROWN (1971), p.66-67; id. (1978), p.49-50 ("a new ceremonial of power") and LANE FOX, p.71-72.

believe that rich people based their choice of religion on some sort of profits and losses analysis?

This is indeed what S.J. Case wanted us to believe about the conversion of one particularly rich man: Constantine. In 1925 this scholar observed that "*the expense of maintaining the religious activities of the Roman Empire (...) could be considerably reduced by making Christianity the favored religion of the state.*" For "*Christianity was already a self-supporting institution, hence it would require much less financial outlay on the part of the state to come to terms with this already prosperous cult.*"<sup>243</sup>

Now, as far as we know, it is true that Constantine derived the gold for his famous *solidus* principally from confiscations in pagan temples,<sup>244</sup> but this is about as far as he wanted to go. Constantine remained *pontifex maximus* until the end of his life and there is no evidence that he ever stopped subsidizing the pagan cults.<sup>245</sup> On the other hand, Constantine started to spend huge sums of money on Christianity. First of all, he returned Church-property that had been confiscated during the last persecutions, he paid for the construction of several grand basilica's, he donated money and estates, supported the Christian charity and granted the Christian clergy several social and financial privileges. The amount of money needed to provide Christianity with suitable places of worship in the major towns of the Empire must have been enormous.<sup>246</sup> This alone would have been enough to refute Case but if we put all the elements together, the theory of Christianity as a cheaper alternative becomes very unlikely indeed.

### 3.2.4. *Christianity as a religion of protest*

Marxist writings often depict early Christianity as a revolutionary movement of protest, as the religious expression of the class-struggle in the Roman Empire.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>243</sup> CASE, p.233 - see also ZOSIMUS, *Hist.Nova*, IV, 59 on Theodosius' motives for banning all pagan cults: namely that the money used by the state cult was needed for the army.

<sup>244</sup> BARNES (1981), p.247.

<sup>245</sup> See also 3.5.4. for the development under Constantine's successors.

<sup>246</sup> BARNES (1981), p.247-248 and MACMULLEN (1984), p.53.

<sup>247</sup> Numerous refs. in GRIMM, p.19-37.

To substantiate this view, three arguments frequently recur in this literature. The most obvious argument naturally consists of the passages in the Gospels that are directed against the rich.<sup>248</sup> But a closer reading of the Gospels suggests that the rejection of wealth in earliest Christianity was not inspired by an ideal of social-economic justice, but rather that this rejection should be seen in the purely religious context of Jesus' eschatological message. In other words, treasures on earth were rejected because they distracted from the true treasure in heaven.<sup>249</sup> Furthermore, we should not forget that the Gospels also contain a lot of parables in which the existence of the rich and the powerful is accepted without any further criticism, a criticism which is also absent from the accounts of Jesus' social intercourse with the rich.<sup>250</sup>

The second argument is of course the "communism" of the primitive Church as described in Acts 2,42-47 and 4,32-5,11. A strange kind of communism though, since the story of Ananias and Saffira explicitly tells us that private property remained allowed.<sup>251</sup> Selling your property to share the proceeds with the brethren was a very honourable thing but we can agree with Grimm's remark that this chiefly proves the exceptional character of such an act. Actually, there was no communal economic activity, only an occasional redistribution of the surplus to the brethren in need.<sup>252</sup> In addition to this the text in Acts contains certain echoes from the Old Testament and from Greek philosophical writings<sup>253</sup>, and we may conclude that the "communism" of the primitive Church is nothing more than a typical example of an anachronistic projection of modern thought into the past.

What remains is 1 Cor.1,26-28. Here Paul writes that there were "*not many learned, not many powerful and not many high-born*" among the first Christians in Corinth. This passage is widely used to prove the proletarian character of early Christian communities in general. Grimm rightly wonders how it has been possi-

<sup>248</sup> Mc.10, 23-25 (= Mt.19, 23-30 and Lc.18, 24-30); Lc.6, 20-21 and 24 and Lc.18, 24-30.

<sup>249</sup> GRIMM, p.38.

<sup>250</sup> ID., p.81 and 150-151.

<sup>251</sup> Acts, 5, 4.

<sup>252</sup> GRIMM, p.280.

<sup>253</sup> ID., p.285-286.

ble that so many scholars read "not many" as "none" and then applied this "fact" about the church of Corinth to all the other Christian communities.<sup>254</sup> However, recent scholarship has reached a new consensus on the social structure of early Christianity. The numerical majority of the poor and the lower middle-class is still acknowledged but a greater emphasis is laid on the presence of educated, wealthy and influential persons in the early Christian communities.<sup>255</sup>

However, too much has been written about Christianity as a religion of slaves and a movement of protest for us to leave it at these few remarks.

First of all: in the Roman Empire the dichotomy free-unfree had no absolute relevance for a person's social-economic position. In other words, we can not identify slaves with proletarians. Nor can we identify the Christians with the poor. But what is more important, Christianity was not interested in changing the social structure of society (if that kind of structural thought was possible at all) and it certainly never undertook any actions to obtain such a goal.<sup>256</sup>

Talking more specifically about slavery, our conclusions should be even more negative: not only did ancient Christianity do nothing to abolish slavery<sup>257</sup>, but it actually perpetuated this institution and developed new justifications.

In the Gospels slavery is never treated as a problem. Jesus probably saw slavery as an inescapable situation of which one had to bear the consequences.<sup>258</sup> With Paul the Christian thought on slavery becomes more explicit. His warning in Gal. 5,1 (that Christians should avoid being brought under the yoke of slavery since Christ has liberated them for freedom) was probably misunderstood and led to social troubles in the churches of Corinth and Ephesus. In these towns, Christian slaves demanded the

<sup>254</sup> *Id.*, p.33.

<sup>255</sup> SCROGGS, p.170-171 and GRIMM, p.303.

<sup>256</sup> GRIMM, 38-39.

<sup>257</sup> Although the nineteenth century knew catholic scholars as H. Wallon and P. Allard who argued that this was exactly what the ancient Church intended to do. (See KLEIN, p.278 for refs.)

<sup>258</sup> GRIMM, p.185. Perhaps we must also take into account that Jewish slaves were usually freed after six years of loyal service (KLEIN, p.262) and that a Galilean was not too often confronted with the problem of slavery.

right to buy themselves free<sup>259</sup> but Paul soon clarified his thoughts: each Christian was to stay in the social class he belonged to when he was called to the faith. In expectance of the Second Coming of Christ, the true freedom was the freedom of earthly ties and the true equality was the equality in Christ. As a consequence, slaves were asked to remain slaves and to serve their masters in the best possible way. Obedient Christian slaves increased the prestige of the Christian message and they were even told to remain patient towards unjust masters, because to suffer undeservedly was a Christian virtue.<sup>260</sup>

It is true that free men and slaves could join the Church and that they were treated as equals within the communities. It is also true that slaves could join the clergy and we even know of a few exceptional cases of slaves becoming bishop.<sup>261</sup> And, it is true that Christian masters were told to treat their slaves in a humane way, especially if their slaves were fellow-believers.<sup>262</sup> But nowhere do we find the obligation or even the exhortation to free one's slaves.<sup>263</sup> On the contrary, Christian slaves were told to remain loyal and to serve their lords as if it were the Lord himself. It was perfectly alright, in this case, to serve two lords. Slaves who asked to be bought free with community-money were taught the deeper meaning of servitude.<sup>264</sup>

*'Christians aimed to reform the heart, not the social order.'*<sup>265</sup> and this becomes all the more obvious once the Church recruited its bishops from the upper-classes. Individual bishops owned slaves and, from the fourth century onwards, the Church as an institution became one of the largest slave-owners.<sup>266</sup> Consequently, we see that all the great Christian writers (Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus,

<sup>259</sup> KLEIN, p.261-262.

<sup>260</sup> 1 Cor.7, 20-22; Eph., 6, 5-8; Kol.3, 22; 1 Tim.6, 1-2; Titus 2, 9-10 and see also 1 Peter 2, 18.

<sup>261</sup> HARNACK, p.193, n.2 gives one certain and two uncertain examples. But it did not take long before slaves had to be freed before they could become priest and even then they needed the permission of their former owner. KLEIN, p.264.

<sup>262</sup> ID., p.194.

<sup>263</sup> KLEIN, p.262.

<sup>264</sup> IGN., *Ad Polyc.*, 4, 3 and *Synod. Illib.*, can.5 - BAUS (1965) p.352.

<sup>265</sup> LANE FOX, p.299.

<sup>266</sup> GAUDEMET, p.565, THÉBERT, p.307 and MACMULLEN (1986), p.325.

John Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyrrihus, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine,...) wrote in favour of slavery and developed new justifications.<sup>267</sup> The only exception should be made for Gregory of Nyssa: in his view slavery was unnatural and in contradiction with the divine law, an obstacle even to the salvation of mankind.<sup>268</sup>

In Asia-Minor, Gregory's opinions had their popular counterpart in the monachal movement of Eustathius of Sebaste. This man preached, with considerable success, that slavery and marriage kept man from eternal life<sup>269</sup>. But his movement was actively countered both by the ecclesiastical and the imperial authorities. The *circumcelliones* of North Africa offer a few parallels: a lot of slaves joined their bands and they forced rich Roman slave-owners to free their slaves. And since the *circumcelliones* recruited mainly native Donatist Christians, this movement has been interpreted as a religiously motivated social revolution.<sup>270</sup>

W.H.C. Frend has also interpreted the rise of a native Christianity and the return to a pre-classical cultural past in Egypt, Syria and Phrygia as an outlet of social discontent.<sup>271</sup>

### 3.2.5. *Status inconsistency and substitute careers*

The term *status inconsistency* is used to describe "*the condition of people whose views of their status does not altogether agree with the status which others ascribe to them.*"<sup>272</sup> This concept has been applied by Wayne Meeks and others to the conversion of some specific social types and groups: "*independent women with moderate wealth, Jews with wealth in a pagan society, freedmen with skill and money, but stigmatized by origin, and so on.*"<sup>273</sup>

But a few years ago, the theory has been seriously criticized by Lane Fox.<sup>274</sup> He started with a general remark: Meeks underestimates the complex and unpredictable character of people's

<sup>267</sup> Survey in KLEIN, p.266-278 - add FREND (1984), p.569 for Jerome.

<sup>268</sup> KLEIN, p.267-268.

<sup>269</sup> ID., p.266.

<sup>270</sup> *ibid.* - see FREND, The Donatist Church, Oxford, 1971(2) esp. p.172-178.

<sup>271</sup> FREND (1965), p.460-462.

<sup>272</sup> LANE FOX, p.320.

<sup>273</sup> MEEKS, p.191 (quoted in LANE FOX, *ibid.*) - see also ID., p.733-734 for further refs.

<sup>274</sup> LANE FOX, p.320-321.

views on their own status. More importantly, the theory does not fit the facts: rich Jews could play an important role in the synagogues if they felt underrated by pagan society; rich and talented Christian freedmen are hardly attested and, in Roman society their former social status was less important than their newly acquired wealth and power. The ambitions of freedmen and their families were centred on more conventional functions such as city councillors or priests of the Imperial Cult. As for rich women, Jan Bremmer has used a similar line of thought to explain their conversion<sup>275</sup>, yet, according to Lane Fox, there is no reason why they would have turned to Christianity in particular. Pagan cults could offer the same social function and Christianity can hardly be seen as a women's liberation movement.

We could add that we have no explicit pieces evidence where this feeling is expressed, although status inconsistency implies a conscious awareness on the part of the convert. And even if some converts held these views on their status, it is still not clear why Christianity would have seemed the best solution to their problem.

Lane Fox has suggested another explanation for the conversion of this kind of people. The leaders of the ancient churches were appointed for life. This implied that rich benefactors could not easily become the official leaders of the Christian communities. Christianity stood opposed to the open pursuit of status and power and it claimed to sidestep the social inequalities in an equality of all people before God. As a result, Christianity could offer "*an alternative community and range of values to those who were disenchanted by the display of riches, by the harshness of the exercise of power and the progressive hardening of the gradations of rank and degree.*"<sup>276</sup> In other words, the Church could offer an alternative for the growing social exclusivity, and it would be a mistake to think that only the poor were disenchanted by this evolution.

However, from the third century onwards, the priesthood is beginning to be viewed as a career. Yvon Thébert has connected this development with the growth of a clear cleavage between the clergy and the laity, and a growing hierarchization of the clergy

<sup>275</sup> see n.206.

<sup>276</sup> *id.*, p.321.

itself.<sup>277</sup> Plus, we have the explicit testimony of Origen in his *Contra Celsum* (probably written in 248).<sup>278</sup>

But it is of course mainly in the fourth century that the Church offered interesting alternative careers. By then, the Christian clergy enjoyed numerous privileges and exemptions from duties. The Christian Church offered the possibility to escape the heavy financial burdens of the hereditary public functions and the episcopal dignity itself had become quite attractive from a financial point of view. Consequently, pagans frequently reproached the Christian clergy for their ambition and their greed<sup>279</sup>. But even Christians admitted this: according to Basil, ambition could even bring unbelievers to an ecclesiastical career.<sup>280</sup>

The laity soon recognized the advantages of a rich and powerful bishop. Rich bishops were expected to spend a part of their riches on charity and the beautification of the churches. A rich bishop also had interesting relations which could protect the community in possible conflicts with the imperial administration.<sup>281</sup>

As a result the ecclesiastical and the imperial administration increasingly recruited the same kind of people. In the case of Ambrose, the same man altogether.<sup>282</sup> By the end of the fourth century the Church had thus become a valuable alternative for a career in the state administration. Perhaps even a better alternative because, as Momigliano remarked, by this time "*there was more power to be found in the Church than in the State.*"<sup>283</sup>

### 3.2.6. *Social mobility in the later Roman empire*<sup>284</sup> *and the conversion of the Roman aristocracy*

*"The late Roman empire is often conceived as a rigid hierarchical society, in which every man was tied to the station of life to*

<sup>277</sup> THÉBERT, p.303.

<sup>278</sup> ORIG., C.C., III, 9.

<sup>279</sup> THÉBERT, p.304 and 337, n.59.

<sup>280</sup> DESCHNER (1986), p.181.

<sup>281</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.52-53.

<sup>282</sup> MARROU (1963), p.346.

<sup>283</sup> MOMIGLIANO, p.9.

<sup>284</sup> This theory has also been applied to the Church in the previous centuries (e.g. by MEEKS and JUDGE). Erroneously, according to LANE FOX (see id., p.319-320 and 733, n.17-19 for further discussion and refs).



*which he was born.*"<sup>285</sup> Yet according to A.H.M. Jones, the long series of laws on which this view is based, shows just the opposite picture. The empire of the second and the early third century was indeed a very static society but the crisis of the middle of the third century profoundly shook this stability. The high mortality caused by war, epidemics and famine, together with an increased demand for soldiers, caused an acute shortage of manpower. Diocletian's reorganization of the empire with its vast expansion of the administration only made this shortage even more acute. The increasing demand and the decreasing supply opened new social possibilities and created a more fluid society. In those classes of society where the government felt that the interests of the state were being threatened (e.g. agriculture or the mining industry) it responded with rigid legislative measures. But the constant re-enactment of the rules and the periodical concessions made, show that the government was not entirely successful.<sup>286</sup>

The most important change in society regarding our subject was probably the formation of a new imperial nobility of service. The old senatorial nobility remained, of course, immensely rich and highly prestigious but had been excluded from all military and most political power. The equestrian order now formed the political aristocracy of the empire. Constantine increased the number of posts reserved for senators but at the same time he began to grant senatorial rank to equites and personal protégés. In the East, a large number of new senators were enrolled to form a new senate for Constantinople. These new senators could be taken from the old provincial and municipal aristocracy, but a considerable number, including many who rose to the highest rank, came from lower social classes.<sup>287</sup> Men of the humblest origins (barbarians and Romans alike) could make their way to the top through the army, others rose by way of the bar, but the most spectacular promotion was undoubtedly the rise to power of palatine civil servants, in particular of imperial notaries. Simple clerks actually, of very humble status and whose only qualification had to be a knowledge of shorthand. Libanius has given us a list

<sup>285</sup> JONES (1963), p.34.

<sup>286</sup> ID., p.34-35.

<sup>287</sup> ID., p.26-27.

of men who had risen from stenographers to senators - it includes the names of several praetorian prefects and consuls.<sup>288</sup>

In the West we should make the distinction between Rome, the titular capital of the empire and the official seat of the senate, and the real, administrative centre: the imperial *comitatus*. Rome remained of course dominated by the old senatorial families but in the *comitatus* they were outnumbered by the "up and coming men" who had risen from humbler origins.<sup>289</sup>

This social mobility had a double impact on the christianization of the empire. Firstly, the new aristocracy originated from the lower middle-class and the city-proletariat - the social strata where Christianity had made its most important advance. Furthermore, these new senators found little or no difficulty in accepting the new faith of the emperors. Most of them had never enjoyed the rhetorical education that could "condition" someone against Christianity. They were not born in those old and renowned families who had for ages been leading the pagan cults and with which they had socially identified themselves. Nor did the new aristocracy have an *esprit de corps*: their promotion depended entirely on the favours of the emperor. So it might have been easier to convince them to conform to the religious wishes of the emperor as well.<sup>290</sup> In the fourth century, the great pagan families remained too powerful and prestigious to be passed over but for the ambitious "up and coming man" Christianity was an important asset for reaching the top. Or as Symmachus put it: "*Nunc aris deesse Romanos genus est ambiendi.*"<sup>291</sup>

Of course, not all upper-class converts were hypocritical opportunists. The conversion of the emperors had made Christianity respectable, given it the prestige of a court-religion. In the new senate of Constantinople Christians held the highest positions and even in the West, the position of the pagan Roman aristocracy was threatened by the new-comers in the *comitatus*. Christians thus set the tone of the whole and, as A.H.M. Jones concluded, "*the lesser members tended to follow their lead, and the fashion spread*

<sup>288</sup> LIBAN., *Or.*, XLII, 23-24 - JONES, p.27-29.

<sup>289</sup> *Id.*, p.29.

<sup>290</sup> *Id.*, p.36.

<sup>291</sup> SYMM., *Ep.*, I, 51 - see also the complaints of Libanius (*Peri ton hieron*, 30, 528) and Augustine (*De catech. rud.*, 27, 26.)

*in ever-widening circles through the lower ranks of the social order.*"<sup>292</sup>

Jones does not explain the eventual conversion of the Roman aristocracy. But for this we can turn to the work of Peter Brown.<sup>293</sup>

Brown refuses to see the pagan revival of the late fourth century as a projection on the religious level of the ancient tensions between the (pagan) Roman senate and the (now Christian) emperors. This theory sees the decline of Roman paganism as the direct consequence of their political defeat, and the history of this decline as a series of dramatic events such as the removal of the altar of Victory or the defeat of the usurper Eugenius in 394. This view can be easily refuted since the débâcle of the Frigidus did not bring about the social and political elimination of the pagan aristocracy. The Roman senate did not lose its prestige and the majority of the senators remained pagan.<sup>294</sup> The interventions of the emperors in the interests of Christianity might even be said to have halted the process of peaceful adaptation to the new official religion of the empire.<sup>295</sup>

Consequently, the christianization of the Roman aristocracy should be seen as a slow transformation caused by internal factors such as marriage and culture, and not as the brutal rejection of the past by an authoritarian régime.<sup>296</sup>

Considering the sources for the *Histoire des Moeurs* of the pagan aristocracy we get the impression that "*the history of the conversion of the Roman families is part of the history of the impact of an extreme "oriental" form of ascetism on the religious life of Rome.*"<sup>297</sup> Jerome's ascetic circle of aristocratic ladies springs to mind: their conversion was not only a conversion from paganism but also from "the world". Their Christianity involved the rejec-

<sup>292</sup> JONES (1963), p.36-37.

<sup>293</sup> See BROWN (1961) (paving of his 1972).

<sup>294</sup> BROWN, p.165-167 - although Ambrose wrote in 384 that the majority was Christian (*Ep.*XVII, 9-11). But Augustine (*Conf.*, VIII, 2, 3) says that the Roman nobility remained pagan. See also GEFFCKEN, p.296 and JONES (1963); p.31-32.

<sup>295</sup> ID., p.181.

<sup>296</sup> ID., p.164.

<sup>297</sup> ID., p.169.

tion of the social life of Rome, and could even lead to the abandonment of the City for the Holy Places or Egypt.<sup>298</sup>

Jerome's ascetic circle is also a fine example of the importance of women in the conversion of the pagan families. We have no idea of when or why these aristocratic ladies were converted to Christianity<sup>299</sup>, but the evidence clearly shows the existence of mixed marriages between a Christian wife and a pagan husband. Jerome was very optimistic about the religious evolution of these mixed marriages but despite his optimism, mere intermarriage remained an inconclusive means of christianization: in most cases the male branch of the family simply remained pagan, only the daughters became Christian.<sup>300</sup>

Therefore, ascetism and mixed marriages can not fully explain the eventual conversion of the Roman aristocracy. As an additional factor, Brown has suggested the evolution towards a respectable, aristocratic Christianity.<sup>301</sup> The pagan aristocracy of Rome saw itself as the *pars melior generis humani*, as the guarantee for the continuity of classical culture and the glorious past of the City.<sup>302</sup> If pagan senators were to accept the *tempora christiana*, a common ground had to be found in the classical culture of the age, and in an ideology that could secure the leading position of the Urbs. This common ground was eventually offered by the classically inspired Christian literature and art of the fourth and the fifth century, and by the ever louder papal claims on a privileged, leading position for the church of Rome.<sup>303</sup>

Lastly, we should mention that the christianization of the upper-classes of the Roman empire had a direct impact on the religion of the rest of the population.

The conversion of nobles added their personal prestige and social influence to the appeal of the Church. The lower classes tended to follow the social example of the rich, as is observed by

<sup>298</sup> IBID.

<sup>299</sup> ID., p. 173 - but see now Bremmer for a few suggestions.

<sup>300</sup> ID., p. 174-175.

<sup>301</sup> ID., p. 177.

<sup>302</sup> SYMM., *Ep. I*, 52 (quoted) and BROWN, p. 161.

<sup>303</sup> ID., p. 180-181.

Augustine, who quotes people saying things like "*If that nobleman were a Christian, nobody would remain a pagan.*"<sup>304</sup>

But the way the Christian nobility influenced the lower classes was not always marked by spontaneity. We have several examples of Church-leaders pressing rich Christians and especially large land-owners to put pressure on their slaves or tenant-farmers. As John Chrysostom asked them: "*Can you not offer examples and apply persuasion? Among your own people, bring persuasion by being open-handed and their ready defender, by your mildness, by flattery, by every means.*" Yet the methods proposed by Maximus of Turin sound somewhat less peaceful.<sup>305</sup>

### 3.3. Psychological Reasons

#### 3.3.1. *Exclusiveness and intolerance*

The Christian exclusiveness, a direct consequence of the revealed character of this new religion, was in absolute discord with the religious *Zeitgeist* of the Roman empire. There probably never was a more tolerant age than that in which Christianity appeared: eastern gods and western gods were honoured in one and the same sanctuary, one god instructed his followers to build a temple for another god etc. Polytheism is in itself a tolerant type of religion, but the religious syncretism of the age had wiped out a lot of differences between the cults and made them acceptable to everyone.<sup>306</sup>

To Christianity none of this was acceptable: there was but one god and from his cup alone was one allowed to drink. There were of course the so-called *demi-chrétiens*, who drank from several cups, but we should not forget that we only know of their existence through the orthodox church-leaders who fought them.<sup>307</sup>

The exclusiveness played an important defensive role in the christianization of the Roman world. Were Christianity ever to become the dominant religion of the Roman empire, it had at

<sup>304</sup> AUG., *Enarr. in Psalm.*, LIV, 13, 3-7.

<sup>305</sup> Refs. and other examples in MACMULLEN (1984), p. 147-148, n.15 and 16.

<sup>306</sup> ANGUS, p.277-278; MACMULLEN (1981), p.93 and TURCAN (1989), p. 19.

<sup>307</sup> GUIGNEBERT, p.75 ff.

least to remain a clear, independent alternative. A place in the religious amalgam called Hellenistic syncretism would have neutralized the new religion.<sup>308</sup> There is a certain amount of evidence that pagans in the first half of the third century were willing to absorb Christianity in the pantheon, or accord Christ a place among the great sages.<sup>309</sup> But Christianity refused all compromises and each explicit form of syncretism.

According to E.R.Dodds the Christian exclusiveness also formed an important positive factor for the success of this religion: "...its refusal to concede any value to alternative forms of worship (...) was in the circumstances of the time a source of strength. (...) There were too many cults, too many mysteries, too many philosophies of life to choose from: you could pile one religious assurance on another, yet not feel safe. Christianity made a clean sweep: (...) one choice, one irrevocable choice and the road to salvation was clear. Pagan critics might mock at Christian intolerance, but in an age of anxiety any "totalist" creed exerts a powerful attraction." <sup>310</sup>

The period Dodds described as an age of anxiety is roughly the one between the accession of Marcus Aurelius and the conversion of Constantine. In calling it an age of anxiety, Dodds had in mind "*both its material and its moral insecurity*".<sup>311</sup> It was an "*age of barbarian invasions, bloody civil wars, recurrent epidemics, galloping inflation and extreme personal insecurity*".<sup>312</sup> But the material crisis of the third century is not seen as the cause for its moral and intellectual counterpart. It certainly encouraged the new mentality, but traces of anxiety already appear in the prosperous Antonine period.<sup>313</sup> It is of course the psychological anxiety that interests us most. Dodds' diagnosis reads as follows: a depreciation of the material world, a hostile attitude towards the own body, resentment against the ego, a death-wish, personal neurosis,

<sup>308</sup> See already GIBBON, Ch.XV, p.17 and ANGUS, p.281.

<sup>309</sup> NOCK (1933), p.111; DODDS (1965), p.107-108 and LANE FOX, p.713, n.36.

<sup>310</sup> DODDS (1965), p.133-134.

<sup>311</sup> ID., p.3.

<sup>312</sup> ID., p.3-4.

<sup>313</sup> ID., p.4 and 36.

hypochondria, alienation,... In short: otherworldliness and a wave of pessimism.

This anxiety-theory has been very successful: well-known historians as Jacques Le Goff or Marcel Simon have adopted it in an unaltered form as a reason for the success of Christianity.<sup>314</sup> Yet criticism started fairly soon: Dodds rejected the labour-saving formula that "*misery and mysticism are related facts*" but he did not offer another explanation.<sup>315</sup> Criticism has grown louder in the eighties: there is always something artificial about chopping history into "periods" or "ages"<sup>316</sup> but "*to sum up a period of 150 years by a single emotion is to focus on a few individuals and to simplify even those few.*"<sup>317</sup> Lane Fox has pointed out that "*anxious individuals can be found in any age with a personal literature*" and according to Peter Brown there is more evidence for "*an age of anger*" than for an age of anxiety.<sup>318</sup>

Dodds had admitted the possibility of a continuance of the pre-anxiety mentality, but according to Lane Fox the evidence for optimism and a firm belief in the gods is too overwhelming to speak of a mere time-lag. Urban life was still dominated by the pagan processions and festivals: merry occasions that affected the life of the majority of the population, including most intellectuals, unlike the black thoughts of the anxious few. If we are to look for anxieties in this age, the major ones "*were not spiritual, but physical and geological, the plagues and earthquakes that beset whole cities, not a few individuals in their inner life.*"<sup>319</sup> Nor should the otherworldliness of these "few individuals" be exaggerated: Marcus Aurelius may have had his doubts about the meaning of life, but they never prevented him from being an energetic emperor.<sup>320</sup>

Dodds also proposed to explain the wave of ascetism as an introjection of hostile feelings against the world. This introjection could lead to self-reproaches, but in most cases the hostility was

<sup>314</sup> LE GOFF, p.574; SIMON, p.298 - see also JOLY (1979), p.25.

<sup>315</sup> BROWN (1968) = (1972), p.76.

<sup>316</sup> Admitted by Dodds himself: p.3.

<sup>317</sup> LANE FOX, p.65.

<sup>318</sup> IBID. and BROWN (1978), p.40.

<sup>319</sup> LANE FOX, p.66.

<sup>320</sup> And the same can be said about e.g. Plotinus - see BROWN (1972), p.77 and DODDS (1965), p.27.

projected on the body. But this introjection-theory isolates the ascetics in their personal neurosis, it can not explain why "*the most effective politicians and organizers of the fourth century were either of ascetic taste or the leaders of ascetic movements.*"<sup>321</sup> In short: Dodds underestimates their blatant *Wille zur macht*. As a result, Brown has suggested to take into account the reverse movement: a projection of the resentment against the world "*in the drastic form of hostility to the religious outsider (the pagan, heretic or schismatic) or, more subtly, as a guilty sense of obligation to restrain and repair the damaged and the fallen.*"<sup>322</sup>

This has brought us to the Christian intolerance, but before we can consider the importance of this factor, we must return to Dodds' suggestion that the Christian exclusiveness offered simplicity and certainty, where paganism could only offer bewilderment by the mass of alternatives. *In ultimis* this implies the superiority of an exclusivist monotheism to an accumulative polytheism. Yet according to Lane Fox, nobody complained about the many options, and polytheism also had its advantages: e.g. the external explanation of calamities as the effect of the anger of the gods.<sup>323</sup> The efficiency of the many cults was proven by their antiquity and hierarchical polytheism reduced the differences between the cults to personal or cultural preferences. This did not affect their religious value because so great a mystery can not be attained by one single way.

But even if "anxiety" is not the key-word for the religious life in this age, "one clear choice" appears to be attractive both from a psychological and from an efficiency point of view.<sup>324</sup> However, it is not so clear whether ancient Christianity, with all its heresies and schismatic movements, really offered this clear choice.<sup>325</sup> And, lastly, Dodds' theory can not explain the polytheist concessions Christianity had to make in a later stage.

But let us return to Christian intolerance: resentment against the religious outsider was the counterpart of the brotherly love that reigned within the Christian communities. Both aspects formed an

<sup>321</sup> BROWN (1972), p. 79.

<sup>322</sup> *IBID.*

<sup>323</sup> LANE FOX, p. 575.

<sup>324</sup> NOCK (1928), p. 104.

<sup>325</sup> See e.g. OR., C.C., III, 10-12.



integral part of ancient Christianity as is abundantly illustrated by Deschners' two-volumed *Kriminalgeschichte*<sup>326</sup> but we are only interested in it as a possible reason for the Christian success.

On a basic level, the Christian intolerance was responsible for the destruction of the material foundations of the pagan cults and thus for the eventual total victory of Christianity over its rivals.

In an earlier stage however, the intolerance only had a psychological impact: hatred of the outsider together with the urge to convert him, corroborated the beliefs of the insiders and formed powerful psychological incentives.<sup>327</sup>

### 3.3.2. *Christianity: a radical and a moderate religion*

If we read that Christianity won respect and adherents because of its moral rigour and its high ethical teachings, we should think in the first place of conversions through charity or martyrdoms. But often something less dramatic is meant: the attractiveness of the teachings themselves or the holiness of ordinary Christian daily life.<sup>328</sup> This claim can be substantiated by the explicate statements of someone like Tatian, who cited the simple yet high-principled teachings as one of the reasons for his own conversion. Or the emperor Julian, who observed that "*the pretended holiness of their lives*" had done much to increase "*atheism*".<sup>329</sup>

As is said earlier, Christianity was a moral religion, and one that "*offered a drastic experiment in living, reinforced with the excitements and occasional perils of a break with one's past and one's neighbours.*"<sup>330</sup> These are the conversions Nock and Bardy wrote about: a radical break with one's previous life, accompanied by the belief that the old was wrong and the new is right. The conversion of Cyprian is here the best illustration: his life before baptism was centred on luxury and ambition, he suffered from doubts and insecurity but a new start seemed impossible. However, when Cyprian came into contact with the Church, it

<sup>326</sup> (1986) and (1988) - see also JOLY (1986).

<sup>327</sup> JOLY (1979), p.23.

<sup>328</sup> GIBBON, Ch.XV, p.3; HARNACK, p.231 and GRIMM, p.251.

<sup>329</sup> TAT., *Or.*29 and JUL., *Ep.*22 (429D) - see also II Clem., 13, 4 (internal hatred is bad for the Christian cause).

<sup>330</sup> BROWN (1971), p.66.

became evident that Christianity could offer him the new start and the inner purification he had been longing for.<sup>331</sup>

There is still another aspect of Christian moral rigour that should be mentioned. Galen knew of the Christian contempt of death but he also remarked that some Christians managed to abstain from sexual intercourse throughout their lives.<sup>332</sup> It is not exaggerated to say that Christianity was a radical religion, especially where sexual matters were concerned. Virginity and continence were widely seen as the supreme and crowning achievement of Christian life - "*marriage, if ventured on at all, should be a competition in continence, and self-castration is preferable to impurity.*"<sup>333</sup> Even the moderate Justin Martyr approved of an attempted self-castration, and we all know of the self-mutilation of Origen.<sup>334</sup>

This extreme type of hostility against the body did not only express itself in sexual self-mutilations. The Desert-Fathers offer numerous examples of continuous physical self-torture. "*Where does all this madness come from?*", Dodds exclaimed<sup>335</sup> but we need not concern ourselves with the problem of the origins of Christian ascetism. We will only ask ourselves how these ascetics influenced the christianization of the Roman world. First: as prizefighters against the devil they made converts by way of miracles and exorcisms. They were widely admired for their radical way of life, and their personal prestige and commanding personality sometimes made them suitable defenders of a community against (e.g.) the hated tax-collectors.<sup>336</sup>

But the most important aspect is that the ascetism of one group points out the conformity of the other. This is of course hardly surprising: Christianity could never have become the universal religion of the Roman empire without doing some substantial concessions to "the world". Or as Robert Joly put it: "*Seule pou-*

<sup>331</sup> *Ad Don.*, 3-4 - actually Cyprian's is also the only example we know of.

<sup>332</sup> See HARNACK, p.233-234.

<sup>333</sup> DODDS (1965), p.32. But see *Ad Diogn.*, V or TERT., *Apol.*, 42, 2-3 for claims that the Christian way of life differs in nothing from the pagan one.

<sup>334</sup> ID., p.33 (with other examples) - see also DANÉLOU, p. 151-155 for a short survey of sexual ascetism.

<sup>335</sup> DODDS, p.34.

<sup>336</sup> FREND (1970), p.9-10 and 15-16 and LANE FOX, p.667-668.

vait vivre et progresser l'Église du "oui, mais" et du "non, mais".<sup>337</sup>

### 3.3.3. A sense of belonging

In his very influential booklet *Pagans and Christians in an Age of Anxiety* E.R. Dodds acknowledged the social-economic importance of charity but he immediately added: "*Even more important than these material benefits was the sense of belonging which the Christian community could give.*" This need to belong is universally attested, but is particularly strong among the restless inhabitants of great cities. Dodds sees no reason to think it was otherwise in antiquity: "*Epictetus has described for us the dreadful loneliness that can beset a man in the midst of his fellows. Such loneliness must have been felt by millions - the urbanised tribesman, the peasant come to town in search for work, the demobilised soldier, the rentier ruined by inflation, and the manumitted slave.*"<sup>338</sup> The Christian community could offer human warmth, self-respect and a more meaningful life. "*It is therefore not surprising that the earliest and most striking advances of Christianity were made in the great cities (...) Christians were in a more than formal sense 'members one of another': I think that was a major cause, perhaps the strongest single cause, of the spread of Christianity.*"<sup>339</sup>

The many funeral societies and the oriental cults recruited the same kind of people: they too offered the immigrant and the local members a new group-identity. But a Christian church was a community in a much fuller sense of the word. As a moral religion, it did not only offer common rites, but a common way of life: the Christian group-solidarity and the general impact on the daily life of its members were far more intense than in other religious communities.<sup>340</sup>

This socio-psychological explanation was subscribed to by such distinguished scholars as Le Goff, Simon and Peter Brown.<sup>341</sup> But by the end of the seventies there appears to have been a shift in

<sup>337</sup> JOLY (1979), p.22 and MOMIGLIANO, p.11.

<sup>338</sup> DODDS (1965), p.137.

<sup>339</sup> ID., 137-138.

<sup>340</sup> BROWN (1971), p.67 and DODDS (1965), p.136.

<sup>341</sup> LE GOFF, p.754; SIMON, p.298 and BROWN (1971), p.62.

paradigm. In 1978 the same Peter Brown wrote: "...the loneliness of the great city and the rapid deculturation of immigrants from traditionalist areas are modern ills: they should not be overworked as explanatory devices for the society we are studying. We can be far from certain that 'such loneliness must have been felt by millions...' "<sup>342</sup> The majority of the towns in the Mediterranean were small and they remained closely connected with the countryside in many ways. In these towns people formed small social groups, they lived in "face-to-face communities". Rome or Alexandria probably remained exceptions, although recent research suggests that they too "fell into quarters and districts, making them an aggregate of the smaller 'typical' towns." "<sup>343</sup> There was little or no privacy in these face-to-face communities: everybody knew each other and traditional social controls were vigorously maintained. "If anything", Brown concluded, "claustrophobia and the tensions of living in a face-to-face community, not loneliness or rootlessness, are the leitmotifs of the specifically Late Antique form of being unhappy." "<sup>344</sup>

The fact remains however that Christianity was most successful in an urban environment. The most recent studies we have consulted <sup>345</sup>, connect this success with the loss of political freedom and political relevance of the cities, and with a loosening of the civic cohesion.

The migration of non-citizens and the tighter restrictions on the holding of local citizenship had loosened the general connection between a city's cults and its citizens. In the Roman period this gap was compounded by the growing gap between citizenship and the exercise of political power. Civic life now depended almost exclusively on the urban notables, and the social and political role of the other classes was reduced to what is euphemistically called *observer-participation*. In the second century, the old principles of community and equality were no longer officially honoured: the legal texts now honour the principle of differing penalties for the

<sup>342</sup> BROWN (1978), p.2-3.

<sup>343</sup> BROWN (1978), p.3-4 and LANE FOX, p.50 (quoted).

<sup>344</sup> BROWN, p.4.

<sup>345</sup> LANE FOX (1986) and PLÜMACHER (1987).

differing classes and nothing prevented the authorities of treating the "more humble" as mere slaves.<sup>346</sup>

It is not difficult to understand that the Christian ideals gained relevance in this context of political alienation and social inequality. Christianity opposed the heavenly Jerusalem to the desintegrated city-state or the oecumenical Church to the polis-assembly. Christian martyrs, when asked about their abode or class, answered again and again with their new identity: "*I am a Christian.*"<sup>347</sup>

But Christianity did more than just stating these attractive ideals: the churches actually put them into practice. In the Christian communities the rich and the poor could find these ideals at work and, what is more important, they could find each other.<sup>348</sup>

### 3.4. Cultural Reasons

#### 3.4.1. *Christianity as the true philosophy*

In the first centuries of the Christian era, the notion *philosophy* had acquired an entirely different meaning. Philosophy was no longer Reason's autonomous search for truth, it had become the soul's search for God. Philosophers now offered salvation by realizing the *visio Dei*.

This becomes clear in the writings of Justin. Justin turned to philosophy with the purpose of acquiring knowledge of God. He turned successively to a Stoic, a Peripatetic and Pythagorean philosopher but neither one of them was able to satisfy his need. He eventually got into contact with a Platonist and here he made substantial progress. To the extent that he expected to realize the *visio Dei* within a reasonable period of time. But his expectations were shaken by a conversation with an old man who proved the insufficiency of his new certainties and convinced him of the fact that the only sure knowledge of God was offered by the Prophets and Christ.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>346</sup> LANE FOX, p.322.

<sup>347</sup> PLÜMACHER, p.35 and 45.

<sup>348</sup> JOLY (1979), p.24.

<sup>349</sup> JUST., *Dial.*, II, 3 - III, 1. On this conversion see FINK-DENDORFER, p.9-36 or NOCK (1933), p.255-256.

The *dissensus philosophorum* and intellectual Odysseys are a recurrent theme in the literature of the Roman Empire. We can cite examples from pagan as well as from Jewish and Christian backgrounds.<sup>350</sup> They all offer the same basic-story of spiritual need, insufficiency of human knowledge and "salvation" offered by a revelation.

According to Justin, the *dissensus philosophorum* was caused by the fact that the pagan philosophers had only partially participated in the divine *Logos*. Christianity was of course the true philosophy since it derived its message from Christ, the incarnated *Logos*. This theory made it possible to incorporate the teachings of certain pagan philosophers while securing the position of the Christian revelation.<sup>351</sup>

This *Logos* doctrine had already been developed by Philo Alexandrinus. As a hellenistic Jew, this philosopher was convinced of the fundamental unity of Greek philosophy and the Jewish Law, of Plato and Mozes. But the Platonic dualism made it impossible to have a supreme god who personally intervened in earthly matters, so Philo had to introduce a number of intermediate beings: the Jewish angels or the Greek δαίμονες. The supreme mediator in Philo's system was the *Logos*. The use of this concept in a Jewish context was certainly a masterstroke, for it contained Genesis' Word of God as well as the late Jewish Wisdom, the Platonic doctrine of Forms, the Aristotelian Divine Intellect and the Stoic Divine Reason.<sup>352</sup>

So the father of Christian philosophy was actually a Jew. Philo's theory had no further impact on Jewish thought but his project was continued in the Christian philosophical School of Alexandria.

The work of Clement of Alexandria formed a further step in the direction of the synthesis between Christianity and Greek thought. Clement had been the student of a converted Stoic philosopher and, for him too, Greek philosophy formed a *praeparatio* of Christ.<sup>353</sup> The synthesis offered in Origen's works was already more impressive and consistent. In the words of Dodds:

<sup>350</sup> NOCK (1933), p.107-110. (e.g. Lucian's *Menippus*, the Clementine Homilies, etc.).

<sup>351</sup> JUST., 1 *Apol.*, 46 and 2 *Apol.* 13.

<sup>352</sup> FERGUSON (1970), p.224.

<sup>353</sup> See *Paidag.*, 2, 19, 4 in BAUS (1965), p.268.

"Henceforth the dialogue with paganism was to be a dialogue between intellectual equals." <sup>354</sup>

The relevant question is of course whether the Christian philosophy ever became superior to pagan thought. By the middle of the third century, the *dissensus philosophorum* had been replaced by the new synthesis of Neoplatonism. Neoplatonists also offered unshakable truths derived from sacred books (especially Plato's *Timaeus*) or oracular revelations (e.g. the *Oracula Chaldaica*). Reason and doubt were being replaced by authority and faith. <sup>355</sup> Christianity might have had an additional advantage in that its sacred scripture was older than Neoplatonism's.

But this possible advantage did not prevent pagan Neoplatonists from despising the *Galileans*. It is a well known fact that philosophers (together with rustics) were often the last pagans we know of. But the question is perhaps wrongly put. In fact, "*the Neoplatonic schools never really disappeared; they simply continued in a Christian guise.*" <sup>356</sup>

As a consequence, the transition from pagan to Christian Neoplatonism should be attributed to external factors rather than to internal shortcomings.

Christianity was a religion that could be formulated in philosophical terms. Neoplatonism was a philosophy that wanted to become a religion. But Neoplatonism only became the religion of an intellectual minority. For it was élitist both because of its philosophical jargon <sup>357</sup> and because of the strenuous ascetism and contemplation needed to reach the *visio Dei*. For pagan intellectuals this was no objection, but they lacked a popular basis. In the world outside their studies paganism was gradually disappearing.

Christianity "*was able to offer the best of both worlds, philosophy and popular appeal. There can be no doubt that the popular support was the more important element in its final victory, but the gradual appropriation of philosophy made that victory complete.*" <sup>358</sup>

<sup>354</sup> DODDS (1965), p.106.

<sup>355</sup> DODDS (1965), p.106.

<sup>356</sup> GAGER, p.135 but see Courcelle in Momigliano for a few fundamental differences.

<sup>357</sup> According to Nilsson (p.711) Christianity won because it was in all respects more simple than Neoplatonism.

<sup>358</sup> GAGER, p.135 - see also FRENCH (1959), p.13.

### 3.4.2. *The adoption and adaptation of pagan culture*

The cradle of Christianity was Palestinian Judaism. Naturally, Greek culture had not been without influence on this part of the eastern Mediterranean but in spite of this the general atmosphere of the earliest Christian writings, the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, was predominantly Oriental and Semitic.<sup>359</sup>

A part of ancient Christianity wanted to keep it that way. These Christians rejected the pagan culture as a profanation and argued that the Sacred Scripture contained everything one could possibly need: history, poetry, ethical writings, etc. The most famous expression of this rigorist rejection of pagan culture is of course Tertullian's "*What has Athens got to do with Jerusalem?*" but similar thoughts can be found in the *Didascalia* and even Jerome still had problems with reconciling Christianity with pagan literature.<sup>360</sup>

It is striking that this cultural rigorism was chiefly Latin. In the Greek East this phenomenon seems rather exceptional. There is of course Tatian in the second century and Clement of Alexandria knew of some Christians who rejected classical culture, but it is clear that Alexandria stood for synthesis rather than for confrontation.<sup>361</sup>

We should however keep in mind that these rejections of classical culture were often phrased in complete accordance with the rhetorical principles of this culture. Hardly amazing since there was only one culture and one educational system around. It is therefore not entirely correct to say that the Christians adopted the classical culture. As Maurice Testard remarked, the question cannot be put in these terms. The Christians belonged to the Greco-Roman world and Greco-Roman culture was their own, the culture.<sup>362</sup>

And we should realize the importance of the formal aspect of language in this culture. The rhetorical ideal had become formal perfection rather than substance. This caused serious problems for

<sup>359</sup> BARTELINK, p.16.

<sup>360</sup> TERT., *De Praescr. Haer.*, 7, 9 (quoted) see also ID., *Apol.* 46, 18; *Didasc.* 1, 6 and JEROME, *Ep.* 22, 30.

<sup>361</sup> BARTELINK, p.12 (Latin); BAUS (1965), p.208 (Tatian) and HINSON, p.259 (Clement).

<sup>362</sup> TESTARD, p.152-153 and 155.



the conversion of the cultural upper-classes. The *sermo sordidus* of Scripture was unacceptable to most educated pagans and Augustine's example clearly shows that it could keep them from accepting the message itself.<sup>363</sup>

Tatian is the only person we know of who felt attracted to the simple style of the Bible.<sup>364</sup> Most educated Christians, however, felt the *sermo piscatorius* to be somewhat of a problem. The disdain and the derision of pagan intellectuals were answered in two ways: Scripture is written in a simple style because it contains divine truths which are not in need of rhetorical trickery or, the Bible is kept simple because its universal message should be understood by everyone and not just by an intellectual élite.<sup>365</sup>

The Christians also tried to meet the pagan expectations. This is certainly true for the fourth century, when Christianity had become the religion of the Roman emperors. We can refer to the Scripture versifications of Iuvencus or Proba, but the best illustration of the importance of classical culture for the Christian expansion is offered by Julian's rhetoricians-edict. Christian *grammatici* and rhetoricians were told to go to the churches and to comment upon Matthew and Luke. The purpose was clear: to turn higher education into a pagan stronghold and thus cause Christianity's cultural atrophy. A storm of protest ensued and the two Apollinarisses of Laodikeia started to rewrite the entire Scripture in classical style.<sup>366</sup>

This tendency to conform to the expectations of classical culture is naturally stronger in the literary production of the ancient Christians themselves. Gradually, the attitude towards rhetoric becomes more neutral: the Christians recognized that it could serve their cause just as well.

The fundamental problem is of course whether the cultural élite was converted because Christianity had become respectable, or did Christianity become respectable because the cultural élite had been converted?

We should avoid thinking of earliest Christianity as a religion of fishermen and carpenters. This romantic picture ignores the

<sup>363</sup> AUG., *Conf.*, 3, 4-6 - see also LACT., *Div. Inst.* V, 1, 18.

<sup>364</sup> TAT., *Or.* 29.

<sup>365</sup> BARTELINK, p.19-20.

<sup>366</sup> BAUS (1973), p.57.

presence of people like Paul or educated pagans among the god-fearers who were converted.<sup>367</sup> As a universal religion, Christianity never limited its efforts to one social class and it has always used all available means to make itself understandable and acceptable.<sup>368</sup> We could add that recent converts of a certain education felt the need to justify their conversion to the pagan members of their cultural group and to prove that Christianity was in full accordance with classical culture.<sup>369</sup>

But for what reasons did these intellectuals adopt Christianity in the first place? We can only guess how such crucial figures as Tertullian or Clement were converted to the new religion, but Origen got his christianity from his parents. The same should be said about almost all the great writers of "*the Golden Age of the Fathers of the Church*": the family of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus had been Christian for generations and others got to know christianity through their mother. This is true of Augustine, John Chrysostom and Ambrose.<sup>370</sup> Most of these *patres* came from the provincial élite, but all recieved the best possible education. This education was still largely in pagan hands in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>371</sup> It is clear that, for this generation, the classical culture was their culture.

But this never implied that they adopted the pagan style and the pagan genres just like that. They were either filled with a new Christian content or recieved a new hierarchical position. Rhetoric and poetry recieved a new justification: art for art's sake was no longer possible but the old rhetorical principles could still prove useful for the spread of the Christian message. In fact, all the ancient sciences were accorded a propaedeutical value and were thus secured for the *tempora christiana*.<sup>372</sup>

The plastic arts give the same basic impression of continuity. Early Christian art did not create any new types or motives, it simply took over the existing apparatus. All the Christian types were conventional pagan ones: the apostles looked like old rhetori-

<sup>367</sup> TESTARD, p.144-145 and GRIMM, p.123.

<sup>368</sup> TESTARD, p.143 and 147.

<sup>369</sup> DANÉLOU (1963), p.121.

<sup>370</sup> MARROU (1965), p.345.

<sup>371</sup> ID., p.342 and 349.

<sup>372</sup> BARTELINK, p.23-28.

cians, the Good Shepherd was inspired by Hermes Kriophoros and the Madonna with child-motive was inspired by Isis and Horus (in some cases Isis statues were simply used as Madonna's). The same should be said about decorative motives: vines, birds, even Eros and Psychè were simply adopted and incorporated in Christian works of art.<sup>373</sup>

The importance of all this may not have been primordial but it shows that there existed a cultural unity of the ancient world.<sup>374</sup> Christianity's adoption and vitalization of this culture made the conversion of the cultural élite of the Roman empire possible. One may even wonder, as did Peter Brown, whether the cultural continuity was not more important to this class than the religious context wherein it was realized.<sup>375</sup>

### 3.5. Political and Institutional Reasons

#### 3.5.1. *The failure of the persecutions*

The Roman empire did not succeed in eradicating Christianity or even in reducing the growth of the new religion to that of an insignificant sect. Others however did succeed, as is proved by the fate of Christianity in Persia<sup>376</sup> or, better still, by the spread of Islam over North-Africa, Egypt, Syria and Asia-Minor - four regions that had been thoroughly christianized. Islam used forceful methods or threatened with the use of violence<sup>377</sup> but the most important strategy was the use of social, financial and cultural weapons: the Christians paid high taxes, they were looked on as second-rang citizens, they were excluded from state-service, lost all social prestige and, later, even lost their corporate revenues and church buildings. This discrimination went on for years and probably brought over the bulk of the Christian population. Islamization was completed by conversions due to some (religiously) attractive features of Islam such as miracles, a clear and simple doc-

<sup>373</sup> BARTELINK, p.134-135 and 145 - TURCAN (1989), p.127.

<sup>374</sup> FÉVRIER, p.45.

<sup>375</sup> BROWN (1972), p.182.

<sup>376</sup> GAGER, p.126.

<sup>377</sup> CHUVIN, p.144.

trine, high moral standards and Islamitic magnanimity towards poor people and strangers.<sup>378</sup>

Yet where Islam succeeded, the Roman empire failed. Why?

A first explanation could be that the persecutions came too late. As is shown above, the first spread of Christianity took place "*sub umbraculo licitae Judaeorum religionis*". So the problems the first Christians could meet with were generally caused by Jews. The persecutions started once it became clear that the Christian "atheism" was no longer based upon the ancestral traditions of the Jews. But initially, persecutions remained sporadic and local and the government only had a minor part in them. The first general attack on Christianity only came in the middle of the third century, with the persecution of Decius. Yet in the mean time, Christianity had been able to put up an empire-wide network of churches with a local and a regional hierarchy, internal communications and a supra-local sense of community. The importance of this strong organization for the Christian victory should not be underestimated<sup>379</sup>. Nevertheless Islam succeeded in disrupting this organization. Why didn't the Roman empire?

Partly because the persecutions didn't last long enough: the Decian persecution lasted about one year, the one under Valerian three years and the so-called *Great Persecution* only two years in the West and, intermittently, ten years in the East. In between these persecutions always lay long periods of practical tolerance and possible recovery. The so-called *Little peace of the Church* even lasted for forty three years (from 260 to 303).<sup>380</sup>

In addition to this, we should bring into account a certain laxity with which the persecutions were carried out. There is a lot of evidence for officials who were willing to come to some sort of compromise and even more evidence for officials who accepted bribes.<sup>381</sup> In some cases, the measures against the Church were not fully executed by the local authorities: under Valerian, Egypt was the only eastern province that knew a full scale persecution and it is a well-known fact that in the Tetrarchic persecution Con-

<sup>378</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.58 and p.145, n. 31 (with refs.).

<sup>379</sup> GRIMM, p.244-245.

<sup>380</sup> Usually seen as a very important period for the growth of the ancient Church. See e.g. DANÉLOU, p.238-257.

<sup>381</sup> LANE FOX, p.597-598.

stantius Chlorus confined himself to (partially) executing the first edict alone.<sup>382</sup> So it is no exaggeration to state that the authorities were often lacking in motivation. And, as the violent death of Decius and the capturing of Valerian prove, the execution of the persecutions was often influenced by more urgent problems in these troublesome decades.

Also, the Roman government never set out to literally exterminate the Christians. The bloodshed in the ancient persecutions used to be exaggerated. They were of course "*incomparably less severe than Hitler's massacre of the Jews. The Christian clergy, and the most prominent laity were victimised, but save in exceptional circumstances the ordinary Christian was most unlikely to become a victim of the persecutions at all.*"<sup>383</sup> If we look at the number of Christians killed during the great persecution, we find that Frend estimated a total of 3000 to 3500 victims for the whole empire but de Ste. Croix and Liebeschütz find this estimate still too generous.<sup>384</sup> Of course, the impact of the persecutions can not be limited to the number of Christians killed. There were other means of repression used as well: e.g. imprisonment and torture. But here again, the ancient facilities were incomparable with modern ones. As Frend remarked: "*Even in the Decian persecution there was not the prison accommodation to house the recalcitrants*". The ancient cities were also seriously under-policed so that large scale persecutions usually implied the use of troops.<sup>385</sup>

Some methods of repression can even be said to have been counterproductive: for the banishment and the flight of Christians spread the new religion in areas still untouched by Christianity. Once Christianity started to "*win the countryside*" it became even more difficult to extirpate it.<sup>386</sup> Frend has pushed this point even further: in the second half of the third century, he sees a fast

<sup>382</sup> FREUDENBERGER, p.142 (Valerian) and BARNES (1981), p. 28 and 54. (Constantius).

<sup>383</sup> DODDS (1965), p.108 (quoted) and LANE FOX, p.596. The "exceptional circumstances" stand e.g. for provoking the authorities.

<sup>384</sup> FREND (1965), p.536-537 and LIEBESCHÜTZ, p.252. (With ref. for de Ste.Croix).

<sup>385</sup> FREND (1959), p.11 and 26 (quoted) and BROWN (1971), p. 106 for the cities.

<sup>386</sup> FREND (1959), p.11.

growth of Christianity in three very important rural areas - Anatolia, Egypt and Africa. The conversion of large parts of the rural population of these economically and strategically very important provinces gave Christianity something close to invulnerability. And if the persecutions could not eradicate this rural Christianity, someone had to draw the conclusions.<sup>387</sup> But as far as we know, Frend stands alone with this analysis: according to Brown and Lane Fox, Frend's "*winning of the countryside*" is exaggerated and almost exclusively based on Christian literary sources. Other evidence shows that the christianization of these provinces was far from being nearly complete.<sup>388</sup> As to the strategical argument: the army recruited most of its soldiers in Gaul and in the Danube-provinces, areas where Christianity was still rare. Furthermore, we should not forget that Christianity never formed a strategical threat: the Christians never fought back, and even if they had, it remains very doubtful whether the Tetrarchy would have been impressed.<sup>389</sup>

Lastly, we must note the change in attitude of the pagan population. In most cases, the first persecutions had been no more than local *pogroms*, started by the pagan population, but in the last persecution, the initiative lay almost entirely with the government. Apparently, it was lacking popular support: most pagans remained passive but some even helped or sympathized with the persecuted Christians.<sup>390</sup>

So far, we have discussed the reasons for the failure of the persecutions on the persecuting side. Naturally, we should look for the rest of the explanation on the other side.

Here we can point out the Christian Martyrdom-ethics. It might have strengthened some "confessors" to know that they would enjoy high prestige among their fellow-Christians if they withstood and survived torture and that they could become the object of a cult and have a privileged position in the here-after if they died.<sup>391</sup> Some Christians actually volunteered for martyrdom:

<sup>387</sup> FREND (1959), p.20 and 26 and id. (1965), p.440-441.

<sup>388</sup> BROWN (1968), p.86-87 and LANE FOX, p.287-293.

<sup>389</sup> JONES (1963), p.24 and LANE FOX, p.594.

<sup>390</sup> FREND (1959), p.18 and LANE FOX, p.598-599. But see the persecution-petitions cities addressed to Maximin Daïa. (LANE FOX, *ibid.*).

<sup>391</sup> DODDS (1965), p.136.

due to some *libido moriendi* or, in some cases, debts to the treasury they did more than just withstand the persecutions.<sup>392</sup>

But it would be reductionist to apply these explanations to the majority of the Christian martyrs. Most Christians did not want to die, and for these people the Christian after-life must have been a consolation rather than the object of self-centred calculations. Courage and an unshakable belief in the truth of the Christian message was what made these martyrs endure the persecutions. Some scholars even see this moral strength as the sole reason for their failure.<sup>393</sup>

Also important was the way the Christians supported one another: Christians visited their imprisoned brethren and provided material help, banished Christians were supported by the local churches and fellow-Christians sometimes followed members of their church who had been convicted to forced labour in the mines.<sup>394</sup>

A last, very important reason was the attitude of the Church towards the *lapsi*. Given the amount of *lapsi* of all sorts, a rigorist attitude would have caused the Church to fade away into the oblivion of a small community of "perfect" Christians. However, the orthodoxy always opted for a moderate position: the *lapsi* were allowed to return but only if they showed repentance. This way the Church was not atrophied, nor did the Christian communities lose their strength and discipline.<sup>395</sup>

### 3.5.2. *The conversion of Constantine*

The amount of literature on Constantine is enormous and the number of interpretations of his attitude towards the Church bewildering.<sup>396</sup> To give a full survey of all these views would mean to write another article within this article. We will therefore try to insert the major views in a systematic, chronological treatment of the conversion of Constantine.

In the formal sense of the word, Constantine became a Christian shortly before his death, in 337. For Constantine was baptised

<sup>392</sup> DODDS (1965), p.135 and FRENCH (1959), p.25.

<sup>393</sup> E.g. BAUS (1965), p.474 and ALFÖLDI, p.392.

<sup>394</sup> HARNACK, p. 189 and 200.

<sup>395</sup> BAUS (1965), p.360-388 and LANE FOX, p.597-598.

<sup>396</sup> Vogt's state of the art in the RAC makes a lot of reading expendable.

*in articulo mortis*, on 22 May 337. But in the fourth century there was nothing unusual about postponing baptism, so this fact is quite irrelevant to Constantine's actual adoption of Christianity.<sup>397</sup>

The conversion of Constantine is of course usually dated in 312, during his campaign against Maxentius. But some scholars have argued that Constantine was already a Christian by this time. A recent example of this view is offered by Joachim Szidat. In his view, the battle at the Milvian bridge was only used by Constantine to bring his new religion out into the open. The major success of his campaign against Maxentius could then be seen as a clear proof of the power of the Christian god.<sup>398</sup>

The first ensuing question is: "Did Constantine get his religion from his parents?" Despite the insinuations made by Eusebius and despite his lax execution of the persecutions, Constantius Chlorus was not a Christian. There is clear evidence for his paganism and for his special veneration of Sol Invictus. So it was Constantine who wanted the memory of his father to be that of a Christian.<sup>399</sup>

Constantine's mother, Helena, was clearly a Christian after 312 but it is uncertain whether she had been one before this date. Baus, Vogt and others believe Eusebius who tells us that Constantine was responsible for the conversion of his mother, but Barnes partly disagrees.<sup>400</sup>

There is no proof that Constantine became a Christian on his own initiative. In 306, Constantine made a gesture by granting full tolerance to the Church and by returning confiscated property, but this can hardly be seen as proof for his conversion.<sup>401</sup> Constantine probably wanted to secure the goodwill of his new subjects and the internal stability of his territory. It also offered him the possibility to dissociate himself from his imperial colleagues and to proclaim himself a potential liberator for persecuted Christians elsewhere.<sup>402</sup>

<sup>397</sup> SIMON-BENOÎT, p. 311.

<sup>398</sup> SZIDAT, p. 521.

<sup>399</sup> VOGT (1963), p. 43-44; LANE FOX, p. 615 and CHUVIN, p. 44.

<sup>400</sup> BAUS (1965), p. 455, VOGT (1963), p. 45 and BARNES (1989) p. 309.

<sup>401</sup> See the example of Gallienus in 360.

<sup>402</sup> BARNES (1981), p. 28.



Furthermore, there is positive evidence of his paganism in this period. In the panegyric of June 311, Constantine was still associated with the pagan gods.<sup>403</sup> There seems to have been a special link between Constantine and Apollo-Sol Invictus: the god frequently appears on his coins, the Sun had been the protector of Aurelian and Claudius Gothicus, whose descendant Constantine claimed to be, and the panegyric of 310 mentions that Constantine had seen a vision of Apollo and Victory offering him the symbols of a long and successful life.<sup>404</sup>

This has brought us to the traditional date of 312. We have two accounts of his conversion: one is offered by Lactantius in his *De Mortibus Persecutorum* and the other can be found in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*.<sup>405</sup>

But the accounts differ on a few essential points (different time, different place, different number of visions and different instructions concerning the Christian symbol) and the interpretation of Lactantius' text poses a lot of problems.<sup>406</sup> These problems and their use as arguments against a conversion of Constantine in 312<sup>407</sup> have led its defenders to lay the emphasis on other pieces of evidence. A recent example is offered by T.D.Barnes: "*In the ultimate reckoning, however, the precise details of Constantine's conversion matter little. After 28 October 312 the emperor consistently thought of himself as God's servant, entrusted with a divine mission to convert the Roman Empire to Christianity.*"<sup>408</sup>

The ninth panegyric is often interpreted as such an additional piece of evidence. This speech, held after Constantine's meeting with Licinius in Milan, mentions the gods only once and in this reference Constantine is explicitly dissociated from the pagan gods. Constantine is said to be in direct contact with the supreme god who is described in the vague terms of the Neoplatonic Most High God. Jones interpreted this vague terminology as "*eloquent of the embarrassment of the pagan orator, forced to avoid all mention of*

<sup>403</sup> JONES (1949), p.86.

<sup>404</sup> JONES (1949), p.86; BAUS (1965), p.456 (coins); *Pan.Lat.* 6 (7), 15, 5 ff. (vision); BAYNES, p.8 (Sol-dynasty) and BARNES (1981), p.35-36.

<sup>405</sup> LACT., *De Mort.Pers.*, 44, 5 and EUS., *V.C.*, I, 28-29.

<sup>406</sup> A list is provided by SIMON-BENOÎT, p.326-328 and by BAYNES, p.60-64. See also BARNES (1981), p.306, n.146 and LANE FOX, p.614-616.

<sup>407</sup> Recently DESCHNER (1986), p.222 and 242 and earlier GRÉGOIRE, p.258.

<sup>408</sup> BARNES (1981), p.43.

*the immortal gods, but averse from sullyng his lips with any allusion to the gods of the Christians.*" <sup>409</sup>

The inscription on Constantine's triumphal arch is interpreted in the same way. It explains his actions "*instinctu divinitatis - mentis magnitudine*". But Constantine appears on the arch with the attributes of the Sun god and the arch also depicts sacrifices. <sup>410</sup>

Two examples of a neutral theology do not prove Constantine's conversion but these pagan testimonies should be seen in a broader context.

According to Martha Sordi or Pierre Chuvin this broader context is made up by the Edict of Milan. According to these scholars, the phrasing of the text indicates that it is paganism rather than Christianity that is tolerated. <sup>411</sup> This subjective interpretation is "substantiated" by the fact that the Christians are isolated from the rest and put first, but since the Christians were the only ones who were granted tolerance this seems only logical.

The panegyric of 313 does not mention the usual sacrifice on the Capitol and Sozimos wrote that Constantine refused to ascend the Capitol. Barnes, Sordi or Chuvin accept Sozimos' testimony <sup>412</sup> but we should not forget that he wrote almost two centuries after the events and that the general theme of his work was to attribute the Decline and Fall to the neglect of the ancestral rites. Lippold is probably right by concluding that there are no decisive arguments for either view. <sup>413</sup>

The statue of Constantine in Rome contained a cross and a Christian inscription according to Eusebius - an ordinary *vexillum* and a neutral inscription according to Grégoire. <sup>414</sup>

<sup>409</sup> JONES (1949), p.96 - see also SORDI, p.136.

<sup>410</sup> GRÉGOIRE, p.253.

<sup>411</sup> SORDI, p.138 and CHUVIN, p.330.

<sup>412</sup> BARNES (1981), p.44, SORDI, p.135 and CHUVIN, p.35.

<sup>413</sup> LIPPOLD A., *Stadtrömischer Adel und Religion im frühen 4. Jhdt.n.Chr.* in: see Février, p.20. See also BAUS (1965), p. 459.

<sup>414</sup> BAUS (1965), p.460 for Eusebius and Grégoire: Ant.Class. 1 (1932), p.141-143.

The evidence becomes more convincing once we turn to the so-called *Selbstzeugnis*<sup>415</sup> of Constantine. Norman Baynes played an important role in the rehabilitation of the letters and speeches ascribed to Constantine and the discovery of a papyrus of one of these documents has proved him right.<sup>416</sup>

We have three letters from the winter of the years 312 - 313. The first letter is addressed to the bishop of Carthage and shows that Constantine subsidized the orthodox clergy from public fundings. The second letter is written to the proconsul of Africa and deals with the restitution of confiscated Church property. But the most interesting letter is the third one. In this letter Constantine expresses his belief that the persecutions of the Church have caused damage to the Roman Empire, whereas tolerance and protection of Christianity have led to prosperity and success. For this reason the Catholic clergy is exempted from all public burdens so that they may secure the important worship of the divinity.<sup>417</sup> In other words, the Roman ideas on the efficiency of the cults and the *pax deorum* are now applied to the Catholic Church.

But even if these documents are accepted as genuine, one may doubt their sincerity. This brings us to the belief that Constantine's conversion was a political move. The best known representatives of this view are Burckhardt and Grégoire and, more recently, Karlheinz Deschner.<sup>418</sup>

But what could Constantine possibly hope to gain from being the champion of Christianity in 312? His army was almost entirely pagan. So was the senatorial aristocracy of Rome. In the West, Christianity was a small minority religion and its progress was mainly made in parts of the population which were quite unimportant from a demographic, economic and strategic point of view.<sup>419</sup> Nor could Constantine hope for a direct political success

<sup>415</sup> See H.DÖRRIES, *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantins*. Göttingen, 1954. Norman Baynes played an important role in the rehabilitation of the letters and speeches ascribed to Constantine and the discovery of a papyrus of one of these documents has proved him right.

<sup>416</sup> BAYNES, p.6 and LANE FOX, p.627 (papyrus).

<sup>417</sup> Eus., H.E., X, 6, 1-5; 5, 15-17 and 7, 1-2. JONES (1949), p.86-88.

<sup>418</sup> DESCHNER (1986), p.223 and BARCELO, p.77 for Burckhardt.

<sup>419</sup> JONES (1963), p.17-24.

with the Christians in Maxentius' territories for Maxentius never persecuted the Church.<sup>420</sup>

Another argument used against the insincerity of Constantine's conversion is the *Zeitgeist* of the fourth century. People like Otto Seeck or A.H.M. Jones have argued that there were no sceptical free-thinkers in this period, it was a time of ardent credulity rather than Machiavellist religious politics.<sup>421</sup>

But we are under the impression that this religious mood is only applied to Christianity. If we say that Constantine's Christianity was free of all calculation because of the *Zeitgeist*, we should say the same about his veneration for Apollo. But for his adoption of Sol Invictus one is referred to the ideological continuity with Claudius Gothicus, to the popularity of Mithras in the army or the importance of Apollo in Gaul.<sup>422</sup>

We believe that Grégoire was right in warning against a naive form of writing history which ignores the general social, economic and political context and ascribes the historical process to the personal (religious) experience of a few great personalities.<sup>423</sup>

Was there a real change in Constantine's (religious) politics from 312 onwards? J.B. Bury used to think that the conversion of Constantine was "*perhaps the most audacious act ever committed by an autocrat in disregard and defiance of the vast majority of his subjects*" but we believe that MacMullen was right in answering that its immediate effect on his pagan subjects was in fact "*nil*"<sup>424</sup> Constantine did not force his army to become Christian. The usual pagan gods appear on Constantine's coins until 321 and Sol Invictus until 322.<sup>425</sup> Yet nothing forced Constantine to use these images of the pagan gods: he could have made neutral coins about the prosperity of the Empire etc. and bureaucratic inertia can only offer a part of the explanation.

Sol disappeared in 322. Should this be ascribed to Constantine's consequent exclusivist monotheism or did he start to court the Christians from the East? Anyway, Licinius began to doubt the

<sup>420</sup> BAYNES, p.66 and SORDI, p.134.

<sup>421</sup> Seeck in GRÉGOIRE, p.235 and JONES (1949), p.85.

<sup>422</sup> E.g. by people like BAUS (1965), p.456 or BAYNES, p.8.

<sup>423</sup> GRÉGOIRE, p.235.

<sup>424</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.44 - with ref. for BURY.

<sup>425</sup> VOGT (1957), p.327.

loyalty of his Christian subjects and started a purge in his administration.<sup>426</sup>

Deschner has made an interesting remark about Constantine's Christianity: when Constantine ruled Gaul and Britain, areas where Christianity was of little or no importance, it played no role in his politics. When he acquired Spain and, later, Italy and Africa, areas which were more thoroughly christianized, he started to favour the Church. Once he had planned to conquer the East, the favouring was increased and after 324, his support of Christianity reached its highest point.<sup>427</sup>

There are two possible explanations: either he adapted his views to the religious situation of the areas he conquered or he was forced to take this situation into account for the expression of his sincere beliefs.

These sincere beliefs should probably not be ascribed to a conversion in Nock's or Bardy's definition of the word. The conversion of Constantine looks more like the conversions MacMullen had in mind. It is perfectly realistic that his conversion was caused by a revelation in a dream which was later confirmed by the clear manifestation of a divine δύνάμις. The result of this kind of manifestations was, in most cases, a non-exclusivist adhesion. This could explain his concern to place the empire under the protection of this powerful god. In the pagan mind this protection could only be secured by the correct execution of the relevant cult. An adhesion could also explain why Constantine's belief in the power of the Christian god did not put an immediate end to his Sol Invictus devotion. He had simply changed the top of his pyramid. At this point we should introduce the gradual conversion concept of Lane Fox: his contacts with Christians made him realize that the Christian God was a jealous God.

The question is of course whether an adhesion, even in an irrational age, shuts the eyes for the *Realpolitik*. In other words, does a sincere faith exclude all political calculations?

We think it doesn't but we must admit that we can offer no proof for these hypotheses.

Therefore we will conclude our chapter with a short survey of the observable aspect of his religious policy.

<sup>426</sup> JONES (1949), p.129.

<sup>427</sup> DESCHNER (1986), p.242.

Constantine and his mother Helena were enormously active as church builders: in Rome alone he erected seven basilica's. These churches were endowed with estates which secured them a yearly income of several thousand goldpieces.<sup>428</sup> In Antioch, he started the building of the Golden Church and he also payed for basilica's in Jerusalem, Nicomedia, Cirta, Trier and, of course, Constantinople.<sup>429</sup> The ecclesiastical estates were exempted from taxation and the Christian clergy from public burdens and civic obligations. Clerics now recieved contributions from the fiscus and Constantine subsidized the Christian charity.<sup>430</sup> Cities who claimed to be completely Christian were granted privileges.<sup>431</sup> The Church was granted the right to recieve legacies, and manumission in the presence of a bishop was made perfectly legal. The Church partly became a civil court room.<sup>432</sup> Christian writers and bishops performed tasks that were previously given to pagan rhetoricians. Lactantius became tutor of Crispus, Constantine's oldest son, and Eusebius held the festive speech at the occasion of Constantine's thirty years of rule. The emperor personally interfered with Christian doctrine and he saw to the doctrinal unity of the Church by use of his secular power. He even started a bloody persecution against the Donatists.<sup>433</sup> The official reason was his conviction of a divine mission but we get the impression that he was actually "*fitting the Church as a great driving wheel into the mechanism of absolutism.*"<sup>434</sup>

After 312 Christianity was no longer the same, "*it was a Christianity whose bishops had had their social horizons blown wide open by finding the open-handed Constantine in their midst.*"<sup>435</sup> It was this Christianity which eventually replaced paganism.

<sup>428</sup> JONES (1949), p.102-103.

<sup>429</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.49.

<sup>430</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>431</sup> DESCHNER (1986), p.240.

<sup>432</sup> BAUS (1965), p.467-468.

<sup>433</sup> BARNES (1981), p.60 and LANE FOX, p.656.

<sup>434</sup> ALFÖLDI, p.47.

<sup>435</sup> BROWN (1982), p.198.

### 3.5.3. *The political theology of the Church*

The attitude of the earliest Christian communities towards the Roman Empire and towards the world in general was marked by a kind of negative indifference. The first Christians believed that the Second Coming of Christ was at hand and therefore interim-ethics sufficed.<sup>436</sup>

But once the arrival of the Heavenly Kingdom seemed postponed, two basic attitudes towards the earthly empire appear. One part of the Christians saw the Roman Empire as the empire of Satan. The best example of this negative attitude is of course the Apocalypse. This link between Rome and Satan was probably influenced by Jewish apocalyptic and oracular writings and might have been caused by the first persecutions<sup>437</sup>, but the same idea recurs e.g. in the early third century in the writings of Hippolytus of Rome.<sup>438</sup> However, in the third century, Hippolytus is the only remaining representative of this apocalyptic tradition.<sup>439</sup>

By then, the positive and basically loyal attitude prevailed. This positive appreciation of the Roman Empire can be traced back to the Gospels and to the letters of Paul and it became only more frequent in the Apologetical literature.<sup>440</sup> All earthly authorities derived their power from God so Christians were supposed to pay their taxes and obey the imperial laws. The only two restrictions on this basic loyalty were the worship of the gods and the ruler cult. Here the Christian loyalty was supposed to stop, although the Christians prayed *pro salute imperatorum* to their own God.<sup>441</sup>

The main problem was of course posed by the persecutions. How to explain that an emperor who had received his authority from God persecuted God's own people? Clement saw the persecutions as the work of divine providence and according to Origen the persecutions were a test of the strength of the Christian faith.<sup>442</sup> But according to Origen, Christianity was predestined to incorporate the Roman Empire and to unite all nations

<sup>436</sup> MESLIN (1970), p.93.

<sup>437</sup> BARTELINK, p.158 and MESLIN (1970), p.34.

<sup>438</sup> HIPP., *In Dan.comm.*, 4, 9 and *De Antichr.* 25.

<sup>439</sup> BAUS (1965), p.358.

<sup>440</sup> MESLIN (1970), p.34 (NT) and GRANT (1977), p.29-30 (apologists).

<sup>441</sup> TERT., *Apol.* 30, 1 and ATHEN., *Suppl.* 18.

<sup>442</sup> BAUS (1965), p.358-359 (Clement) and ORIGEN, *C.C.*, VIII, 70.

under the Word of God. He even foresaw that Christianity would secure the future of the Empire by the conversion of the barbarians.<sup>443</sup>

His first prediction was of course realized by the conversion of the Roman emperors. Constantine turned the persecutions into privileges and he started to incorporate the Christian clergy in the governmental apparatus. The Church became a pillar of the State and after the battle at the Milvian bridge, Christianity could be presented as a success religion: it was the Christian God who secured the victories of the Roman emperors.<sup>444</sup>

It was Eusebius of Caesarea who drew the theological conclusions from this new situation. He adopted Meliton's and Origen's *praeparatio*-theme: Augustus had established a monarchy to facilitate Christianity's initial spread and Constantine had done this for a second time after the Tetrachic polyarchy. But Constantine had realized an additional phase by replacing polytheism by monotheism, by the monarchy of the Christian God. Monarchy and monotheism, Empire and Church, Roman citizen and Christian came to be identified in the new ideology of the Christian Empire.<sup>445</sup> Since it was Constantine who had realized the providential plan, the emperor could be seen as the instrument of the *Logos* or, stronger still, as the representative or the earthly image of the δεύτερος θεός. The Christian emperors were monarchs by Divine Right and their Person became sacral. As a result, the ruler cult simply continued in a slightly adapted version.<sup>446</sup>

If Empire and Church coincide, the emperor is also the leader of the Church. He is the κοινός ἐπίσκοπος, he convoked councils, influenced the decisions and secured their enactment by use of his secular power.<sup>447</sup> In the reign of Constantius this influence took the form of an attempt to subject the Church to the personal will of the emperor.<sup>448</sup> This evolution was countered by people like Athanasius, Pope Julius, Hosius of Cordoba or Hilary of Poitiers who advocated a policy of non-interference and, by the end of the

<sup>443</sup> ORIG., *C.C.*, VIII, 68.

<sup>444</sup> MACMULLEN (1985), p.185.

<sup>445</sup> GRANT (1977), p.34.

<sup>446</sup> GAUDEMET, p.489 and MESLIN (1970), p.111.

<sup>447</sup> BAUS (1973), p.84 and EUS., *V.C.*, I, 44, 1-2 for the Greek.

<sup>448</sup> See ATHAN., *Hist.Ar.*, 3 and AMM.MARC., 21, 16, 18.



fourth century, Ambrose even tried to reverse the positions: "*Imperator enim intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est.*"<sup>449</sup>

But on the whole we can speak of a State Church: the State privileged the Church by paying for church buildings and by subsidizing its charity, by the exemption of taxes and by discriminating or persecuting heretics, Jews and pagans. The Church offered the emperors a religious valorization and justification of their position.

The identification of Church and Empire received a heavy blow when the city of Rome was captured and sacked in 410. This event led to an annoying campaign of the pagan party who interpreted it as a clear consequence of the anger of the gods, but the Christians too began to have their doubts. For how could God permit that "his" Empire was being destroyed?<sup>450</sup> It was of course Augustine who drew the theological conclusions from this new situation but his project is no longer relevant to our problem and, as far as we know, it had little or no influence on the East.

We should therefore return to Eusebius and ask ourselves what were the differences between the pagan and the Christian political "theology" and what could have been the advantages of the Christian theory.

There are a few clear parallels. The Byzantine veneration for the person of the emperor is paralleled by Diocletian's *adoratio*.<sup>451</sup> The system of Herculian and Jovian tetrarchs connected the emperors both with the supreme god and with a saviour-figure.<sup>452</sup> But the most obvious parallel is found in the Late Antique panegyrics where the emperors are likened to the Neoplatonic δεῦτερος θεός. Pierre Hadot has interpreted the Neoplatonic metaphysical system as a projection of the elaborated hierarchical political structure of the Later Roman Empire.<sup>453</sup>

And in this context, the Christian doctrine of incarnation could be seen as an advantage. The Christian Second God is more earth-

<sup>449</sup> AMBROS., *Sermo c.Aux.*, 36 - see BAUS (1973), p.87-89 for the other church leaders.

<sup>450</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.461 for the pagan and HANSON, p.274-275 for the Christian reaction.

<sup>451</sup> HADOT (1972), p.83.

<sup>452</sup> LIEBESCHÜTZ, p.243.

<sup>453</sup> HADOT, p.83-84.

ly and therefore easier to connect with the person of the emperor. Arianism could bring emperor and mediator even closer together.

But the fundamental difference and the fundamental advantage of the Christian theology was that the Church could offer the popular basis which Neoplatonism lacked. In a society where the social differences were very explicit, the Church could offer a spiritual unity which left the real inequalities untouched and it offered an organization which permitted the emperors to influence this spiritual unity.<sup>454</sup>

#### 3.5.4. *Anti-pagan legislation*

After the defeat of Licinius, in 324, Constantine put an end to the persecutions in the East by restating the principle of religious tolerance. However, the phrasing of the text as handed down by Eusebius gives the impression that from now on it is paganism rather than Christianity that is tolerated.<sup>455</sup> But, as far as we know, Constantine never promulgated a general law against paganism.<sup>456</sup> We do have a few laws against magic, sorcery, *haruspicina* and the like but they explicitly state that only "black" magic is prohibited. The "positive" use of these practices (e.g. for health or crops) remained allowed, and in one of the laws Constantine added that the people should continue to go to the altars and the public shrines and attend their accustomed ceremonies.<sup>457</sup> Furthermore, the religious relevance of a prohibition against fortune telling and black magic can be doubted: these practices were frequently used in political intrigues and the suspicion on the part of the authorities can be dated back to Tiberius or even Plato.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>454</sup> STARR, p.138 - see also Thébert who has interpreted Christianity as an empty shell which was completely filled by Late Antique society.

<sup>455</sup> EUS., *V.C.*, 2, 48-60 see VOGT (1974), p.168.

<sup>456</sup> However, BARNES (1989), p.323-324 believes EUS., *V.C.*, II, 24-60 who stated that Constantine did issue a general ban on pagan practices. But there is no law cited and LIBANIUS, *Or.*, 30, 6 tells us that it was Constantius who forbade sacrifices. See also *infra*.

<sup>457</sup> CT, IX, 16, 1 and 3 (from 319) and 2 (320) - see also CT, XVI, 10, 1 (320) that allows the public consultation of the *haruspices* after lightning had struck the Colosseum.

<sup>458</sup> CHUVIN, p.38 and 281, n.17-19.

The legal position of paganism started to change in the reign of Constantine's sons. Initially, Constans and Constantius only legislated against sacrifices made for the purpose of divination. Geffcken used to think that the law from 341 with the well known opening words "*Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania*" forbade all sacrifices, but nowadays it is generally accepted that the law only repeated the legal measures taken by Constantine.<sup>459</sup> We also have a law against the destruction of temples outside the cities (which didn't mean that destroying temples within the city-walls was allowed of course) and one against the robbing of building-materials from temples for alternative purposes.<sup>460</sup>

But after the usurpation of Magnentius, who got pagan support, Constantius' religious legislation became more severe. Now sole ruler, Constantius banned all nocturnal sacrifices on Nov.23, 353. On Dec.1, 354 he promulgated a general ban on sacrifices and ordered the pagan temples to be closed. Two years later, on Febr.19, 356, this prohibition was repeated and extended to idolatry.<sup>461</sup> However, the impact of these laws should not be overestimated: to Gerald Bonner, the law of 354 even seems to be "*less a legislative decree than a pious declaration of intent*" and other scholars have argued that the enforcement of the laws must have suffered from the fact that the administration itself was still largely pagan.<sup>462</sup> Also, in Rome the law was already abolished in 357. This was the year Constantius visited Rome and he was so overwhelmed by the antiquity and the *grandeur* of the pagan traditions there that he personally guaranteed the functioning and the funding of the Roman temples.<sup>463</sup> On the other hand, Constantius removed the altar of Victory from the curia and thus

<sup>459</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 2 - GEFFCKEN, p.97 (and naturally BARNES, *ibid.*) but see e.g. VOGT (1974), p.172-173; BONNER, p.346 or CHUVIN, p.43-44.

<sup>460</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 3 (342) and CT, IX, 17, 2 (349) - explained by CHUVIN, p.43-44.

<sup>461</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 5 (353); CT, XVI, 10, 4 (354 -death-sentence) and XVI, 10, 6 (356).

<sup>462</sup> BONNER, p.346 and CHUVIN, p.47.

<sup>463</sup> AMM.MARC., XVI, 10 ff. see also CHUVIN, p.45.

started the small Odyssey of this piece of pagan symbolism.<sup>464</sup> To conclude this paragraph on Constantius' anti-pagan legislation, we should also mention a series of laws that were once again exclusively directed against astrology, magic and divination - be it in a exceedingly arrogant tone.<sup>465</sup>

The anti-pagan laws were of course abolished when Julian came to the throne but the religious tolerance did not stop with his death in 363. Leaving the short reign of Jovian out of consideration (363-364), Valentinian (also a Christian) issued a decree of religious tolerance on the occasion of his coming to power in August 364. The text of this decree has not been preserved but Valentinian refers to it himself in a law from 371.<sup>466</sup> We do have a law by which Valentinian abolished the temple-allowances made by Julian, and one from 364 in which all persons who perform nocturnal ceremonies are threatened with the death-penalty<sup>467</sup>, but there is no question of Valentinian banning all pagan cults. All the more severe was the legislation of Valentinian and his western colleague, Valens, against astrology and divination: in 370, they prohibited all possible astrological practices and the teaching of this science. But one year later, they explicitly stated that they only meant "black" practices and that all ancestral religious ceremonies remained allowed, as long as they were not used to harm.<sup>468</sup>

The legal tolerance of paganism finally came to an end with the reign of Theodosius. Initially, this Spanish Catholic only legislated against heretics, apostates and magic. His law-giving attitude towards paganism was at first marked by a cautious moderation.<sup>469</sup> Yet this attitude gradually changed: in 382 his pagan subjects were kindly advised to look at statues of the gods for their artistic qualities only and not for their alleged divinity.<sup>470</sup> On May 25, 385 Theodosius repeated the prohibition against sacrifices

<sup>464</sup> See CHUVIN, *ibid.* - it was put back by Julian, removed by Gratian in 382, put back during Eugenius' usurpation and removed for the last time by Theodosius after the battle of the Frigidus. (394)

<sup>465</sup> CHUVIN, p. 45-46.

<sup>466</sup> CT, IX, 16, 9.

<sup>467</sup> CT, X, 1, 8 and IX, 16, 7.

<sup>468</sup> CT, IX, 16, 8 and 9.

<sup>469</sup> See e.g. CT, XVI, 10, 7; X, 1, 12 and XVI, 10, 8.

<sup>470</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 8.

for divination but it is already significant for the change of atmosphere that his praetorian prefect, Kynegios, gave a much broader interpretation to this law by closing down temples and prohibiting all sacrifices in Egypt.<sup>471</sup> Six years later, Theodosius started his final offensive: in a series of laws (Febr. 24, 391 - June 16, 391 and Nov. 8, 392) he issued a ban on all possible forms of pagan worship, from visiting temples and the making of bloody sacrifices to the use of wreaths and the making of libations.<sup>472</sup> These three laws gave paganism the legal death-blow: never again would it be lawful for a Roman citizen to express his paganism.

But the anti-pagan legislation did not stop here. Arcadius reissued his father's law when he came to the throne in 395 and one year later he, together with Honorius, abolished the privileges of the pagan priests.<sup>473</sup>

And the series of laws continues during the whole fifth century: in 408 the revenues of the pagan temples were confiscated and given to the army and all altars were to be destroyed. Temples built on the imperial domains should be given an alternative use and temples built on private property had to be destroyed.<sup>474</sup> On Nov. 14, 408 pagans were excluded from palatial service and in 416 they were also excluded from the army, the administration and from the judicature.<sup>475</sup> On April 9, 423 Honorius and Theodosius II issued the well-known anti-pagan law in which they expressed their belief that there were no pagans left.<sup>476</sup> Nevertheless, the anti-pagan legislation simply continued: the penalty for sacrificing was altered from death to confiscation and banishment and back to death again; pagans who "*kept quiet*" were promised protection and, once again, all temples "*if there remained any*" were to be destroyed. The death-penalty for sacrificing is repeated in 435, 438 and 451.<sup>477</sup> And our list still isn't complete: we can add a law (perhaps issued in 472) which

<sup>471</sup> LIBAN., *Or.*, 49, 3 and ZOS., IV, 37, 3 in CHUVIN, p. 64-65.

<sup>472</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 10-12.

<sup>473</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 13 and 14.

<sup>474</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 19 see also XVI, 10, 20.

<sup>475</sup> CT, XVI, 5, 42 (408) and XVI, 10, 21 (416).

<sup>476</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 22 - "*Paganos qui supersunt, quamquam iam nullos esse credamus, ...*".

<sup>477</sup> CT, XVI, 10, 23 (banished) - CT, XVI, 10, 24 (protection) CT, XVI, 10, 25 (death and temples) CT, Nov., II, 8 (438) and CJ, I, 11, 7 (451).

repeated and augmented the penalties laid down by the law from 392.<sup>478</sup> If anything, this list makes us understand the impression J.J. O'Donnel got from the anti-pagan legislation: "*the order was given, assumed to be executed and promptly forgotten.*"<sup>479</sup>

If we look further in time, we see that the anti-pagan laws were not only repeated in the fifth century: even Justinian was forced to take legal measures against tenacious remnants of the pagan cults. But his legislation gives the impression that the demise of paganism was finally in sight: e.g. his laws were no longer exclusively directed against pagans but against pagans, heretics, Samaritans and Manichaeans alike. Justinian repeated old laws and added laws of his own such as compulsory baptisms (even of children) and the loss of all civic rights in case of refusal. In short, pagans had to become "civic dead" because, as Justinian wrote about heretics: "*For this kind of people it is more than enough to let them live.*"<sup>480</sup>

### 3.5.5. Anti-pagan violence

Commenting on the Edict of Milan, Gaston Boissier wrote that the Christians claimed religious tolerance for themselves but that it is clear that they in turn were prepared to guarantee religious freedom for all other cults. Boissier was also convinced of the fact that Christianity was not in need of violence to turn paganism into a thing from the past.<sup>481</sup>

This is of course not entirely true: it suffices to read Firmicus Maternus' exhortations of the emperors Constans and Constantius to refute Boissier's first claim and there is even more evidence to make us doubt his second one.<sup>482</sup>

Anti-pagan violence seems to have started before Christianity attained a majority position or the support of the emperors: Canon

<sup>478</sup> CJ, I, 11, 8. Add CJ, I, 4, 15 (468) - pagans excluded from the judicature and CJ, I, 11, 9 - Anastasius (491-518) refusing a request to perform pagan rites. See JONES (1965), p.938.

<sup>479</sup> DONNEL, p.59-60.

<sup>480</sup> CJ, I, 5, 12 and esp. CJ, I, 11, 10. (CHUVIN, p.136-138).

<sup>481</sup> BOISSIER, p.49 and 256.

<sup>482</sup> FIRM.MAT., *De Err.prof.rel.*, 16, 4; 20, 7; 24, 8; 28, 6 and 29, 1. See also MACMULLEN (1984), p.91 and 159, n.12-13 and DESCHNER (1986), p.184.

60 of the Council of Elvira shows us Christians who were killed in an attack against pagan idols.

The conversion of Constantine did not start a wave of violence: as far as we know, only a few temples were destroyed in his reign.<sup>483</sup> The anti-pagan violence starts to escalate under Constantine's sons, with bishops now taking the initiative but it was answered by pagan attacks on churches and church-leaders in the short reign of Julian.<sup>484</sup>

So we can say that the destruction of temples and idols really got into stride in the last quarter of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. In this period famous temples were destroyed in cities as far apart as Apamea, Alexandria or Carthage. Monks and "holy men" started to roam the country-side smashing idols and destroying rural sanctuaries. We can not even think of giving a full survey of all this violence, but it is probably not exaggerated to say that these decades saw the final destruction of the material foundations of ancient paganism. Of the important sanctuaries, only a few (Baalbek, Philae,...) were spared until they too were closed down in the sixth century.<sup>485</sup>

The anti-pagan violence followed a certain line: monks and "holy men" can be called the "shock troops" of christianization. The bishops often played a dubious role by working up their flock or convincing the government to send in troops. And the army, together with the monks, cracked the hardest nuts.

An important aspect of all this religious violence was that the Christians usually attacked places of worship, buildings, whereas pagan violence was mostly directed against persons: the hated bishop or holy man. Now, as Lane Fox has pointed out, people (even holy men) are always replacable but the Christian attacks did more permanent damage.<sup>486</sup> The shrines were completely torn down, profaned (e.g. by leaving behind bones and skulls) or

<sup>483</sup> BARNES (1989), p.325 and CHUVIN, p.39-40.

<sup>484</sup> BARNES (1989), p.326-327 and DESCHNER (1986), p.333 ff. offer a survey.

<sup>485</sup> See BROWN (1972), p.104; CHUVIN, p.65-86; CLAUS, p.279-282; DESCHNER (1986), p.320-321 and 507; GEFFCKEN, p.158; MACMULLEN (1984), p.97-101 and TROMBLEY, p.333-334.

<sup>486</sup> LANE FOX, p.673.

turned into churches: in all three cases the sanctuary was lost to paganism.<sup>487</sup>

But the destruction of temples meant more than just the annihilation of the material foundations of paganism: the lack of divine reprisals for the destruction of the temples could raise doubts in the pagan minds. It proved the Christian point that the pagan gods were lifeless pieces of wood or powerless δαίμονες. In both cases they were no match for Christ. In fact, the destruction of the temples were exorcisms on the largest possible scale: the pagan δαίμονες were driven out of their own temples by the power of a real god, the Christian God.<sup>488</sup>

### 3.5.6. *The pagan reaction under Julian*

When Julian came to the throne in 361 he was already a convinced adherent of the Hellenic religion but his dislike of Christianity never induced him to start a bloody persecution against the Church. In his letters he explicitly forbade the use of violence: the *impious Galileans* should be convinced by reasoning, not by beatings.<sup>489</sup>

Julian's first measures were indeed marked by a tolerant neutrality in religious matters. He purged the court from his predecessor's protégés but retained talented Christians like Aetius or Prohaeresius.<sup>490</sup> He also issued a general amnesty-edict which allowed orthodox bishops who had been banished by the Arian Constantius to return to their sees. According to some his purpose was simply gaining the good-will of all those who had suffered by his predecessor, but others see the amnesty as the first phase of Julian's *divide and rule*-tactics.<sup>491</sup>

Naturally, Julian reopened the temples that had been closed under Constantius and ordered the restitution of confiscated temple-treasures and -grounds. Temples which had been destroyed

<sup>487</sup> ID., p.672-673 and CLAUSS, p.280-281 (profanation).

<sup>488</sup> MACMULLEN (1984), p.99; LANE FOX, p.672 and CHUVIN, p.72-74.

<sup>489</sup> JUL., *Ep.* 141, p.195 (Bidez) and *Ep.* 61, p.75 (id.).

<sup>490</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.372.

<sup>491</sup> Pro: SOZOM., *H.E.*, V, 4, 8, 5 and PHILOST., *H.E.*, VII, 4 Contra: RUFIN., *H.E.*, X, 27; SOCR., *H.E.*, III, 1, 48; THEOD., *H.E.*, III, 4, 1 and AMM.MARC., 22, 5, 2.



had to be rebuilt by the responsible bishops.<sup>492</sup> Julian also abolished the privileges of the Christian clergy and put an end to the public subsidizing of Christian charity.<sup>493</sup>

The Christian reaction was a violent one: Christians started riots, smashed idols and burned down the newly opened temples. In a lot of cases it were the orthodox bishops who incited the Christian populace to these attacks.<sup>494</sup> But with a pagan on the throne, Christian violence was answered by pagan violence. In almost every town of the East, churches were burnt down, Christians were harassed, tortured and killed.<sup>495</sup> Apparently, pagans now saw the opportunity to act upon their long suppressed feelings of hatred and revenge. Special attention was payed to those Christian clerics who had been involved in the destruction or the confiscation of pagan sanctuaries. The lynching of Georgios, bishop of Alexandria, is our most relevant example for here we have clear evidence for Julian's reaction. The pagans of Alexandria recieved a letter from the emperor who told them that a lynching was not really worthy of the Hellenic religion but those responsible for it were not punished. The same line of conduct was adopted in similar cases. On the other hand, Christian violence was punished severely. As a result of this religious favoritism the Christians were unofficially outlawed.<sup>496</sup>

We have already mentioned his rhetoricians-edict<sup>497</sup> but the *Galileans* were also excluded from the praetorian garde, the army, the provincial government and the judicature.<sup>498</sup> Christians who complained about this unfair treatment were told that suffering undeserved wrongs was a Christian virtue.<sup>499</sup>

The discrimination of the Church and its members was paralleled by the accordance of privileges to pagans. Julian wanted more than just a reopening of the temples. He planned a full-scaled reorganization of paganism. The *Apostate* expounded his ideas in

<sup>492</sup> GEFFCKEN, p.120 and CHUVIN, p.50.

<sup>493</sup> GEFFCKEN, p.123.

<sup>494</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.372 and DESCHNER, p.330.

<sup>495</sup> ID., p.124 and DESCHNER (1986), p.331.

<sup>496</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.371-372 and 374-375; CHUVIN, p.50.

<sup>497</sup> See n. 366.

<sup>498</sup> JUL., *Ep.* 83 (BIDEZ, p.94 and 143) see DE LABRIOLLE, p.374.

<sup>499</sup> SOCR., *H.E.*, 13, 9.

what Pierre de Labriolle has called his *pastoral letters*.<sup>500</sup> The head of this new organisation was of course the emperor himself in his capacity of *pontifex maximus*. On the second level, Julian foresaw a network of provincial highpriests who were themselves responsible for the local priests. Julian's priests had to be more than the officials they used to be: they were to answer to certain moral requirements. Julian even thought of a list of harmful books (e.g. the works of satiricians and sceptic philosophers). But the two fundamental requirements were piety and high moral standards or, as Julian put it, love of the gods and love of man.<sup>501</sup>

And φιλανθρωπία too recieved an organisation and public support: Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia, recieved 30.000 measures of grain and 60.000 measures of wine for the poor who were in his service and for the distribution to beggars and strangers.<sup>502</sup> As is said earlier, Julian explicitly referred to the success of Christian charity as an argument for his own organisation.<sup>503</sup> As a result, Julian was almost instantly reproached with plagiarism. His younger contemporary, Gregory of Nazianzus, called this new organisation πιθήκων μιμήματα - aping.<sup>504</sup>

Modern scholars often agreed and applied this thought to Julian's failure. Boissier wrote that Julian's project proved that imitating the Church was the only possible way of resisting Christianity. This also proved that the Church offered the best answers to the social and spiritual needs of Late Antique society.<sup>505</sup>

Yet plagiarism is not the only possible explanation. In the first half of this century, Geffcken remarked that this view ignores the slow internal evolution of paganism. According to this scholar, Julian's reorganization was inspired or at least foreshadowed by the writings of Iamblichus.<sup>506</sup> More recently Peter Brown has agreed. He gave Sallustius' <sup>507</sup> systematic handbook *On the Gods and the World* as another example of paganism's internal tendency to

<sup>500</sup> In Bidez' edition the numbers 84a, 86, 88, 89a and 89b.

<sup>501</sup> JUL., *Ep.* 86 (BIDEZ, p.173).

<sup>502</sup> *Ep.* 84 (BIDEZ, p.144).

<sup>503</sup> See n. 223.

<sup>504</sup> GREG.NAZ., *Or.* 4, 112 (PG 35.649).

<sup>505</sup> BOISSIER, p.141.

<sup>506</sup> GEFFCKEN, p.131 and 113.

<sup>507</sup> It is unclear whether this philosopher is the same as Julian's friend and praetorian prefect.

become "organised, articulate and polemical". In fact, rigid systematization characterized all aspects of Late Antique society: government, law, philosophy, medicine, religion and even magic and astrology.<sup>508</sup> Still according to Brown, the soberness and the φιλανθρωπία of Julian's priests "may have sprung quite naturally from the rich soil of Asia-Minor, a soil better known to Julian (and to the fortunate epigraphist) than to the average classical scholar."<sup>509</sup> Brown also suggested that Julian's reference to the success of Christian charity should not be seen as an attempt to imitate the self-sacrificing neighbourly love of the individual Christian, "what Julian was up against was the sheer purchasing power of imperial munificence." His aim "was to out-Constantine Constantine in supporting his own religion."<sup>510</sup>

And this has brought us to the most relevant aspect of Julian's project: its failure. As Karlheinz Deschner remarked: "The world has become accustomed to seeing Julian's reaction as a nostalgic yearning, a romantic anachronism, an absurd attempt to turn the clock backwards."<sup>511</sup> Julian is described as a dreamer, whose religious otherworldliness should be ascribed to childhood trauma and adolescent escapism.<sup>512</sup> But was Julian's attempt really foredoomed to failure? In other words, may fourth-century paganism be likened to "a number of sandcastles - some big, some small- but all facing erosion and destruction by the advancing tide"?<sup>513</sup>

This is not the impression we get from paganism in Julian's reign. The pagan violence proves that parts of the pagan population nursed serious grievances because of the anti-pagan measures taken by Julian's predecessors. All over the Empire inscriptions were dedicated to Julian, honouring him as "the restorer of the cults".<sup>514</sup> And if parts of paganism retained their vitality until

<sup>508</sup> BROWN (1982), p.96 with ref. to O.MURRAY, JRS, LXIX, 1969, p.263.

<sup>509</sup> BROWN (1982), p.97 - the epigraphist is of course Louis Robert.

<sup>510</sup> ID., p.98 and 97 with ref. to Ch.PIETRI (1977), p.84 for the impact of Constantine's munificence on the churches of Rome. Brown's suggestion is very interesting but in *Misop.*, 363 A-B Julian clearly refers to individual charity.

<sup>511</sup> DESCHNER (1986), p.327 - see e.g. BOISSIER, p.138 and more recently BAUS (1973), p.60; BONNER, p.343 or FREND (1984), p.600.

<sup>512</sup> BROWN (1982), p.90.

<sup>513</sup> FREND, *ibid.*

<sup>514</sup> GEFFCKEN, p.140 and 292, n.143-146 and BROWN (1982), p.94.

the fifth century and, in some cases, even until the sixth, what are we to think of paganism in Julian's reign?

Julian's reaction is probably viewed by us from a distorted perspective. We look at the fourth century and discern an oasis of pagan rule, a mere two and a half years, with decades of Christian emperors before and after it. But to the pagan in 361 it was probably the rule of Constantine and his sons which appeared as the little clowd, now passed by. For in their perspective the Roman emperors had always supported the pagan cults and Julian now again honoured this age-old tradition. We should also keep in mind that Constantine never launched a general attack against paganism and that Constantius' prohibitions should be dated late in his reign.<sup>515</sup> So the generation of the 360's was not yet entirely estranged from the pagan cults.

In the more subtle version of this explanation, it is not paganism in general but Julian's own kind of paganism which is out-dated. In this view, Julian's paganism was too austere, it was obsessed by ritual and opposed to festivities. His love of sacrifices was no longer of his time: the pagan intellectuals preferred immaterial offerings and for the masses also, religious festivals no longer consisted primarily of eating meat.<sup>516</sup> Furthermore, Julian's paganism was too intellectual, too philosophical. His élitist neo-platonism could not inspire the average pagan.<sup>517</sup>

But we should not overestimate the importance of Julian's few religious idiosyncrasies. More relevant was that he gave each pagan the freedom and the opportunity to express his own kind of paganism. To Peter Brown it is not so obvious that Julian's sacrificing zeal was out-dated - for changes in the ancient world were always slow processes. Even the intellectual gap could be exaggerated: if the Christian populace had animated discussions on theological issues, why then should it seem impossible that pagans talked about their "*theology*"?<sup>518</sup>

Julian was clearly up-to-date in his choice of mechanisms for keeping the Church down and for promoting paganism. The storm of protest against his rhetoricians-edict clearly shows that the

<sup>515</sup> See 3.5.2 and 3.5.4.

<sup>516</sup> BOISSIER, p.132 and CHUVIN, p.53.

<sup>517</sup> DE LABRIOLLE, p.386.

<sup>518</sup> BROWN (1982), p.100 and 98.

Christians too realized the devastating impact of cultural atrophy on the social position of their religion. Christianity might have known an entirely different future if Julian had had the opportunity to continue his social, financial and political discrimination. According to Peter Brown, Julian's first concern was to drive Christianity out of the upper-classes, "*much as Buddhism was driven back to the lower classes by a revived Confucian mandarinism in thirteenth-century China.*"<sup>519</sup> Considering that a lot of intellectuals remained faithful to the Hellenic religion until the fifth and the sixth century under Christian emperors, Julian's failure might seem less unavoidable.

But all this is mere speculation. Julian did not get more time. He was killed in a little skirmish during his Persian campaign on 26 June 363.<sup>520</sup>

The Christians reacted with relief and with joy. The reaction of the pagan party was strange. The army and the courtiers had agreed on Saturninius Secundus Salutius as Julian's successor. As praetorian prefect for the Orient and close friend of Julian, he did indeed seem the most obvious choice but the man refused the throne, on grounds of age and ill-health. On his refusal, the troops acclaimed Jovian, a Christian, and he took the purple. When Jovian died, one year later, Salutius was once again offered the throne but he refused a second time. This time, the second candidate was Valentinian, also a Christian. So, two times in row, the pagan party let power slip away from them. How can this be explained? For age and ill-health did not prevent Salutius from being praetorian prefect for four more years. Salutius could have secured the pagan interests by accepting the purple for a few years while seeking out a more vigorous successor. Why didn't he? Or is O'Donnell right and does our puzzlement result from the wrong assumption that fourth-century politics were dominated by a conflict between two opposing factions: paganism and Christianity? According to this scholar there never was a "*pagan party*" and Julian's hatred of the Christians was a heritage from his Christian education rather than the consequence of true Hellenism.<sup>521</sup>

<sup>519</sup> BROWN (1971), p.93.

<sup>520</sup> AMM.MARC., XXV, 3 ff. and LIBAN., Or.24, ch.21.

<sup>521</sup> O'DONNELL, p.46-48 (for the entire chapter).

## 4. CONCLUSION

Only a few years ago, Paul Veyne wrote that no historian in the world was capable of explaining the christianization of the Roman Empire.<sup>522</sup> Charles Pietri rightly answered that this kind of statements can lead to a pseudo-providentialism where each historian can pick out the intrigue he likes most. But, although we reject this kind of subjective history-writing, we should remain aware of the difficulties posed by the choice and the arguing of a definitive *intrigue*.

We can describe a number of mechanisms, social, psychological, cultural, etc. by which pagans were converted to Christianity. On this basic level, we can discern a new emphasis on the importance of the Jewish heritage. The typically Jewish osmosis between cult and ethics made that Christianity's power of attraction was not purely religious but also social and philosophical. The diaspora-synagogues offered a model for the organisation of this social appeal and Hellenistic Judaism provided the Christian philosophers with a first synthesis between Semitic monotheism and Greek thought. The Old Testament gave the new religion a venerable age - of the outmost importance in a culture which had come to identify tradition and antiquity with dignity and truth. The revealed character of the Christian message offered unshakable answers to everyone who had become tired of the questions. The resulting exclusiveness made that Christianity remained an independent alternative in a largely syncretistic religious climate. Judaism also offered the clear social and psychological advantages of communities with an intense group exaltation and an equally intense aversion and contempt for all those who did not want to belong to this group. The same contrast was of course projected on the hereafter.

Turning to the relation between Christianity and paganism, we must first mention the new definition of the problem. The Oriental religions are no longer treated as the sole remaining alternative for Christianity. Not only because these cults are no longer seen

<sup>522</sup> In his introduction to the French translation of BROWN (1978) - "*La g n se de l'Antiquit  tardive*." Paris, 1983, p.XVII. This translation was not available to us but his statement is paraphrased and commented on in PIETRI (1984), p.313.

as an independent alternative but also because it has become clear that they were by no means the only vital parts of fourth-century paganism.

There have been other changes in the appreciation of the conversion-mechanisms. The relevance of some aspects of Greek culture for the christianization have been criticized (think e.g. of rational criticism of the mythological pantheon) and the impact of the crisis of the third century is now painted in less dramatic colours. But a major shift has been brought about by the gradual loss of confidence in Dodds' explanations. His anxiety-theory has been criticized both for its intellectualism and for its selective use of the evidence. *Anxiety* is no longer accepted as the key-word for the religious feelings of the majority of the population, not even for the majority of the intellectuals. The already mentioned new appreciation of the third century crisis and recent findings about daily life in the ancient cities have also led to the disavowal of his socio-psychological conclusions.

Two explanations, Christianity as a cheaper religion and as a religion of protest, can be virtually excluded from our list of explanatory factors although there is some evidence for Christianity as the religious expression of the resurgence of native cultures in the third and the fourth century.

But the fundamental problem is that it remains virtually impossible to attribute a relative weight to each of these factors. The three most popular explanations for the succes of pre-Constantinian Christianity are miracles, martyrs and charity. But we have seen that each of these mechanisms can be seriously criticized or that they are in need of shading. Stating that this or that factor was the most important single reason for the succes of pre-Constantinian Christianity has become very difficult indeed.

It is clear that it was the political support that led to the eventual Christian victory. The privileges of the clergy, the impact of imperial munificence on church buildings and charity, the newly acquired social respectability, the religious favoritism, the anti-pagan legislation and the anti-pagan violence, all this brought about the eventual demise of paganism. But of course the central problem here is the conversion of the political power, the conversion of Constantine.

There still is no consensus on the mission and expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries. One group of scholars (e.g. Gibbon, MacMullen and Lane Fox) sees Christianity as a minority religion until the beginning of the fourth century. Massive conversions only came about after the unexpected event of Constantine's conversion and his pro-Christian policy. But according to Barnes, Brown or Frend the decisive period was the so-called Little Peace of the Church (260-303) - a period of rapid numerical expansion and of a growing respectability.<sup>523</sup>

We believe that there is more to say for the first view than for the second. The insufficient methods of the missions, the problems posed by the pre-Constantinian mechanisms for mass-conversion, the negative arguments from archeology, epigraphy, papyrology and literature<sup>524</sup> plus the long-term resistance of paganism under the Christian emperors all seem to point in the direction of the decisive impact of that subjective factor - the conversion of Constantine - on the history of Christianity.

But we are well aware of the fact that certainty can not be attained until we have a full-scale, up-to-date and well argued survey of all the evidence concerning the expansion of Christianity in this crucial period, the last decades of the third and the first decades of the fourth century.

In the mean time we can only hope that this article will somehow serve a purpose in offering a "short cut" to the more specialized literature on the conversion of the Roman world.

<sup>523</sup> BARNES (1989), p.306-307.

<sup>524</sup> LANE FOX, p.269-270.



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# Le sermon 34 de Chromace d'Aquilée pour l'Épiphanie

Nouvelle attestation dans l'homélaire carolingien  
du Pseudo-Bède

par

Joseph LEMARIÉ

(Chartres)

Le sermon pour la fête de l'Épiphanie (sermon 34 de notre édition *Sources Chrétiennes* et *Corpus Christianorum* IX A) ne nous est parvenu que par l'intermédiaire de l'homélaire carolingien dit du Pseudo-Bède<sup>1</sup>.

Nous écrivions dans notre édition de *Sources Chrétiennes* (n° 164, p. 184-185, note 3): «De ce sermon pour l'Épiphanie qui commentait vraisemblablement Matthieu 3, 13-17, le compilateur

<sup>1</sup> L'homélaire dit du Pseudo-Bède est un recueil d'homélies commentant les épîtres de l'année liturgique. Composé dans la région de Salzbourg dans la première décennie du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il utilise des oeuvres patristiques variées selon le principe des compilateurs carolingiens. Grâce à ces emprunts, parfois relativement brefs, parfois nettement plus longs, emprunts d'ailleurs souvent remaniés et glossés, un commentaire suivi du texte scripturaire est constitué. Plusieurs témoins, dont quelques uns du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, en subsistent. Voir une liste dans H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'Ecole d'Auxerre* (Studi e testi 225, 1962), p. 8-10. Voir aussi dans nos éditions des sermons de Chromace ceux que nous avons utilisés. J. Gymnich (Gymnicus) en fit une édition au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après le ms. conservé à Trèves (Stadtbibl. 216), témoin qui n'est pas excellent.

Le texte qui fait l'objet de notre article figure au jour octave de l'Épiphanie (exceptionnellement c'est le mystère lui-même et non l'épître qui est commenté). L'édition de *PLS* II, 1287-1288, reprend celle donnée par Liverani au siècle dernier. La deuxième partie de l'homélie est empruntée à une homélie latine attribuée à Jean Chrysostome: *De eruditione disciplinae* (cf. *Clavis* 1146).

de l'homélaire du Pseudo-Bède n'a retenu que quelques passages». En fait il a utilisé probablement tout le début du sermon, en lui faisant subir quelques remaniements, selon sa coutume.

Dans notre édition du *Corpus Christianorum* nous n'avions retenu que ce que nous livre le Pseudo-Bède. Mais dans la note de *Sources Chrétiennes* que nous venons de citer, nous poursuivions : «On trouve dans le *tractatus* XII sur Matthieu 3, 13-15 un emprunt au sermon : *quia ergo Dominus noster novum baptisma ... ut nos per baptismum ab omnibus lavaremur peccatis* [lignes 29-36 de *S. Chr.*, lignes 28-34 du *C. Chr.*]. Il y a donc lieu de croire que le *tractatus* en question a conservé — en les remaniant — d'autres développements omis par le compilateur bavarois».

Cette constatation nous avait semblé nous autoriser à compléter en quelque sorte le sermon grâce au *tractatus* XII. Cet apport constituait les lignes 37 - 77 de notre édition de *Sources Chrétiennes* (p. 184-188), permettant de donner un exposé assez complet de la pensée de Chromace sur le mystère du baptême de Jésus dans le Jourdain.

Or, récemment, en nous interrogeant sur d'autres homélies sur les Epîtres du Pseudo-Bède, nous avons remarqué un passage de l'homélie sur Tite 3, 4-7, de la seconde messe de Noël (n° 4 de l'édition de Gymnicus, p. 9-11) qui nous a intrigué. Les sources de cette homélie nous échappent, mais nous avons l'impression d'avoir déjà lu les quelques lignes suivantes :

*Per baptismum ergo peccata omnia dimittuntur et regni caelestis aditus aperitur. Per baptismum ergo peccato morimur et Christo convivimus. Vitae pristinae sepelimur et novae vitae resurgimus.*

Nous nous sommes assez rapidement aperçu que nous avions là, sous le plume du compilateur bavarois de l'homélaire du Pseudo Bède, l'équivalent d'un passage du *tractatus* XII, avec de légères variantes<sup>2</sup>. Le première phrase est absente du *tractatus* ; elle peut cependant fort bien provenir du sermon.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractatus* XII, lignes 45-47 (CCL, IXA, p. 245). Voici les trois variantes entre le passage du Pseudo-Bède et le *tractatus* : *per baptismum ergo* / *per baptismum itaque* tr. // *et Christo* / *sed Christo* tr. // *et novae vitae* : *sed novae vitae* tr. Dans notre édition du CCL, nous avons omis la référence à II Tim. 2, 11.

Nous constatons donc que le compilateur a fait, pour constituer son commentaire de l'épître de la messe de l'aurore de Noël, un bref emprunt au sermon de Chromace pour l'Épiphanie, lignes qu'il avait laissé tomber dans son commentaire sur Matthieu du jour octave de l'Épiphanie<sup>3</sup>. Il est exclu, en effet, que le compilateur soit allé emprunter ces lignes au *tractatus*. Le commentaire sur Matthieu de l'évêque d'Aquilée est en effet demeuré ignoré dans les milieux de Mondsee et de Salzbourg d'où proviennent l'homélaire de Mondsee (Vienne, Nationalbibliothek 1014), l'homélaire carolingien bavarois dérivé de Mondsee<sup>4</sup> et l'homélaire sur les Epîtres du Pseudo-Bède. Par contre nous savons que les auteurs de ces homéliaires ont utilisé un corpus très probablement anonyme (ou peut-être attribué à Augustin?) de sermons de Chromace, corpus que possédait l'armarium de l'abbaye de Mondsee au début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>5</sup>.

Il en résulte qu'une nouvelle édition critique de ce sermon 34 de Chromace devrait comporter ces quelques lignes conservées par le Pseudo-Bède dans son commentaire sur l'épître de la messe de l'aurore. D'autre part, s'il en était besoin, une nouvelle preuve est donnée du fait que nous avons souligné à plusieurs reprises: Chromace, en dictant ou écrivant son commentaire sur Matthieu dans les dix dernières années de son épiscopat (entre 397 et 407/8), a parfois utilisé ses sermons dont une transcription était conservée dans la bibliothèque de l'épiscopium et qu'il avait à portée de la main<sup>6</sup>. Mais, comme nous l'avons également plusieurs fois souligné, à l'origine ce recueil n'était pas destiné à la publication,

<sup>3</sup> Dans le *tract.*, les lignes *per baptismum itaque ...* (45-47) viennent à la suite de la citation Rom. 6, 4, citation que l'on ne retrouve pas dans le Pseudo-Bède. Celui-ci donne les trois lignes que nous publions à la suite de Jean 3,5 (également cité dans le *tract.*, 1. 38-39). Vraisemblablement manque-t-il un bref passage du sermon qui précédait les trois lignes ici récupérées.

<sup>4</sup> Sur l'homélaire de Mondsee et son dérivé, voir H. BARRÉ, *L'homélaire carolingien de Mondsee*, Revue Bénédictine, LXXI, 1961, p. 71-107, et *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'Ecole d'Auxerre*, p. 25-26.

<sup>5</sup> Dédié à l'archevêque Hildebold de Cologne par l'abbé Lantperthus de Mondsee, l'homélaire peut être daté entre 811 et 819; cf. H. BARRÉ, *o.c.*, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> Nous avons signalé les points de contact entre les *tract.* et les sermons dans CCL, p. 530-531. Un cas intéressant serait celui du *tract.* VIII sur Matthieu 3, 1-3 qui pourrait s'inspirer assez largement d'un sermon pour la fête de saint Jean-Baptiste qui ne nous est pas parvenu.

et sans doute rares furent les retranscriptions qui en furent faites avant la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dès lors, une question se pose. Si un certain nombre d'emprunts faits par le compilateur de ces homéliaires carolingiens au corpus des sermons de Chromace ont pu être identifiés et restitués à ce dernier, ne serait-il pas possible que l'homélaire du Pseudo-Bède ait conservé d'autres passages de ces sermons qui seraient demeurés encore non identifiés? En l'absence d'une attestation parallèle, dans un sermon transmis soit par la tradition manuscrite germanique, soit surtout catalane, ou dans un *tractatus*, ces brefs emprunts seraient indécelables<sup>7</sup>.

Qu'il nous suffise d'avoir apporté un nouveau témoignage, d'une importance certes bien relative, à la diffusion des sermons de Chromace dans les scriptoria bavarois du début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>7</sup> Pour les emprunts faits par les compilateurs carolingiens bavarois au corpus chromacien, voir les tables dans l'édition du *CCL*, p. XXV-XXVII.

# «In penetralibus mentis adorare Deum»

(Augustin, *Epistula* 10,3)

par

Georges FOLLIET

(Paris)

Après avoir insisté dans sa *Lettre* 10 à Nébridius sur la nécessité pour le sage de vivre retiré du monde en vue de se rendre semblable à Dieu dans l'exercice des vertus (*deificari in otio*), Augustin exhorte son correspondant à rendre un culte intérieur à Dieu en une formule tout aussi concise et expressive (*CSEL* 34,1, p. 24, 14-18):

Quod si in natura humana talis vita (magna secessio a tumultu rerum labentium) non cadit, cur aliquando evenit ista *securitas*? Cur tanto evenit crebrius, quanto quisque *in mentis penetralibus adorat Deum*? Cur in actu etiam humano plerumque ista *tranquillitas* manet, si *ex illo adyto* ad agendum quisque procedat?

Dans un précédent article<sup>1</sup> nous avons montré combien le contexte de ce passage est d'inspiration néo-platonicienne, avec des formulations que l'on trouve chez Porphyre: «Parallèlement au passage de la lettre 10 où Augustin exhorte Nébridius à la pratique des vertus purifiantes et à l'*otium*, c'est à peu près toute la 32<sup>e</sup> Sentence des *Aphormai* de Porphyre qu'il faudrait citer». Ainsi en est-il pour les notions de *securitas* et de *tranquillitas* qui apparaissent dans ce passage où, tout en recourant à une terminologie proprement stoïcienne, Augustin reprend à son compte la doctrine de l'*apatheia* courante dans le néo-platonisme<sup>2</sup>. Nous

<sup>1</sup> «*Deificari in otio*», Augustin, *Epistula* X, 2, dans *Recherches augustiniennes*, 2, 1968, p. 225-236.

<sup>2</sup> Voir les textes donnés à la note 25 de l'article précédemment signalé.

voulons apporter ici des textes complémentaires à ceux donnés<sup>3</sup> précédemment, pour montrer que l'expression «*in mentis penetralibus adorare deum*» s'inspire de la même tradition.

Il nous semble qu'Augustin veut exprimer ici une double idée : d'une part que c'est dans la mesure où nous cherchons à atteindre Dieu par la *connaissance* et la prière, que nous lui rendons le culte qui lui est dû, et d'autre part que l'esprit, où Dieu est *connu*, devient alors le *temple*, ou le sanctuaire où Dieu est *adoré*.

On trouve déjà dans le stoïcisme cette dénomination de l'*esprit* comme *sanctuaire divin*, lorsqu'il s'applique à *connaître Dieu*. Zénon de Cittium, son fondateur, affirmait que construire des temples de pierre aux dieux est totalement inutile, car le divin réside dans le *voûs*, au témoignage d'Epiphane, *De fide* (GCS 37, p. 508, 16-18; P.G. 42, 796 C) :

Zeno Citiensis Stoicus *templa* diis extrui nolebat, quippe *divinum numen sola mente continendum*, sive potius habendam pro Deo *mentem ipsam*, utpote quae sit immortalis.

Sénèque reprend à son compte cette doctrine. Citons d'abord ce texte (Frag. 123 Haase), emprunté probablement aux *Exhortationes*, et que nous connaissons grâce à Lactance, *Institutiones* VI, 25, 3 (CSEL 19, p. 577, 21)<sup>4</sup> :

Quanto melius et verius Seneca : Vultisne vos, inquit, Deum cogitare magnum et placidum et maiestate leni verendum, amicum et semper in proximo, non immolationibus nec sanguine multo *colendum* — quae enim ex trucidatione immerentium voluptas est? —, *sed mente pura*, bono honestoque proposito? Non *templa* illi congestis in altitudinem saxis extruenda sunt : *in suo cuique consecrandus est pectore*.

Un autre texte de Sénèque fait écho, en plus bref, à cette citation, dans *Epist.* 95, 47 (coll. 'Belles Lettres', éd. F. Préchac, p. 103) :

Quomodo sint dii colendi, solet praecipi ... *deum colit qui novit*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 233, n. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Marion LAUSBERG a longuement étudié la survie de ce Frag. 123 de Haase dans son livre *Untersuchungen zu Senecas Fragmenten*, Berlin, 1970, p. 82 sv.

<sup>5</sup> On peut aussi évoquer un passage de Cicéron, *De natura deorum*, II, 153 (éd. Pease, t. 2, p. 946) : „Quae contuens animus accipit *cognitionem deorum*, e qua oritur *pietas*, cui coniuncta iustitia est reliquaeque virtutes, e quibus vita beata existit, par et similis deorum ...”.

Mais l'extrait des *Exhortationes* de Sénèque attesté par Lactance, était déjà connu de Minicius Félix, comme l'a montré Pierre Courcelle<sup>6</sup>, à propos du passage de l'*Octavius*, XXXII, 1-2 (coll. 'Belles Lettres', éd. Jean Beaujeu, Paris 1964, p. 54-55):

*Templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus eius opere fabricatus eum capere non possit? ... Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente, in nostro immo consecrandus est pectore? ... Ingratum est, cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus et pura mens et sincera sententia ...*

Cette doctrine du vrai culte rendu à Dieu dans le sanctuaire de l'esprit se retrouve chez Lactance en plusieurs endroits<sup>7</sup>:

*Epitome* 53, 2 (*CSEL* 19, p. 734, 7):

Non indiget *templo* cuius domicilium mundus est, non indiget simulacro ... Quid igitur ab homine desiderat Deus nisi *cultum mentis*, qui est purus et sanctus? ... Quid pretiosi lapides conferunt, si *colentis pura mens* non est?

- 61, 10 (*ibid.* p. 748, 20):

Emaculetur omni labe pectus, ut *templum Dei* esse possit, quod non auri nec eboris nitor, sed fidei et castitatis fulgor illustrat.

*Institutiones*, I, 20, 23 (*ibid.* p. 75, 22):

Firmius et incorruptius *templum est pectus humanum*;

- III, 9, 19 (*ibid.* p. 202, 1):

quid iustitia nisi *pietas*? pietas autem nihil aliud quam *Dei parentis agnitio*.

- V, 8, 4 (*ibid.* p. 421, 20):

cuius (Dei) *templum* est non lapides aut lutum, sed *homo ipse*, qui figuram Dei gestat: quod templum non auri et gemmarum donis corruptibilibus, sed aeternis uirtutum muneribus ornatur.

- VI, 25, 15 (*ibid.* p. 580, 12):

Secum denique habeat Deum semper *in corde suo* consecratum, quoniam ipse est *Dei templum*.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre COURCELLE, *Virgile et l'immanence divine chez Minucius Felix*, dans *Mullus, Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, 1964, p. 34-42.

<sup>7</sup> La plupart de ces références sont données par Hugo Koch dans son article *Der „Tempel Gottes“ bei Laktantius*, dans *Philologus*, Bd. 76 (N.F. Bd XXX), p. 920, p. 235-238.



*De ira Dei* 24, 14 (23, 28) (CSEL 27, p. 132, 12):

Sit nobis Deus *non in templis*, sed *in cordo nostro* consecratus.

Citons encore un passage d'Arnobé, *Adversus nationes*, 4, 30 (CSEL 4, p. 166, 3)<sup>8</sup>:

Non enim qui sollicite relegit et immaculatas hostias caedit ... numina consentiendus est colere ... *Cultus verus in pectore est atque opinatio de dis digna*, nec quicquam prodest inlatio sanguinis et cruoris.

L'hermétisme reprend cette doctrine du vrai culte rendu à Dieu dans l'intimité de l'âme par la connaissance et la piété, comme le montrent ces textes proposés par Norden<sup>9</sup>:

*Asclepius* 14 (Corpus Hermeticum, coll. Belles Lettres, t. 2, éd. Nock, p. 312, 18):

Simplici enim mente et anima *divinitatem colere* eiusque facta venerari, *agere etiam dei voluntati gratias*, quae est bonitatis sola plenissima, haec est nulla animi inportuna curiositate violata *philosophia* (traduction A.-J. Festugière: *Adorer la divinité d'un coeur et d'une âme simples*, révéler les oeuvres de Dieu, rendre enfin des actions de grâces à la volonté divine qui, seule, est infiniment pleine de bien, *telle est la philosophie* que n'entache nulle curiosité mauvaise de l'esprit).

*Poimandrès* 6,5 (*Ibid.*, t. 1, éd. Nock, p. 75, 13; dans la traduction de A.-J. Festugière):

Quand tu vas à la recherche de Dieu, c'est aussi vers le beau que tu vas. Car il n'y a qu'une seule route qui mène d'ici vers le beau, *la piété accompagnée de connaissance*.

- 9,4 (*ibid.*, p. 97, 17):

La piété est la connaissance de Dieu, et *celui qui a appris à connaître Dieu*, rempli qu'il est de tous les biens, tient ses intellections de Dieu même.

<sup>8</sup> Cette référence est donnée par Paolo Mastrandea, dans son livre *Lettori cristiani di Seneca filosofo*, Brescia, 1988, p. 30 où il revient sur les parallèles au frag. 123 de Sénèque.

<sup>9</sup> Ces rapprochements ont déjà été proposés par E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, Darmstadt, 1956, p. 96.

- 10,9 (*ibid.* p. 117, 10):

... la vertu de l'âme est la connaissance, car celui qui connaît est bon et pieux et déjà divin.

Mais c'est probablement à Porphyre qu'Augustin emprunte directement cette doctrine du vrai culte à rendre à Dieu, à savoir l'adoration, dans le sanctuaire de l'esprit. Rappelons le passage de la *Philosophie des Oracles* que nous a transmis Augustin dans le *De civitate Dei*, XIX, 23, déjà cité à propos de l'expression *deificari in otio*<sup>10</sup> (CCSL 48, p. 693, 128-133), et où se trouve comme définie la véritable adoration ou le vrai culte dû à Dieu :

Nam Deus quidem, utpote omnium Pater, nullius indiget; sed nobis est bene, cum eum per iustitiam et castitatem aliasque virtutes adoramus, ipsam vitam precem ad ipsum facientes per *imitationem*, et *inquisitionem* de ipso. *Inquisitio* enim purgat, inquit; *imitatio* deificat affectionem ad ipsum operando.

Plusieurs autres textes de Porphyre peuvent être avancés pour confirmation. Citons tout d'abord quelques extraits de la *Lettre à Marcella* qui nous paraissent des plus expressifs :

- 11 (coll. 'Belles Lettres', édition et traduction E. des Places, p. 111, 22):

La philosophie enseigne que partout et totalement la divinité est présente: c'est à elle que chez les hommes a été consacré un temple (νεών), la pensée (τὴν διάνοιαν), celle surtout du sage, ou plutôt elle seule; l'hommage convenable est rendu à Dieu par qui a le mieux appris à le connaître; et celui-là, naturellement, c'est seulement le sage, qui par la sagesse doit honorer la divinité, par la sagesse lui préparer dans son esprit un sanctuaire (ἐν τῇ γνῶμῃ τὸ ἱερόν) en l'ornant d'une statue vivante, l'intellect où <Dieu> a imprimé son image

...  
cf. *Sententiae Pythagorae* 66 (ed. Chadwick, p. 89) νεὼς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς; et *Sent. Sexti* 46a (p. 16), 144 (p. 28): ἱερόν ἄγιον θεοῦ διάνοια εὐσεβοῦς.

- *Ibid.* 16 (p. 115, 1):

«Tu honoreras Dieu de la plus excellente manière en lui assimilant ton esprit ... L'âme du sage, elle, se modèle sur Dieu, elle voit Dieu constamment, elle est constamment unie à Dieu ...»

cf. *Sententiae Pythagorae* 102 (ed. Chadwick, p. 92).

<sup>10</sup> Voir note 1.

- *Ibid.* 17 (p. 116, 1):

Et 'celui qui pratique la sagesse pratique la science de Dieu' ... Agréable à Dieu, on ne le devient pas par les louanges des hommes ...; c'est de soi-même qu'on se rend agréable à Dieu, qu'on se *divinise* en *conformant ses dispositions intimes* à l'indestructibilité bienheureux (*καὶ ἐκθεοῦ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας διαθέσεως ὁμοιότητι*).

cf. *Sententiae Pythagora* 94 (ed. Chadwick, p. 91).

- *Ibid.* 19 (p. 117, 10):

Une *pensée pleine de Dieu*, solidement établie, voilà ce qui nous attache à Dieu ... Que pour toi, je le répète, 'le temple de Dieu soit l'intellect qui est en toi' (*Σοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, νεὼς μὲν ἔστω τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς*), c'est lui qu'il faut préparer et orner pour le rendre apte à recevoir Dieu'.

cf. *Sententiae Pythagora* 66 (Chadwick, p. 89).

D'après ces passages de la *Lettre à Marcella* le vrai culte rendu à Dieu est tout intérieur, il consiste dans l'assimilation de son esprit à Dieu par la connaissance et la piété. On retrouve la même doctrine dans un autre traité de Porphyre, *De abstinencia*, II, 34, 1 sv (coll. 'Belles Lettres', éd. et traduction Bouffartigue-Patillon, Paris 1979, p. 100 sv):

Nous ferons donc nous aussi des sacrifices ...; 2. Au dieu suprême, comme l'a dit un sage, nous n'offrirons rien de ce qui est sensible, ni en holocauste ni en parole ... Mais *notre seul hommage est un silence pur et de pures pensées* le concernant<sup>11</sup>. 3. Il faut donc *nous unir à Dieu*, nous rendre semblables à lui et lui offrir *notre propre élévation comme un sacrifice sacré*, car elle est à la fois notre hymne et notre salut. Or ce sacrifice (*ἡ θυσία*) s'accomplit dans l'impassibilité de l'âme et la *contemplation de Dieu*.

*Ibid.* II, 49, 1 (p. 114):

C'est donc avec raison que le philosophe ... s'abstient de toute pâture animée, car il s'efforce de parvenir seul à seul (*μόνος μόνῳ*) et de son propre fait auprès de Dieu ...; 2 ... et il cherche à se sauver (*σώζων ἑαυτόν*) en faisant retour à lui-même de partout.

*Ibid.* II, 52, 4 (p. 116):

Seul et par lui-même, ainsi que nous le disons, il (le philosophe) s'approchera de Dieu qui a son siège dans ses véritables entrailles (i.e. dans son intellect)<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Sur le silence sacré des pythagoriciens, voir Pierre HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, I, p. 84 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Porphyre, *De abstinencia* (éd. Bouffartigue ...), Introduction p. LVII, où est expliqué la métaphore «les véritables entrailles» du sage, autrement dit le νοῦς.

Tous ces textes me paraissent clairement expliciter le sens de cette expression concise et quelque peu énigmatique d'Augustin dans sa *Lettre 10*: «*in penetralibus mentis adorare Deum*»: l'esprit, tout absorbé dans la recherche de Dieu, devient le sanctuaire où Dieu est adoré. Et il est curieux de retrouver, comme en écho, cette explication dans un texte de peu postérieur à Augustin:

Macrobe, *Saturnalia* VII, 1, 5 (éd. Eyssenhartdt, p. 406):

Ad haec Eusthatus 'probo, Symmache, propositum tuum, quo *philosophiam* ea quam maximam putas observatione veneraris, ut tantum *intra suum penetral* aestimes *adorandam* ...'

L'emploi des mots «*penetralia/penetrare mentis*» au sens de «sanctuaire / temple de l'esprit», revient en plusieurs oeuvres de saint Augustin dont deux antérieures ou contemporaines de l'*Epistula 10*, et qui méritent d'être examinées.

Dans le *Contra Academicos* II, 2, 3, à l'adresse de Romanianus (CC. SL. 29, p. 20, 25):

mansisti inconcussus in amicitia nec plus ante oculos tuos liberi deserti a magistro, quam *nostrae mentis penetralia* puritasque versata est.

les mots «*penetralia mentis*» signifient ici seulement le sanctuaire ou le lieu secret et intime de la pensée, du coeur.

Le second passage est plus intéressant. Il figure presque au début du *De magistro* 1,2 (CC.SL. 29, p. 158, 42 sv):

Nescire te arbitror non ob aliud nobis praeceptum esse, ut in clausis cubiculis oremus, quo nomine significantur *mentis penetralia*, nisi quod Deus, ut nobis quod cupimus praestet, commemorari aut doceri nostra locutione non quaerit. Qui enim loquitur, suae voluntatis signum foras dat per articulatum sonum, Deus autem *in ipsis rationalis animae secretis*, qui *homo interior* vocatur, et *quaerendus* et *deprecandus* est; haec enim *sua templa* esse voluit. An apud Apostolum non legisti: «Nescitis quia *templum Dei* estis et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis», et «in interiore homine habitare Christum»? Nec in Propheta animadvertisti: «Dicite in cordibus vestris et in cubilibus vestris conpungimini. Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae et sperate in Domino?» Vbi putas sacrificium iustitiae *sacrificari* nisi *in templo mentis* et in cubilibus cordis? Vbi autem sacrificandum est, ibi et orandum ...

- p. 159, 67: non enim verba, sed res ipsas eos verbis docuit (summus magister) ... a quo et quid esset orandum, cum *in penetralibus*, ut dictum est, *mentis* orarent.

Dans ce texte Augustin établit des rapports ou des équivalences entre des expressions que nous avons recueillies chez les néoplatoniciens: *mentis penetralia* / *secreta rationalis animae*; *templum mentis* / *templa sua*, et des expressions bibliques: - *homo interior*, - *templum Dei* / *clausum cubiculum* - A première vue ces rapprochements surprennent, et l'on s'attendrait à une définition d'ordre spirituel de cette intériorité, c'est à dire à l'affirmation de la présence de Dieu dans l'âme régénérée par la grâce; mais on constate qu'Augustin n'exploite pas en ce sens les citations bibliques qu'il avance, elles sont seulement données comme des équivalences verbales. En fait, il s'agit toujours de l'invitation faite à l'homme de chercher Dieu au plus intime de lui-même, dans les profondeurs mêmes de l'âme raisonnable qui est appelé 'l'homme intérieur', le temple de l'esprit, et de l'y adorer ou de le prier (*Deus ... in ipsis rationalis animae secretis, qui homo interior vocatur, et quaerendus et deprecandus est, haec enim sua templa esse voluit*).

L'identification que fait ici Augustin de l'âme raisonnable avec l'homme intérieur de saint Paul est d'ailleurs à la fois surprenante et significative. On retrouve chez lui par la suite ces équivalences entre les expressions *mens nostra* / *homo interior* / *penetralia mentis*. Citons seulement un passage d'un ouvrage quasi-contemporain de l'*Ep.* 10, le *De vera religione* 39, 72 (CC. SL., 32, p. 234, 12 sv.):

Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi. In *interiore homine* habitat veritas ... Tu autem ad eam quaerendo venisti non locorum spatio, sed *mentis affectu*, ut ipse *interior homo* cum suo inhabitatore non infima et carnali, sed summa et spiritali voluptate conveniat.

Cf. *ibid.* 26, 48 et 49 (*ibid.* p. 218); *ibid.*, 41, 77 (*ibid.*, p. 237).

Autre rapprochement qu'Augustin fait dans le texte du *De magistro* entre le verset biblique 'Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae', et le sacrifice offert «dans le temple de l'esprit», sacrifice qui se confond avec la prière, laquelle n'a aucunement besoin de langage (*Vbi putas sacrificium iustitiae sacrificari nisi in templo mentis et in cubilibus cordis ... non opus est locutione, cum oramus, id est sonantibus verbis ...*). Le texte biblique évoquerait le sacrifice de

pénitence, alors qu'Augustin insiste ici sur l'adoration et la prière en silence dans le sanctuaire de l'âme. Comment ne pas rapprocher cette interprétation du texte de la *Lettre à Marcella* cité plus haut : « Nous ferons nous aussi des sacrifices ... Au Dieu suprême ... nous n'offrirons rien de ce qui est sensible, ni en holocauste ni en parole ... Mais notre seul hommage est un silence pur et de pures pensées ... »

A l'époque de son séjour à Thagaste Augustin est encore tout imprégné de sa formation et de son cheminement intellectuel à travers le stoïcisme et le néoplatonisme. Mais on devine cependant, dans ses écrits d'alors, son effort pour christianiser ses idées, comme aussi leurs expressions.

# Les *Visiones* du très haut Moyen Âge et les récentes «expériences de mort temporaire»

Sens ou non-sens d'une comparaison

Deuxième partie

par

Marc VAN UYTFANGHE

(Gand)

Dans les *Mélanges Gabriel Sanders*, parus l'année dernière dans la collection *Instrumenta Patristica*, j'ai entamé une étude comparative d'une série de Visions latines antérieures à l'époque carolingienne d'une part, et de récents témoignages d'«expériences de mort temporaire» ou d'«expériences proches de la mort» d'autre part<sup>1</sup>. Les témoignages modernes sont ceux que le docteur Ray-

<sup>1</sup> VAN UYTFANGHE M., *Les Visiones du très haut Moyen Âge et les récentes «expériences de mort temporaire». Sens ou non-sens d'une comparaison. Première partie*, dans *Aevum inter utrumque. Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders*, professeur émérite à l'université de Gand, Steenbrugge & Den Haag, 1991 (*Instrumenta Patristica*, XXIII), pp. 447-481. À ajouter à la bibliographie de la note 11: BAR F., *Les routes de l'autre monde. Descentes aux enfers et voyages dans l'au-delà*, Paris, 1946; LE GOFF J., *The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages*, dans KAPLAN S.L. (éd.), *Understanding Popular Culture*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 19-37, repris sous le titre *Aspects savants et populaires des voyages dans l'au-delà au Moyen Âge*, dans *L'imaginaire médiéval*, Paris, 1985, pp. 103-119; DINZELBACHER P., *Mittelalterliche Visionsliteratur. Eine Anthologie. Ausgewählt, übersetzt, eingeleitet und kommentiert*, Darmstadt, 1989; LANGE W.-D. (éd.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter - Les voyages dans l'ici-bas et dans l'au-delà au moyen âge*, à paraître en 1992. Voir aussi, pour certains aspects: DE NIE G., *Views From a Many-Windowed Tower. Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours*, diss. Amsterdam, 1987; *Sogni, visioni e profezie nell'antico cristianesimo*, Roma, 1989 (*Augustinianum*, XXIX). À ajouter à la note 33: PLUTARCHUS, *De sera numinis vindicta* (*Moralia*, 7), 22-33 (le récit de Thespésios de Soles).

mond Moody a rapportés dans son premier livre *Life after Life*<sup>2</sup>. Ma propre étude faisait suite à une suggestion du médiéviste autrichien Peter Dinzelbacher qui avait lui-même déjà exploré cette voie, avant l'Américaine Carol Zaleski, dans un article synthétique et sélectif portant sur les Visions du Moyen Âge dans leur ensemble<sup>3</sup>. Après une introduction et une présentation des textes<sup>4</sup>, j'avais pris comme point de départ provisoire les quinze traits récurrents que Moody a cru pouvoir établir dans *Life after Life* et sur lesquels il s'est fondé pour reconstituer le modèle «typique» de la *near-death experience*. Sept d'entre eux ont déjà été confrontés aux récits du très haut Moyen Âge (l'incommunicabilité, l'audition du verdict, sentiments de calme et de paix, les bruits, le tunnel obscur, la décorporation, contact avec d'autres).

Il me restait à examiner de la même manière les huit autres traits, puis à analyser les éléments caractéristiques des *Visiones* qui ne rentrent pas dans ce cadre, tout en tenant compte de publications postérieures consacrées à ces expériences thanatologiques modernes et notamment du second livre de Moody (*Reflections on Life after Life*) et des recherches interculturelles de Karlis Osis et d'Erlendur Haraldsson<sup>5</sup>. Ce n'est qu'alors, avais-je remarqué, et après avoir mieux cerné le contexte situationnel, les fonctions et les

<sup>2</sup> MOODY R., *Life after Life*, Atlanta, 1975, New York & Harrisburg, 1976. J'utilise à nouveau la traduction française de P. Misraki, *La vie après la vie. Enquête à propos d'un phénomène: la survie de la conscience après la mort du corps*, Paris, 1988 (Collection *J'ai lu*, n° 1984).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DINZELBACHER P., *Mittelalterliche Vision und moderne Sterbeforschung*, dans KUEHNEL J., MUECK H.-D., *e.a.*, *Psychologie in der Mediävistik. Gesammelte Beiträge des Steinheimer Symposions*, Göppingen, 1985, pp. 9-49; ZALESKI C., *Otherworld Journeys. Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times*, New York & Oxford, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. VAN UYTFANGHE, *o.c.* (n. 1), pp. 452-454. Je répète qu'il s'agit des Visions précarolingiennes figurant dans le recueil de M.P. CICCARESE, *Visioni dell' aldilà in Occidente: Fonti, modelli, testi*, Firenze, 1987 (quelques récits de Grégoire le Grand, deux chapitres de l'Histoire des Francs de Grégoire de Tours, un extrait de la Vie des Pères de Mérida, la Vision de saint Fursy, la Vision de Baronte, trois visions relatées par Valère de Bierzo et trois autres qu'on lit dans l'Histoire ecclésiastique de l'Angleterre par Bède de Vénérable, une lettre de saint Boniface et une lettre pseudo-bonifatienne, trois chapitres de la Vie de saint Guthlac).

<sup>5</sup> MOODY R., *Reflections on Life after Life*, Atlanta & Harrisburg, 1975, New York, 1978; OSIS K. & HARALDSSON E., *At the Hour of Death*, New York, 1977; traduction néerlandaise de D.J. BOSGA, Amsterdam & Brussel, 1979.



interprétations possibles tant des Visions du passé que des rapports récents, que l'on pourra juger du sens ou du non-sens de la comparaison, et ce à partir d'un ensemble non plus sélectif des récits d'une période donnée.

Or, le dossier de ce qui devait devenir la seconde partie de l'étude s'avère à présent suffisamment étendu pour qu'un nouveau sectionnement s'impose et pour prévoir par conséquent une troisième partie (la plus importante, car elle comprendra les conclusions), à paraître dans le prochain volume de *Sacris erudiri*. Il va de soi que je dédie aussi cette suite de mon enquête à mon maître Gabriel Sanders, professeur émérite à l'Université de Gand. Et je suis heureux de continuer la trilogie dans une publication de l'Abbaye de Steenbrugge, avec laquelle le *Séminaire de latin post-classique et médiéval* fondé par mon prédécesseur a toujours entretenu des relations étroites et fructueuses.

Le présent article renoue donc le fil des traits récurrents du tableau-robot de la *near-death experience* tel que Moody l'a tracé. Le lecteur intéressé est évidemment supposé avoir lu la première partie de l'étude.

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- *L'être de lumière*. L'élément qui produit sur le témoin l'impression la plus intense, c'est la rencontre avec une très brillante lumière, encore pâle lors de sa première manifestation, mais devenant vite de plus en plus éclatante, jusqu'à atteindre une brillance supraterrrestre. Nonobstant, elle n'éblouit pas et n'empêche pas de voir distinctement les objets environnants. Il s'agit bel et bien d'un être, d'une Personne dont émanent une chaleur et un amour dépassant de loin toute possibilité d'expression. Le mourant se sent inéluctablement entraîné vers cet être, qui entre en communication avec lui par un transfert direct de la pensée et lui pose certaines questions sur son existence passée, sans toutefois le menacer ou le condamner. Suivant les antécédents et les croyances de l'individu concerné, celui-ci identifie l'être par ex. au Christ ou à un ange, ou tout simplement à une entité lumineuse<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 69-75.

La lumière constitue assurément un des archétypes ou symboles-clés de l'univers religieux. Elle est, précisément, l'un des pôles du *magnum opus* de Gabriel Sanders sur les inscriptions funéraires. Dans les *Visiones* du très haut Moyen Âge, la lumière et la splendeur sont éminemment présentes, sans toutefois s'identifier à un être bien déterminé. Il s'agit plutôt de plusieurs êtres ou *endroits* célestes, dont la luminosité, le brillant ou la blancheur ont frappé le visionnaire, parfois par contraste avec l'obscurité des lieux infernaux et la hideur de ses habitants.

Chez Grégoire le Grand, du moins dans les passages des Dialogues retenus par Maria Pia Ciccarese, la description du lumineux demeure encore discrète. Le jeune homme, très probablement un ange, qui sauva des mains des démons le père de famille de la vallée d'Interorina, est simplement présenté comme un *iuvenis pulchrae visionis*<sup>8</sup>. Un ange à l'habit étincelant (*angelus corusci habitus*) empêcha le moine Pierre d'Ibérie d'être précipité dans une fournaise de l'enfer<sup>9</sup>. Le soldat romain, quant à lui, aperçut, au-delà du pont d'épreuve, des assemblées d'hommes habillés en blanc (*albatorum hominum conventicula*) qui avaient chacun leurs demeures magnifiquement éclairées (*mansiones ... magnitudine lucis plenae*).

Dans ces prairies verdoyantes, où se respirait aussi un parfum merveilleusement doux et puissant, on bâtissait une maison d'une admirable majesté, en briques d'or (*aureis ... laterculis*), mais le soldat ne savait pas pour qui<sup>10</sup>. De toute façon, la lumière n'apparaît pas ici comme un élément autonome et de plus, un

<sup>7</sup> SANDERS G., *Licht en duisternis in de christelijke grafschriften. Bijdrage tot de studie der Latijnse metrische epigrafie van de vroegchristelijke tijd*, 1-2, Brussel, 1965. Cf. déjà ID., *Bijdrage tot de studie der Latijnse metrische grafschriften van het heidense Rome: de begrippen «licht» en «duisternis» en verwante themata*, Brussel, 1960.

<sup>8</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, I, 12, 2, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 37, 4, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 37, 8-9, pp. 132-134. Cf. aussi, *ib.* IV, 37, 12, p. 134 (sur le pont d'épreuve): [Stephanus] ... *a quibusdam teterrimis viris ex flumine surgentibus per coxas deorsum, atque a quibusdam albatis et speciosissimis viris coepit per brachia sursum trahi* (anges vêtus d'une robe blanche: cf. *Mc* 16:5; *Joh* 20:12). *Albatorum hominum conventicula*: thème remontant à l'Apocalypse (p. ex. 3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9, etc.) *Odor suavitatis*: cf. déjà *Passio Perpetuae*, 13, 8 (*Universi odore inenarrabili alebatur qui nos satiabat ...*) et le commentaire *ad hoc* de CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 83, n. 22.

peu plus loin, Grégoire se livre à une exégèse allégorique et moralisante de ce paysage paradisiaque<sup>11</sup>.

Selon le récit de Grégoire de Tours, saint Salvi, après son ascension, entra, par une porte plus lumineuse que la lumière naturelle, dans une demeure, *in quo omne pavimentum erat quasi aurum argentumque renitens, lux ineffabilis, amplitudo inenarrabilis*<sup>12</sup>. Plus haut encore se trouve une nuée surpassant par son éclat lumineux toute lumière naturelle, y compris celle du soleil, de la lune et des astres. Une voix, manifestement celle de Dieu, en sortit, *tamquam vox aquarum* [Apoc 14: 4]<sup>13</sup>.

En dépeignant le *locus amoenus* où il avait été amené, le petit enfant de Mérida n'introduit qu'indirectement le facteur lumineux<sup>14</sup>. Mais lorsque le Seigneur lui-même apparut au milieu de sa cour céleste, Auguste le perçut bien comme un être plus brillant que le soleil, plus blanc que la neige: *In medio autem eorum veniebat vir splendidissimus nimiumque pulcherrimus, forma decorus, aspectu gloriosus, statura procerior cunctis, lucidior sole, candidior nive*<sup>15</sup>.

La vision de saint Fursy, par contre, baigne par moments dans la lumière, produite avant tout par les anges. Ceux qui le portent

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 37, 16, pp. 136-138: *Nam quoniam praemium lucis aeternae elemosinarum largitate promerebitur, nimirum constat quia auro aedificat mansionem suam. Quod enim superius memoriam fugit ut dicerem, isdem miles qui haec viderat narrabat quod eosdem laterculos aureos ad aedificationem domus senes ac iuvenes, puellae et pueri ferebant. Qua ex re collegitur quia hii, quibus hic pietas facta est, ipsi illic operatores esse videbantur.* Cf. aussi *ib.*, IV, 38, 4 (sur le fait, également rapporté dans IV, 37, 9, que certains logis étaient touchés par la buée fétide et que d'autres n'étaient pas atteints par cette buée qui montait du fleuve).

<sup>12</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, *ib.*, p. 158 et la note 18, p. 165 (sur l'origine apocalyptique de la représentation du paradis comme habitation splendide). *In quo omne pavimentum* ...: cf. la Jérusalem céleste dans Apoc 4:1-11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.* Sur cette voix, voir aussi *infra*, n. 96.

<sup>14</sup> *V. Patr. Emer.*, 1, 7, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 172: «*Fui in locum amoenum ubi erant multi odoriferi flores, herbae viridissime, rosae ac liliae, et coronae ex gemmis et auro multae* ...»; *ib.*, 1, 11, p. 174: «*advenit ingens multitudo candidatorum, omnes auro et lapidibus pretiosis ornati et coronis rutilantes redimiti* ...»; *ib.*, 1, 20, p. 176: «*eduxit me in hortum amoenissimum, ubi erat rivus in quo erat aqua vitreaeque coloris* ... (cf. Apoc 4:6: *et in conspectu sedis tamquam mare vitreum simile cristallo*; aussi 15:2; 22:1).

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, 1, 12, p. 174.

en haut, lors de sa première ascension, ont des ailes neigeuses<sup>16</sup>. Leurs figures resplendissaient à tel point dans l'espace obscur qu'elles ne laissaient entrevoir aucune forme corporelle: *Altius vero perveniens, mirifico splendentes fulgore facies sanctorum cernebat angelorum vel, ut certius dicam, claritatem eximiae lucis ex ipsis angelicis intuebatur conspectibus, nec aliquid corporeum nisi luminis claritatem potuit videre*. Un troisième ange, qui précédait, était armé d'un bouclier blanc et d'un glaive rutilant. En montant toujours plus haut, Fursy perçut le chant de milliers d'autres anges tout aussi difficiles à discerner *propter claritatem luminis*. Une fois revenu à son corps, le saint homme n'eut cesse de penser à cette clarté et à cette douceur angéliques<sup>17</sup>.

Cependant, au milieu de la nuit du troisième jour, les trois anges revinrent pour l'emmener une seconde fois et pour le défendre contre l'assaut des démons noirs et hideux, dépourvus eux aussi d'aspect corporel<sup>18</sup>. Suivent alors les altercations psychomachiques entre les démons, qui revendiquent l'âme de Fursy, et les anges protecteurs. Ces derniers le défendent notamment pour lui permettre de passer indemne au travers d'un feu destiné à éprouver et punir les âmes suivant leurs mérites<sup>19</sup>. Au retour, Fursy et ses guides devront d'ailleurs retraverser ce feu, divisé en deux murailles.

Au terme du combat gagné par les anges (cf. *infra*), le protagoniste de la vision se trouve soudain environné d'une immense clarté (*immensa claritate circumfusus*), puis entouré d'une troupe innombrable d'anges et de saints venus repousser définitivement le feu et les démons. C'est encore une fois leur aspect lumineux qui l'impressionna: ... *vidit immensa agmina eximia claritate fulgentia angelorum ... advolantes quasi alis immensa coruscatione*

<sup>16</sup> *V. Fursey*, 2, p. 192: ... *tenentesque illum per brachia, niveis subvolabant pennis*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ib.*, 2 et 3, pp. 192-194; *ib.* 4, p. 196: *At ille sedens angelicamque claritatem ac dulcedinem mente revolvens ...*

<sup>18</sup> *Ib.*, 6, pp. 196-198.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. le résumé de C. CAROZZI, *La géographie de l'au-delà et sa signification pendant le haut Moyen Âge*, dans *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale*, Spoleto, 1983 (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 29, 1981), t. 2, pp. 423-481, ici pp. 436-438. J'ai à nouveau utilisé cette importante étude pour résumer ou paraphraser en français certains passages de Visions.

*circumfusus* ... Dans un ciel parfaitement serein, deux anges regagnèrent alors le royaume éternel, faisant éclater autour d'eux une *magnitudo claritatis*. Alors que Fursy écoutait les chants mélodieux des chœurs angéliques, son âme se mit à rayonner à son tour (*Tunc anima illius ... circumfulsit*). Entre-temps, les saints évêques irlandais Beoanus et Meldanus étaient, eux, descendus du ciel *cum ingenti claritate ... angelica forma radiantes*, pour s'entretenir avec lui et lui annoncer le retour<sup>20</sup>.

Baronte, on le sait, franchit quatre portes du paradis. À l'intérieur de la troisième, qui avait l'air vitrée<sup>21</sup>, il vit une foule de saints couronnés, assis dans leurs *mansiunculae* (compartiments), *in vultu fulgenti*. Les demeures (les *mansiones* grégoriennes) de nombreux prêtres exemplaires étaient érigées avec des briques d'or. Pour d'autres habitants du paradis, que Baronte ne voyait pas, les *mansiones* étaient encore en voie de construction *in grande claritate[m] et honore*<sup>22</sup>. Arrivé enfin à la quatrième porte, près de laquelle il rencontra Betolenus, un frère de son propre monastère, le visionnaire ne fut plus autorisé à pénétrer davantage dans ce qui semble bien être un lieu où la présence divine se manifeste déjà. L'intensité de la lumière qui inondait ce lieu était à ce point extraordinaire que les yeux de Baronte — contrairement à ceux des témoins de Moody, ce détail est à souligner — furent aveuglés par la réverbération: *Iam deinde non habuimus amplius comiato introeundi, sed mirum splendorem et claritatem in totas partes vidi, quam cernere vix parumper reverberatis oculis potui*<sup>23</sup>.

Après la perception de la lumière admirable dont il était impossible de soutenir la vue, l'aspect lumineux du récit devient mar-

<sup>20</sup> V. FURSEI, 11-12, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), pp. 206-210.

<sup>21</sup> V. Baronti, 10, p. 250: *Deinde venimus ad tertiam portam paradysi, et ipsa porta habebat similitudinem vitri*. Voir aussi *ib.*, les notes 9 et 10, pp. 271-272 (sur l'originalité des quatre secteurs du paradis et sur le thème de la transparence du verre [ou du cristal] dans la description de la Jérusalem céleste d'après l'Apocalypse).

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.*, 10, p. 250, avec une référence explicite à Grégoire le Grand, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 9 et 16: *Ibi et multitudo sanctorum, excelsi meritorum, quorum mansiones laterculis aureis erant aedificatae, iuxta quod et sanctus Gregorius in Dialicorum memorat ... Sed mansiones in caelo ille aedificat, qui esuriante panem tribuere non cessat*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ib.*, 11, p. 252 et la note 14, p. 272 (référence à Apoc. 21: 23: *Et civitas non eget sole, neque luna ut luceant in ea. Nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna eius ut Agnus*).

ginal, d'autant plus que l'itinéraire du retour comprend encore un survol de l'enfer ténébreux et fumeux<sup>24</sup>. Avant, un frère avait béni le cierge qui devait rendre inoffensifs les esprits malins et les démons: Baronte avait remarqué le *mirus splendor* dont rayonnaient ses bras et ses doigts. Un rayonnement symbolique, semblait-il, occasionné par les nombreuses aumônes que ce lecteur du monastère de Lonrey avait faites durant sa vie terrestre<sup>25</sup>.

La lumière absolument incomparable, on la retrouve à plusieurs reprises sous la plume de Valère de Bierzo. D'abord lorsqu'il décrit le *locus amoenissimus*, c'est-à-dire le jardin paradisiaque visité par le moine Maxime en compagnie d'un ange de lumière (*angelus lucis*: cf. 2 Cor 11: 14): *Nam praeclara lux inenarrabili splendorum candoris ibidem praefulgurabat claritate*. Tout y brillait, reluisait et étincelait, même les arbustes, et tout y répandait un arôme vraiment divin<sup>26</sup>. L'eau du ruisseau qui coulait au milieu, miroirait encore plus que le sable d'argent<sup>27</sup>.

Le paradis où fut amené le moine Bonellus n'était pas un jardin, mais une espèce de cité céleste, dont la splendeur fut tout aussi indicible (*pulcritudo inextimabilis et incomparabilis*). Son ange-guide lui montre, en effet, un habitacle rayonnant d'or et de pierres précieuses (*cellulam ex auro purissimo, lapidibusque premicantibus pretiosis, atque diversis coruscantibus gemmis et margaritis constructam, ... iubar immensi luminis radiabat*), qui sera sa demeure future s'il persévère dans les pratiques ascétiques<sup>28</sup>. Les deux récits opposent à ce paradis de lumière l'abîme profond et horrible de l'enfer, d'où Maxime vit sortir une *nebula tenebrosa*

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.*, 17, pp. 262-264.

<sup>25</sup> *Ib.*, 15, p. 260: *Cuius [ = Ebbonis ] manus semper fuerunt largae ad elemosynam dandam; erogandam transitoriam mercabat aeternam. Ista et alia bona faciendo refulerunt eius digita et brachia.*

<sup>26</sup> *Dicta beati Valeri*, I, *ib.*, p. 282: ... *Vernansque micabat universarum inefabilis pulcritudo eximiis praemicantibus radiabat ligustris, atque egregia redolens mulcebat timiama suavitatis, nectareoque flamine aromatizans fraglabat ambrosius odor.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ib.*: ... *pervenimus in medio eiusdem paradisi, ubi mire pulcritudinis almi-ficus decurrebat rivus. In quo venustissimi candoris aqua super argentea lucebat arena. Cf. Apoc 22:1: Et ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae, splendidum tamquam crystallum, procedentem de sede Dei et Agni.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ib.*, 2, p. 288: *Sic denique ait ad me angelus ille: «Si perseveraveris usque ad finem [cf. Mt. 10: 22], in hac te abitatione suscipiam».*

et une puanteur insupportable, et où Bonellus aperçut un feu immense et une mer de poix ardente<sup>29</sup>.

Toujours chez Valère de Bierzo, le jeune maçon Baldarius insiste sur l'indescriptible beauté de la montagne du ciel où il avait rencontré le Christ trônant en majesté, mais sans en souligner spécialement le caractère lumineux<sup>30</sup>. Toutefois, en rentrant et avant de survoler le monde et sa géographie, il vit s'approcher de lui le soleil levant, *ignifero fulgore rutilans, atque coruscans immenso candore*. Heureusement, un oiseau géant (le phénix ?) en tempérait la chaleur torride par le battement répété de ses ailes<sup>31</sup>.

Dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Bède le Vénérable, le pieux père de famille nommé Drythelm avait d'abord été conduit dans les profondeurs infernales par un guide brillant de blanc vêtu<sup>32</sup>. Qu'il s'agisse de la vallée de l'enfer provisoire ou de l'abîme infernal proprement dit, il n'y est question que de flammes, de globes enflammés, d'esprits d'hommes montant et descendant comme des étincelles, d'esprits obscurs soufflant des flammes par les yeux, la bouche et les narines et menaçant Drythelm avec des pinces de feu<sup>33</sup>. Or, soudain une lumière apparut, toujours grandissante, comme celle d'une étoile brillante. Ce fut le compagnon céleste de Drythelm qui était revenu, dispersant et mettant en fuite les démons<sup>34</sup>.

On changea alors de direction pour marcher vers l'endroit lumineux du lever du soleil d'hiver. Drythelm et son guide arrivèrent dans une prairie vaste et verte, pleine de fleurs, brillante et parfumée. Des hommes vêtus de blanc y évoluaient. Au sujet de la

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.*, 2, pp. 284 et 290.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.*, 2, p. 294. On pourrait dire que les termes utilisés renvoient implicitement à la lumière: p. ex. ... *excelsum mire pulcritudinis montem* [cf. *Apoc* 21:10], ... *tantam ineffabilis et immensae pulcritudinis gloriam ... inextimabilis*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ib.*, 2, pp. 294-296: *Sepe revoluto alarum remigio crepitante fragore impulso aerem temperabat exestuantem eiusdem solis adorem*.

<sup>32</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, p. 310: «*Lucidus*» inquiens «*aspectu et clarus erat indumento, qui me ducebat ...*».

<sup>33</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 310-314. Voir aussi CAROZZI, *o.c.* (n. 19), pp. 452-458; LE GOFF J., *La naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris, 1981, pp. 155-157.

<sup>34</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 314 ... *apparuit retro via qua veneram quasi fulgor stellae micantis inter tenebras, qui paulatim crescens, et ad me ocius festinans, ubi adpropinquavit, dispersi sunt et aufugerunt omnes qui me forcipibus rapere quaerebant spiritus infesti. Ille autem, qui adveniens eos fugavit, erat ipse qui me ante ducebat ...*

lumière qui envahissait ces endroits et qui ne souffrait aucune comparaison, on retrouve ici les accents de Grégoire de Tours: *Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei sive solis meridiani radiis videretur esse praeclarior*. Pourtant, d'après le commentaire de l'ange, ce n'était pas encore le royaume des cieux. La lumière, la musique et le parfum propres à celui-ci s'annoncent infiniment plus intenses et plus gracieux encore: ... *aspicio ante nos multo maiorem luminis gratiam quam prius, in qua etiam vocem cantantium dulcissimam audivi, sed et odoris fragrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur, ut is, quem antea degustans rebar, iam permodicus mihi odor videretur, sicut etiam lux illa campi florentis eximia, in comparatione eius qua nunc apparuit lucis, tenuissima prorsus videbatur et parva*. Drythelm espérait évidemment entrer dans ce lieu merveilleux<sup>35</sup>, mais son guide le força de rebrousser chemin, non sans lui expliquer encore toute cette topographie de l'au-delà.

Le moine de Wenlock fut confronté, dès le début de sa vision relatée par saint Boniface, à la lumière éblouissante émanant des anges qui emportaient son âme dans les airs: *Et tam magnae claritatis et splendoris angelos eum egressum de corpore suscepisse, ut nullatenus pro nimio splendore in eos aspicere potuisset*. Le monde tel qu'il le contemplait d'en haut, était englobé totalement par un immense feu, dont la flamme menaçait notre moine, puis le tourmentait par sa chaleur insupportable. Un ange le protégeait à deux reprises, mais ce fut, précisément, l'éclat réverbérant des esprits célestes qui lui brûlait les yeux (*oculis maxime ardentibus et splendore fulgentium spirituum vehementissime reverberatis*)<sup>36</sup>.

Plus tard, après son détour par l'enfer provisoire aux puits enflammés et par l'enfer inférieur où brûle une flamme éternelle, le visionnaire de Wenlock découvrit lui aussi le *locus amoenitatis* du paradis et, au-delà du pont sur le fleuve de feu, la Jérusalem céleste. Ici encore, tant les âmes qui franchissaient victorieusement le pont que les murs de la cité étaient d'une splendeur telle que le moine en fut aveuglé (... *tam magna immensi luminis claritate*

<sup>35</sup> *Ib.*, p. 316: ... *In cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem, repente ductor substitit.*

<sup>36</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 344.



*et fulgore splendentes esse dixit, ut, reverberatis oculorum pupillis, pro nimio splendore in eos nullatenus aspicere potuisset*)<sup>37</sup>.

Reste, enfin, la descente aux enfers de saint Guthlac. Forcément, et abstraction faite des flammes, elle se prête moins à l'évocation de la lumière. Celle-ci fait néanmoins irruption dans le récit grâce à l'apparition de l'apôtre saint Barthélemy, venu arracher l'ermite de l'île de Crowland à l'emprise des démons: ... *ecce sanctus Bartholomeus cum immenso caelestis lucis splendore medias furvae noctis infuso lumine interrumpens tenebras, sese ab aethereis sedibus radiantis Olympi coram illis aureo fulgore amictus obtulit. Maligni ergo spiritus non sustinentes caelestis splendoris fulgorem, frendere ... coeperunt*<sup>38</sup>.

Pour résumer, répétons que dans nos Visions, la lumière est moins décrite comme une entité en soi que comme l'apanage de figures (le Christ, un saint, mais surtout des anges) ou d'endroits célestes (avec d'autres éléments comme l'odeur suave et le chant doux). Son intensité peut augmenter (en l'occurrence, dans la mesure où l'on s'approche du véritable royaume des cieux) et devenir absolument inégalable, voire (autrement que dans les témoignages recueillis par Moody) aveuglante. Elle fait souvent contraste avec les ténèbres (brisées, il est vrai, par les flammes) de l'enfer. Ce dernier est absent des expériences contemporaines, qui connaissent toutefois bel et bien l'espace ou tunnel obscur (cf. *supra*). Les êtres lumineux communiquent avec le visionnaire (en lui « parlant », non pas de manière muette), mais sur le rapport éventuel avec le passé de celui-ci, je renvoie à la rubrique suivante.

- *Le panorama de la vie*. Après ses interrogations muettes, l'être de lumière présente au mourant une vision panoramique embrassant toute sa vie passée, dans le but d'éveiller la réflexion. Les souvenirs se succèdent alors à une vitesse vertigineuse, soit dans leur ordre chronologique, soit simultanément. Il s'agit d'une évocation très vivante et réaliste, qui fait également renaître les sentiments et les émotions associés à chaque scène. Plusieurs y ont perçu une volonté éducative de la part de l'être de lumière, qui ne cesse de souligner l'importance de deux devoirs fondamentaux : apprendre

<sup>37</sup> *Ib.*, p. 352.

<sup>38</sup> FELIX, *V. Guthlaci*, 32, *ib.*, pp. 384-386.

à aimer le prochain et acquérir la connaissance. Le cas échéant, le mourant est amené à regretter ses manquements à cet égard. Dans certains cas, enfin, la vision rétrospective a lieu alors même que l'être de lumière ne se montre pas<sup>39</sup>.

À première vue, un tel panorama rapide manque dans les *Visiones* du très haut Moyen Âge. À y voir de plus près, cependant, il semble bien correspondre à d'autres formes de «rencontre avec ses propres actes», pour reprendre l'expression de Carol Zaleski (*encounter with deeds*)<sup>40</sup>, et plus particulièrement à des formes de «jugement». Or, ce qui frappe dans les rapports de Moody, ce sont à la fois l'ambiance positive où se déroule ce «film» (absence de menace, de condamnation; intention tout au plus «pédagogique»), et le fait que le mourant est amené à évaluer lui-même sa vie, à faire son propre «examen de conscience» dont l'être de lumière n'est que le témoin sans s'ériger en juge à proprement parler. Ces données pourraient bien s'accomoder des accents actuels de la pastorale chrétienne — on n'y parle plus ou presque plus de l'enfer ou du purgatoire et, de toute façon, peu de gens y croient encore — et de la mentalité très individualiste de l'homme occidental contemporain<sup>41</sup>.

Au Moyen Âge, ce fut différent. Mais commençons par le fameux «pont d'épreuve», un thème dont l'origine paraît complexe<sup>42</sup>, et qui a été transmis au Moyen Âge latin par Grégoire le Grand. C'est le soldat romain blessé qui l'avait vu après avoir quitté son corps. Si un injuste voulait le traverser, il tombait dans le fleuve ténébreux et fétide, mais les justes le franchissaient sans entrave et parvenaient aux prés charmants, verdoyants, parés de fleurs parfumées, où l'on voyait des assemblées d'hommes habillés en blanc. Le soldat vit un prêtre étranger, qui avait vécu dans la

<sup>39</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 76-84.

<sup>40</sup> ZALESKI, *o.c.* (n. 3), pp. 65-69.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. DINZELBACHER, *o.c.* (n. 3), pp. 37-38.

<sup>42</sup> Elle semble remonter à la Perse ancienne, mais les rapports précis de cette tradition avec l'avatar chrétien du thème, attesté pour la première fois chez Grégoire de Tours et Grégoire le Grand, sont difficiles à établir. Cf. DINZELBACHER P., *Die Jenseitsbrücke im Mittelalter*, Diss. Wien, 1973; CULIANU J.P., «*Pons subtilis*». *Storia e significato di un simbolo*, dans *Aevum* 53 (1979), pp. 301-312; DINZELBACHER P. & KLEINSCHMIDT H., *Seelenbrücke und Brückenbau im mittelalterlichen England*, dans *Numen* 31 (1984), pp. 242-287; ZALESKI, *o.c.*, (n. 4) pp. 65-69 («The Test-Bridge”).

pureté, passer le pont avec facilité, mais il avait reconnu aussi l'illustre Étienne. Celui-ci fit un faux pas et déjà il était déjeté à moitié corps hors du pont. D'horribles hommes noirs le tiraient vers le bas par les cuisses, tandis que d'en haut de très beaux hommes blancs le tiraient par les bras. À ce moment de la vision, le soldat s'était réveillé, de sorte qu'on ignore la fin du combat<sup>43</sup>. De toute manière, Grégoire lui-même fournit une explication allégorique de cet «examen par le juge invisible» (*occulti arbitris examen*): la vie d'Étienne donnait, en effet, à entendre que ses péchés charnels étaient aux prises avec ses aumônes<sup>44</sup>.

Si l'on en croit Grégoire de Tours, l'abbé Sunniulf du monastère de Randon (Auvergne), avait eu une vision plus au moins comparable. Dans un rêve il avait été conduit au bord d'un fleuve de feu sur l'une des rives duquel était massée une grande foule de gens comme des abeilles auprès d'une ruche; ils étaient enlisés les uns jusqu'à la ceinture, d'autres jusqu'aux aisselles, quelques-uns jusqu'au menton, et ils criaient en gémissant qu'ils étaient horriblement brûlés. Il y avait un pont jeté sur le fleuve, mais si étroit qu'il avait tout juste la largeur de l'empreinte d'un pied. Sur l'autre rive on distinguait une grande maison blanchie à l'extérieur<sup>45</sup>. La suite du texte établit, comme chez Grégoire le Grand, une correspondance entre la scène décrite et les actes d'ici-bas, car «celui qui aura été lâche dans le gouvernement du troupeau confié à lui, sera précipité du haut de ce pont; mais celui qui aura été

<sup>43</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 8-12, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 132-136. Cf. la traduction d'A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues*, t. III, Paris, 1980 (*Sources Chrét.*, 265), pp. 131-133.

<sup>44</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 37, 13, p. 136: *Qua in re de eiusdem Stephani vita datur intellegi quia in eo mala carnis cum elemosinarum operatione certabant*. Voir aussi *ib.*, IV, 38, 3. p. 138: *Ex rerum, Petre, imaginibus pensamus merita causarum. Per pontem quippe ad amoena loca transire iustos aspexit, quia angusta valde est semita quae ducit ad vitam [Mt 7: 14] et foetentem fluvium decurrentem vidit, quia ad ima cotidie defluit carnalium hic putredo vitiorum*.

<sup>45</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, IV, 33, *ib.*, p. 154, et les notes 3 et 4, p. 162 (sur le thème du fleuve infernal et ses harmoniques antiques et judéo-chrétiens, et sur la réminiscence virgilienne [*Aeneis*, VI, 706-707] des abeilles). Cf. la traduction de R. LATOUCHE, *Grégoire de Tours. Histoire de Francs*, t. I, Paris, 1963, p. 217.

énergique, le traversera sans péril et sera introduit joyeusement dans la maison que tu vois de l'autre côté»<sup>46</sup>.

Ce *pons probationis* revient une troisième fois dans notre corpus sous la plume de saint Boniface, dans la vision du moine de Wenlock. Le fleuve de feu et de poix que surplombe ce pont, y est appelé Tartare. Les âmes qui tombaient du pont, étaient plongées dans le fleuve entièrement ou pour une seule partie du corps, ou à mi-corps, ou jusqu'aux genoux ou aux aisselles. Quelques âmes traversaient le pont sans trébucher, mais même celles qui avaient dégringolé dans le fleuve, finissaient par en sortir et atteindre l'autre rive, «plus belles et plus lumineuses qu'auparavant», c'est-à-dire purifiées. «Ce sont», expliquent les anges au moine, «les âmes qui, après la sortie de la vie mortelle, n'étaient pas complètement débarassées de certains péchés légers et avaient besoin de quelque pieux châtiment du Dieu miséricordieux, pour devenir dignes de Dieu»<sup>47</sup>.

Cette conception bonifatienne du pont d'épreuve appartient évidemment à la protohistoire du purgatoire<sup>48</sup>, mais force est de constater que tant chez les deux Grégoire que chez l'apôtre des Frisons et des Saxons, la *probatio* ne concerne que des *tiers* et que le visionnaire *lui-même* n'y est pas soumis. La même chose vaut pour les récompenses et les châtiments qui ont déjà été évoqués sous la rubrique «contact avec d'autres» et qui impliquent forcément, pour ces âmes-là, un jugement déjà passé<sup>49</sup>. Rappelons, à

<sup>46</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.* IV, 33, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 154-156: *Tunc his qui cum eo erant, quid sibi haec velint, interrogat. At illi dixerunt: «De hoc enim ponte praecipitabitur, qui ad distinguendum commissum gregem fuerit repertus ignavus, qui vero strenuus fuerit, sine periculo transit et inducitur laetus in domum quam conspicis ultra».*

<sup>47</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, pp. 350-352: ... *Et unus ex beatis angelis de illis cadentibus animabus dixit: «Hae sunt animae, quae post exitum mortalis vitae, quibusdam levibus vitiis non omnino ad purum abolitis, aliqua pia miserationis Dei castigatione indigebant, ut Deo dignae offerantur».* Cf. LE GOFF, *o.c.* (n. 33), p. 499.

<sup>48</sup> Voir, à ce propos, LE GOFF, *o.c.* (n. 33), p. 499: «C'est, sans le mot, l'idée de la purgation. Mais ce texte est bien en retrait par rapport à la vision de Drythelm de Bède, presque contemporaine».

<sup>49</sup> Cf. VAN UYTFANGHE, *o.c.* (n. 1), pp. 475-480. Comme le remarque A.J. GUREVIČ, *Au Moyen Âge: Conscience individuelle et image de l'au-delà*, dans *Annales E.S.C.* 37 (1982), pp. 260-261, les *Visiones* privilégient nettement l'idée du jugement particulier au détriment de celle du jugement universel à la

ce propos, qu'au visionnaire pseudo-bonifatien — ici il faudrait parler plutôt de *la* visionnaire, car il paraît bien s'agir d'une femme — il fut également donné de connaître les mérites, en bien et en mal, de tous ceux qui vivaient encore en ce bas monde<sup>50</sup>.

À vrai dire, pour pouvoir comparer les *Visiones* aux expériences proches de la mort, il faudrait que le visionnaire soit confronté à ses *propres* actes. C'est bien ce qui arrive, indirectement si l'on veut, au cours de ce qu'on appelle la «psychomachie», c'est-à-dire la lutte que se livrent les anges et les démons pour la possession des âmes humaines en fonction de leur vie terrestre. Cette représentation plonge ses racines à la fois dans les traditions païennes et dans le judaïsme tardif<sup>51</sup>. Certes, quelquefois dans nos

fin des temps, et contredisent de la sorte l'opinion de Philippe Ariès et d'autres selon laquelle la mort était perçue, pendant le haut Moyen Âge, comme un rêve qui se prolongeait jusqu'à la fin du monde. Nos récits, en effet, n'évoquent que rarement la résurrection et le dernier jour. Cf. *V. Baronti*, 8, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 246: ... *ubi plures vidimus ex fratribus monasterii nostri, qui erant congregati, praestolantes diem iudicii, ubi gaudia aeterna plenissimam recipiant; ib.*, 18, p. 266: *Et ipse [Framnoaldus] ingressus oravit prolixè, et expleta oratione, pervenimus ad ipsius sepulchrum, super quo ipse, genua inclinata, dixit hunc capitulum: «Miserere mei et resuscita me in adventum regni tui, Domine»* [cf. Ps 40:11]. Sur le contexte, voir *infra*, n. 124 et 127; BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, p. 318 (sur l'enfer temporaire et le paradis d'attente): ... *omnes in die iudicii ad regnum caelorum perveniunt ... omnes in die iudicii ad visionem Christi et gaudia regni caelestis intrabunt.*

<sup>50</sup> PSEUDO-BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 115, *ib.*, p. 366. Cf. VAN UYTFANGHE, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 470. La féminité du personnage ressort notamment de la forme verbale *reversa fuerat* (p. 372). Par ailleurs, les âmes rencontrées en enfer sont également celles de femmes.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. par ex. RECHEIS P.A., *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise. Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der Alexandrinischen und Kappadokischen Väter*, Roma, 1958, pp. 42-47; CUMONT F., *Lux perpetua*, Paris, 1949, pp. 298-299 (sur l'influence de l'eschatologie mazdéenne). Dans l'Antiquité chrétienne, voir ATHANASIUS [† 373], *Vita Antonii*, traduction latine d'Évagre le Pontique [† 393], 65, MIGNE, *Patrol. Gr.*, 26, col. 934-935: ... *sese vidit tanquam extra se positum, et per aerem a quibusdam adductum. Exinde terribiles tetrosque nonnullos vidit in aere stantes, qui transitum eius intercludere volebant, ... cumque rationes ab eius nativitate exposcerent, id Antonii duces prohibuere, aiebantque: Culpas eius omnes a nativitate delevit Dominus ... Cum igitur accusarent, nec probare possent, libera illi ac minime interclusa via fuit ... Obstupefactus enim erat, cum videret quot nobis essent adversarii, quantisque laboribus aer iste pertransitur.* Cf. DANÉLOU J., *Les démons de l'air dans la «Vie d'Antoine»*, dans *Studia Anselmiana* 38 (1956), pp. 136-154.

Visions, ce genre de combats, ou du moins la saisie des âmes par les démons, a toujours trait à d'autres défunts<sup>52</sup>. Mais les véritables mises en scène de la psychomachie ont pour objet le personnage central du récit<sup>53</sup>.

À commencer par saint Fursy, dont le biographe y consacre plusieurs chapitres. Tout de suite après sa seconde décorporation, l'âme du saint, portée par les anges, doit traverser une zone d'ombre dominée par les démons. L'un des anges avait rassuré Fursy («*Noli timere, defensionem habes*»), mais la menace des diables était terrible («*Antecedamus et ante faciem illius bella commoveamus*»)<sup>54</sup>. Ils tenaient des flèches enflammées que les anges paraient avec des boucliers. Mais bientôt ce combat armé se transforma en un débat contradictoire et acerbe où un démon revendiquait l'âme du visionnaire à coups de versets de la Bible que la victime n'avait pas observés dans sa vie. Ainsi Fursy fut accusé successivement d'avoir approuvé ceux qui commettent des

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Dicta beati Valeri*, 2, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 290: ... *et precepit illis qui illas animas adduxerunt, ut eas in illo dirissimo igne proicerent, et ita fecerunt*; BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, pp. 344-346. *Et maximam inter se miserimos spiritus et sanctos angelos de animabus egredientibus de corpore disputationem habuisse, daemones accussando et peccatorum pondus gravando, angelos vero relevando et excussando*; *ib.*, p. 352: ... *Et adminiculo angelorum eripientes, illam animam de potestate malignorum spirituum liberaverunt. Et dum increpans angelus daemones dixit: «Scitote modo et intellegite, quod animam istam sine iure rapuistis ...»*: PSEUDO - BONIFATUS, *Epist.*, 115, *ib.*, p. 368: ... *secundam [turmam daemonum] egredientes de corporali ergastulo animas in aere continuo inhianterque persequi et ad tormenta trahere aspexit*. La scène d'un jugement particulier décrite dans *V. Patr. Emer.*, 1, 18, *ib.*, p. 176, ne spécifie pas l'identité de ceux qui emmènent les âmes devant le tribunal divin, mais ce sont probablement des anges: *Illis vero abeuntibus, trahebant ante tribunal eius nescio quos homines vociferantes magnisque ululatibus eiulantes. Quorum dum voces audisset ait: «Trahite foras malos servos: non sunt digni videre faciem meam». Quod dum dixisset tam celeriter nimirum abstracti sunt ut plenius non potuissem videre neque cognoscere*.

<sup>53</sup> Ici on écarte évidemment tel passage où le protagoniste est simplement menacé par les démons, puis sauvé par un ange, sans qu'il soit question d'un véritable combat. P. ex. *Dicta beati Valeri*, 2, *ib.*, pp. 290-292: *Quum autem labore perterritus inspicere, insurrexerunt multi arcistres, et ceperunt me [Bonellum] sagittare ... Et quum signaculo crucis resisterem illis in circuitum, venit qui me abstulit de iniqua eorum dominatione, et huic supernae luci restituit*.

<sup>54</sup> *V. Fursey*, 6, *ib.*, p. 198.

péchés [cf. *Rom* 1:32]<sup>55</sup>, d'avoir approuvé souvent des paroles oiseuses [cf. *Mt* 12:36]<sup>56</sup>, de ne pas avoir pardonné aux hommes leurs fautes [cf. *Mt* 6:15]<sup>57</sup>, de ne pas s'être converti en retournant à l'état des enfants [cf. *Mt* 18:3]<sup>58</sup>. L'ange contradicteur, qui tentait chaque fois d'excuser ou de minimiser ces manquements<sup>59</sup>, clôtura finalement la dispute et renvoya l'accusation au jugement de Dieu<sup>60</sup>.

Toutefois, après la vision du monde et des quatre feux qui le brûlent — les quatre péchés principaux, à savoir le mensonge, la cupidité, la discorde et la dureté de cœur<sup>61</sup> —, les démons lancèrent une nouvelle volée d'incriminations contre Fursy: il connais-

<sup>55</sup> *Ib.*: *Contradicente adversario ac blasphemante iniustum esse deo hominem peccatori consentientem nihil damnationis habere, cum scriptum sit: Non solum qui faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus, digni sunt morte* [*Rom* 1:32]...

<sup>56</sup> *Ib.*, 7, p. 198: *Cumque victus Satanas sicut contritus coluber caput relevasset venenosum, dixit: «Otiosos sermones saepe protulit»* [*Mt* 12:36], *nec debere eum inlaesum vita perfui beata.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 198-200: *Accusator antiquus dixit: «Scriptum est: Si non remisistis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater vester caelestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra»* [*Mt* 6:15].

<sup>58</sup> *Ib.*, p. 200: *Victus inimicus viperea restaurat venena dicens: «Si iustus est deus, hic homo non intrabit in regnum caelorum. Scriptum est enim: Nisi conversi fueritis et efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum»* [*Mt* 18:3]. *Hoc verbum minime implevit.*

<sup>59</sup> Ajouter à la note 55: *Cadebant vero adversarii ante conspectum pugnantis angeli, qui quasi ratiocinando dixit: «Nolite tardare iter nostrum, quia hic homo non est particeps perditionis vestrae». Contradicente ..., pugnante vero angelo, existimabat vir sanctus clamorem pugnae et vociferantium daemoniorum in omnem terram audiri; à la note 56: *Sanctus angelus dixit: «Nisi principalia protuleris crimina, propter minima non peribit»*; à la note 57: *Sanctus angelus respondit: «Ubi se vindicavit vel cui iniuriam fecit?»*. *Diabolus dixit: «Non est scriptum: si non vindicetis, sed: si non remiseritis de cordibus vestris»* [*Mt* 18:35]. *Sanctus angelus excusans dixit: «Indulgentiam in corde habuit, sed consuetudine humana continuit».**

<sup>60</sup> *Ib.*, 7, p. 200: *Sanctus angelus dixit: «Iudicemur ante dominum»*. *Praeliante sancto angelo contriti sunt adversarii.* Voir CAROZZI, o.c. (n. 19), p. 437.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *ib.*, 8, p. 202: *Ignes vero crescentes in maius effectus est unus, et illi adpropinquabat. Timensque ignem minacem sancto angelo secum loquenti ait: «Ignis mihi adpropinquat». Cui respondit angelus: «Quod non accendisti non ardebit in te. Licet enim terribilis est et grandis iste ignis, tamen secundum merita operum singulos examinat, quia uniuscuiusque cupiditas in isto igne ardebit. Sicut corpus ardet per illicitam voluntatem, ita et anima ardebit per debitam poenam».*

sait la volonté de son Maître mais il n'a pas agi selon cette volonté [cf. *Lc* 12:47]<sup>62</sup>, il a accepté les dons des impies sans avoir fait la preuve de leur repentance et de leur pénitence [cf. *Eccli* 34; *Deut* 16:19]<sup>63</sup>, il n'a pas expié ses fautes sur la terre [cf. *Is* 1:19-20]<sup>64</sup>, il n'est pas passé par la porte étroite en aimant son prochain comme soi-même [cf. *Mt* 7:13-14; 22:39]<sup>65</sup>, il a trop aimé le monde [cf. 1 *Joh* 2:15]<sup>66</sup>, il n'a pas prêché la pénitence aux pécheurs [cf. *Ezech* 3:18]<sup>67</sup>. Et le diable, visiblement bien versé dans l'Écriture sainte, de «blasphémer»: «si Dieu n'est pas injuste, Il est bien obligé de livrer cette âme aux peines infernales»<sup>68</sup>. À nouveau l'ange opposait à tout cela — habilement, il faut le dire — la miséricorde de Dieu, la bonne foi de Fursy au sujet des dons des impies, ses aumônes qui sont les fruits de sa charité et qui excusent aussi son amour du siècle, le droit de

<sup>62</sup> *Ib.*, 9, p. 202: *Vidit quoque daemonia immunda per ignem volantia, bellum horribile in medio ignis construuntia. Et dixit unus ex illis: «Servus qui scit voluntatem domini sui et non facit digne, plagis vapulabit multis» [Lc 12:47]. Sanctus angelus respondit: «Quid enim iste de voluntate domini sui non adimplevit?».*

<sup>63</sup> *Ib.*: *Satanas respondit: «Scriptum est: Dona iniquorum reprobant altissimus [Eccli 34:19]; iste dona iniquorum recepit».*

<sup>64</sup> *Ib.*, p. 204: *«Quia omne delictum quod non purgatur super terram, in caelo esse vindicandum promisit, Esaia propheta clamante: Quod si volueritis et audieritis me, bona terrae comedetis. Quod si nolueritis et me ad iracundiam provocaveritis, gladius devorabit vos [Is 1:19-20]. Hic homo non purgavit delicta sua in terra, nec vindictam hic recipit ...».*

<sup>65</sup> *Ib.*: *Alius vero satellitum dixit: «Adbuc restat illi angusta porta per quam nisi pauci intrant; ibi illum superare possumus: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum [Mt 7:13-14; 22:39]».*

<sup>66</sup> *Ib.*, 10, p. 206: *«... Promisit enim saeculo abrenuntiare, e contrario iste saeculum dilexit, contra apostolicum praeceptum dicentis: Nolite diligere mundum neque ea quae in mundo sunt [1 Joh 2:15]. Virum hunc nec propriae sponsonis sermo, nec apostoli prohibuit sententia».*

<sup>67</sup> *Victis adversariis angelis vincentibus, rursus diabolus ad callidas convertitur accusationes, dicens: «Scriptum est: Nisi adnuntiaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram [Ezech 3:18]. Hic non adnuntiavit digne peccantibus penitentiam».*

<sup>68</sup> *Ib.*, 9-10, pp. 202-206: *Fallax diabolus succumbens in blasphemias contra auctorem erupit, dicens: «Usque nunc aestimavimus deum esse veracem» ... Sanctus angelus increpans eos dixit: «Nolite blasphemare, dum nescitis occulta dei iudicia» ... Victus inimicus more suo in blasphemiam erupit, dicens: «Si deus iniquus non est, et si mendacium et verbi illius transgressio illi displicet, vir iste poenarum expers non erit ...».*



l'homme prudent de se taire en un temps de malheur [cf. *Amos* 5:13]<sup>69</sup>.

Toute cette dispute verbale ne cessait de s'accompagner d'après barouds entre les cohortes démoniaque et angélique (*In omni vero contradictione demonum praevalida nimis extitit pugna*), mais à la faveur du jugement divin, les anges finirent par triompher (*donec iudice domino, triumphantibus angelis contriti devictisque adversariis* ...) et Fursy se trouva soudain environné par une immense clarté (cf. *supra*)<sup>70</sup>.

Il n'est point sans intérêt de rapprocher de cette psychomachie la teneur du message que Fursy apprit ensuite de la bouche de l'évêque Beoanus. Ce dernier lui tenait, en effet, un long discours eschatologique, annonçant la proximité de la fin du monde et la nécessité de la pénitence, que Fursy lui-même devra prêcher aux princes et au clergé d'Irlande. L'évêque s'en prend d'ailleurs vivement à ces *principes* et *doctores Ecclesiae*. Il fustige les péchés, en premier lieu les péchés contre la charité, dite *radix et culmen*

<sup>69</sup> Ajouter à la note 63: *Sanctus angelus respondit: «Credidit enim quod unusquisque eorum egisset penitentiam». Diabolus dixit: «Ante debuit probare penitentiae perseverantiam et sic fructum suscipere. Munera enim excecant oculos sapientium et pervertunt verba iustorum» [Deut 16:19]. Sanctus angelus respondit: «Iudicemur ante dominum» ...; à la note 64: *Sanctus angelus dixit: «Quamdiu speratur penitentia, comitatur homini divina misericordia». Satanas respondit: «Sed nullus tamen hic locus penitentiae». Angelus respondit: «Profunditatem mysteriorum dei ignoratis: fortasse enim erit». Diabolus respondit: «Discedamus ergo, dum iudicandi ratio non est»; à la note 65: *Sanctus angelus respondit: «Vir iste in proximos suos operatus est bona». Adversarius respondit: «Non sufficit operari bona, nisi etiam sicut semetipsum dilexerit». Sanctus angelus respondit: «Fructus dilectionis est bona operari, quia deus reddet unicuique secundum opera sua» [Ps 61:13; Mt 16:27, Rom 2:6]. Inprobis daemon dixit: «Sed quia verbum dei diligendo non implevit, damnandus erit». Pugnantem vero turba nefanda, sancti angeli victores fuerunt; à la note 66: *Sanctus angelus respondit: «Non sibi soli ea quae sunt saeculi, sed omnibus indigentibus dispensanda dilexit. Nefandissimus diabolus dixit: «Qualicumque modo diligatur, contra praeceptum divinum est et contra sponsonem christianitatis in baptisma»; à la note 67: *Sanctus angelus respondit: «De hoc enim tempore scriptum est: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus pessimum est [Amos 5:13]. Quando enim auditores despiciunt verbum, lingua enim doctoris loqui praepe-ditur, dum videt quod audita praedicatio despicitur». Accusator antiquus respondit: «Ille tamen usque ad passionem adnuntiare debuit, nec consentire nec tacere».*****

<sup>70</sup> *Ib.*, 10, p. 206.

*bonorum operum* alors que l'orgueil est la cause et la racine de tous les malheurs<sup>71</sup>. Il dénonce l'échelle de valeurs de ceux qui pratiquent une ascèse fausse et inutile tout en manquant eux-mêmes gravement à l'amour du prochain, et qui gonflent l'importance de certaines fautes légères<sup>72</sup>.

Enfin, Beoanus adjura Fursy, notamment, de ne jamais rechercher le profit personnel et de prodiguer des aumônes aux pauvres, en leur remettant aussi les *dona iniquorum* éventuellement reçus<sup>73</sup>. Cela rappelle manifestement une des accusations que le diable avait portées contre le visionnaire. Or, au retour, plus précisément lorsque Fursy repassa par le feu (divisé en deux murailles), les démons projetèrent sur lui un homme arraché au feu. Fursy, touché à l'épaule et à la mâchoire, reconnut la personne qui, sur son lit de mort, lui avait fait don d'un habit qu'il avait ensuite gardé. Le diable revendiqua alors une dernière fois — mais en vain — l'âme de notre saint<sup>74</sup>, qui, ensuite, après une explication et une dernière exhortation de l'ange<sup>75</sup>, rentra dans son corps.

<sup>71</sup> *Ib.*, 14, pp. 214-216.

<sup>72</sup> *Ib.*, 13, pp. 212-214: *Sunt quoque nonnulli qui spiritualibus virtutibus inpu- gnantur; his omissis corpus in abstinentia affligunt, verbi gratia, nocturnas illusiones vel levia quaeque crimina existimantes. Superbiam vero ... pro nihilo computantes, vel avaritiam ... non execrantur, nec invidiam ..., falsum quoque testimonium ..., aut blasphemiam ... non execrantes ... Multi enim cibis quos deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione abstinentes, haec nefanda quasi licita sumunt ..., et quae leviora sunt in dei iudicio gravius iudicant, gravia vero leviora putant.* Est-ce une mise en question des outrances ascétiques du monachisme colombanien?

<sup>73</sup> *Ib.*, 15, p. 218.

<sup>74</sup> *Ib.*, 16, pp. 220-221: *Tunc diabolus antiquas repetens fallacias dixit: «Nolite repellere quem ante suscepistis, et sicut eius bona suscepistis, sic de poenis eius participes esse debetis». Angelus domini respondit: «Non propter avaritiam, sed propter animam illius liberandam suscepit».*

<sup>75</sup> *Ib.*, p. 222: *Tunc dixit angelus domini: «Quod incendisti, hoc arsit in te. Si enim huius viri in peccatis suis mortui vestimenta non suscepisses, nec poenae illius in corpore tuo arderent. Praedica ergo omnibus, quod penitentia agenda est et a sacerdote suscipienda usque in extremam horam, sed tamen nihil substantiae eius suscipiendum ...».* Vraiment, l'ange n'en finit pas de mettre en garde contre le risque du «pot de vin» spirituel: *«Nihil tamen exinde a sacerdote ei praedicante suscipiatur, sed iuxta sepulcrum eius bona illius pauperibus dividantur, ne in aliquo iniquitatis illius participes sint».*

La psychomachie occupe une place tout aussi importante dans la Vision de Baronte, le noble laïc qui s'était retiré au monastère de Saint-Pierre de Lonrey (Saint-Cyran). Déjà avant la sortie de son âme, dans son sommeil, ce Baronte vit deux démons noirs prêts à l'étrangler, à le dévorer et à l'emporter en enfer. L'archange Raphaël le protégeait au cours d'une *altercatio* qui durait toute une journée. L'archange proposa de s'en référer au jugement de Dieu, les démons ne voulant renoncer à revendiquer l'âme de Baronte, *nisi Dei iudicium* [= iudicio] *priventur*<sup>76</sup>. Le combat continuait néanmoins après que l'âme avait été extraite avec violence du corps, car Raphaël s'efforçait d'enlever Baronte au ciel tandis que les démons essayaient de l'entraîner brutalement vers le bas<sup>77</sup>. Après le survol du monastère voisin de Méobecque, puis de l'enfer<sup>78</sup>, Baronte arriva au paradis, dont il franchit quatre portes. Dans le deuxième secteur, une foule de vierges se mit à crier «*Anima vadit ad iudicium*» et à implorer le Christ pour Baronte<sup>79</sup>.

Devant la quatrième porte, dont l'accès était interdit, on assiste alors à une véritable séance de jugement présidée par saint Pierre, le patron du monastère de *Longoretum* convoqué entre-temps par l'archange. Les deux démons faisant office de procureurs inculpaient Baronte des péchés principaux (*principalia vitia*). Il avait eu trois femmes et il avait commis d'autres adultères et une pléthore d'autres péchés énumérés en détail par les démons, alors que Baronte lui-même ne s'en souvenait plus: ... *et illas [culpas], quas ab infantiam gesseram, rememoraverunt illi per singula et hoc, quod ego numquam ad memoriam reducebam*. Baronte les avoua humblement, mais saint Pierre le tira d'affaire lui aussi en rappelant l'aumône — libératrice de la mort selon *Tobie* 4:11 — que l'homme avait faite, la pénitence à laquelle il s'était soumis après avoir confessé ses péchés aux prêtres et, enfin, le fait qu'il avait tout abandonné pour entrer au monastère. La conclusion est nette:

<sup>76</sup> *V. Baronti*, 3, *ib.*, p. 240.

<sup>77</sup> *Ib.*, 4, p. 242: «*Sed et ibi super meum pectusculum non parva fuit inter eos contentio. Sanctus Rafahel pugnabat pro animam meam elevare ad caelum sursum et daemones cupiebant semper praecipitare deorsum ...*»

<sup>78</sup> *Ib.*, 5, pp. 242-244; 7, p. 246: *Et iuxta inferno iter habuimus et custodes infernorum vidimus.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ib.*, 9, pp. 248-250.

«*Omnia ista mala, quod dicitis, supercalcavit ista bona. Vos eum modo mihi auferre non potestis, aperte cognoscite, non est vester socius, sed noster*»<sup>80</sup>.

Les démons ne s'avouaient pas encore vaincus pour autant, mais le prince des apôtres les chassa en menaçant de les frapper avec ses trois clés. Comme ce fut le cas pour saint Fursy, un péché bien déterminé continuait néanmoins à «poursuivre» Baronte dans l'au-delà : après et malgré sa conversion monastique, il avait en effet gardé pour lui douze sous d'or. Avant de le renvoyer à son «exil» terrestre, saint Pierre l'engagea solennellement à se racheter en remettant cet argent entre les mains de pauvres *peregrini*<sup>81</sup>.

Dans la vie de saint Guthlac, la psychomachie ne figure qu'à l'état embryonnaire et, de plus, l'usage du terme est ici plutôt impropre car c'est avec son corps que les démons ont transporté l'ermite vers les lieux infernaux pour le soumettre à toutes sortes de supplices. Ils revendiquent ce droit en alléguant, dans le sillage de la *Vita Fursei*, le feu que le saint aurait allumé par ses propres délits : «*Ecce nobis potestas data est te trudere in has poenas ... En ignis, quem accendisti in delictis tuis, te consumere paratus est ...*»<sup>82</sup>. Mais Guthlac, convaincu de son innocence, se chargeant lui-même de la réplique, rejeta avec dédain toutes ces menaces. Sa confiance ne fut pas trahie, car saint Barthélemy (et donc non pas un ange, cette fois-ci) sortit du ciel — *ab aethereis sedibus radiantis Olympi*, dit l'hagiographe, comme s'il s'agissait d'une divinité antique — pour mettre les mauvais esprits en fuite<sup>83</sup>.

Mais le mot «psychomachie» s'emploie aussi au sens de «combat entre les vices et les vertus dans l'âme humaine»<sup>84</sup>. Or, ce sens-là se superpose pour ainsi dire à l'autre dans la vision bonifatienne du moine de Wenlock. C'est peut-être la scène qui se rapproche le plus, *mutatis mutandis*, du «film» dont parlent les témoins de

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*, 12, p. 254: *Et Petrus ad me: «Est veritas, frater?». Et ego: «Veritas, domine». Et ait ad illos beatissimus Petrus: «Etsi aliquid contrarium aegit, elemosynam fecit — elemosyna enim de morte liberat — et sua peccata sacerdotibus est confessus et paenitentiam ex ipsa peccata aegit et insuper sua coma in meo monasterio deposuit et omnia propter Deum dereliquit et semet ipsum in servitio Christi tradidit. Omnia ista mala ...»*

<sup>81</sup> *Ib.*, 13, pp. 254-256.

<sup>82</sup> FELIX, *V. Guthlaci*, 31, *ib.*, p. 384.

<sup>83</sup> *Ib.*, 32, pp. 384-386.

<sup>84</sup> Voir le poème *Psychomachia* de Prudence († après 405).

Moody. C'est qu'en effet le moine, au moment où il balançait dans l'espace périlleux entre ciel et terre, ne fut pas pris à partie par les démons mais par ses propres vices, ceux qu'il avait commis depuis sa jeunesse et qu'il avait négligé ou oublié de confesser, ou dont il avait ignoré le caractère peccamineux<sup>85</sup>. Chacun de ses péchés se présentait à lui sous une forme personnalisée et sur un ton accusateur: «*Ego sum cupiditas tua, qua inlicita frequentissime et contraria praeceptis Dei concupisti; Ego sum vana gloria ... mendacium ... otiosum verbum ... visus, quo videndo inlicita peccasti ... contumacia et inoboedientia ... torpor et desidia ... vaga cogitatio et inutilis cura ... somnolentia ... iter otiosum ... negligentia et incuria ...*».

Tous ces crimes vociféraient pour ainsi dire contre lui: *Omnia, quae in diebus vitae suae in carne conversatus peregit et confiteri neglexit, multa quoque, quae ad peccatum pertinere omnino ignorabat, contra eum cuncta terribiliter vociferabant*. Les esprits malins abondaient dans le même sens en y ajoutant encore les endroits et les moments où ces mauvais actes avaient été perpétrés<sup>86</sup>. Un homme (toujours vivant sur terre du reste) auquel il avait asséné une blessure au temps où il portait encore l'habit du siècle, était là aussi comme témoin à charge: sa plaie et son sang hurlaient à leur tour pour reprocher à notre moine son méfait<sup>87</sup>.

Mais voilà que survinrent les vertus (monastiques) qu'il avait pratiquées et qui, également personnifiées, le disculpaient une à une de la faute correspondante (*Et sic unaquaque virtus contra emulum suum peccatum excussando me clamitabat*): «*Ego sum oboedientia, quam senioribus spiritalibus exhibuit ... Ego sum*

<sup>85</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 346: *Et se ipsum audisse omnia flagitiorum suorum propria peccamina — quae fecit a iuventute sua et ad confitendum aut neglexit aut oblivioni tradidit vel ad peccatum pertinere omnino nesciebat — ipsius propria voce contra illum clamitasse et eum dirissime accusasse et specialiter unumquodque vitium quasi ex sua persona in medium se obtulisse dicendo quoddam ...* Cf. CAROZZI, o.c. (n. 19), p. 449.

<sup>86</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, pp. 346-348: *... Similiter et maligni spiritus in omnibus consonantes vitiis accusando et duriter testificando et loca et tempora nefandorum actuum memorantes eadem, quae peccata dixerunt, conclamantes probabant.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ib.*, p. 348: *... Et sic cumculatis et computatis sceleribus, antiqui hostes adfirmabant: eum, reum peccatorem, iuris eorum et condicionis indubitanter fuisse.*

*ieiunium ... oratio pura ... obsequium infirmorum ... Ego sum psalmus quem pro otioso sermone satisfaciens Deo cecinit*». Les anges confirmèrent et vantèrent de toutes leurs forces ces vertus qui apparaissaient au moine lui-même comme beaucoup plus grandes et méritoires qu'elles ne l'étaient à l'époque où il les avaient mises en pratique<sup>88</sup>. Plus nettement que dans les Visions de Fursy et de Baronte, c'est le positif qui l'emporte ici sur le négatif, car il ne reste plus de faute spécifique à expier ou à réparer.

Le contraire arriva au soldat souffrant du roi Cenred, lequel, d'après Bède le Vénérable, n'avait cessé d'ajourner sa confession et sa pénitence en dépit des instances de son maître. Un jour, durant sa maladie, une vision lui signifia que ce fut désormais trop tard. Deux anges se présentèrent à son chevet et lui donnèrent à lire un livre plutôt mince contenant les bonnes actions qu'il avait accomplies<sup>89</sup>. Ils le reprirent sans rien dire. Mais tout à coup une horde d'esprits malins envahit la maison. Leur chef fit montrer au soldat un livre très volumineux, horrible à voir et d'un poids épouvantable, où étaient inscrits tous les délits, même les plus menus, qu'il avait commis par l'action, par la parole ou par la pensée (... *invenio omnia scelera, non solum quae opere vel verbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione peccavi, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris*).

À la question de savoir pourquoi ils demeuraient encore dans la chambre («*Quid hic sedetis scientes certissime quia noster est iste?*»), les deux *virī albatī*, se rendant tout de suite à l'évidence, répondirent : «*Verum dicitis; accipite, et in cumulum damnationis ducite*». Après leur départ, les démons se mirent à frapper et à blesser le soldat avec des socs de charrue, l'un à la tête, l'autre au pied, cherchant ensuite à pénétrer dans son corps par les plaies. Le soldat savait que, dès qu'ils s'y rencontreraient, il mourrait et serait traîné en enfer. La psychomachie, ici, était devenue inutile; la cause était entendue d'avance.

<sup>88</sup> *Ib.* : «... et istae virtutes universae valde mactae et multo maiores et excellentiores esse mihi videbantur, quam umquam viribus meis digne perpetrate fuissent».

<sup>89</sup> Développement du thème des livres (et notamment du livre de la vie) d'Apoc 20: 12-15. Cf., plus tard, le *Dies irae*: *Liber scriptus proferetur, in quo totum continetur unde mundus iudicetur*.

Pour Bède, à la manière de Grégoire le Grand, cette histoire a valeur d'avertissement pour les autres (... *non pro se ista cui non profuere, sed pro aliis viderit, qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum vacat, timerent* ...) <sup>90</sup>, tout comme celle du frère qui avait vécu de manière très peu exemplaire dans un «monastère noble» du royaume anglo-saxon de Bernicie. Tombé gravement malade, il avait vu l'enfer et le *locus aeternae perditionis* qui y était préparé pour lui. Devant ses frères empressés de l'exhorter à faire de la pénitence, il tira cette conclusion de sa vision : «*Non est mihi modo tempus vita mutandi, cum ipse viderim iudicium meum iam esse completum*» <sup>91</sup>.

Répétons-le : le visionnaire du haut Moyen Âge ne voit pas de panorama chronologique ou simultané de sa vie. Mais il est bien souvent confronté à ses actes (y compris les plus oubliés), à commencer par ses mauvais actes qu'on rappelle (ou qui se rappellent) à son souvenir pour l'en accuser. Si ses bons actes font suffisamment le contrepoids (et uniquement dans ce cas-là), il s'en sort plus ou moins rassuré, non pas à la suite d'une réflexion personnelle éveillée en lui par une interrogation de type socratique, mais parce que d'autres (principalement des anges, donc des êtres lumineux, mais pas l'«être de lumière» au singulier) se font ses avocats en invoquant ces bons actes. Ou parce que d'autres encore (le Seigneur, saint Pierre ...) finissent par le juger d'une manière favorable. Comme dans les expériences proches de la mort, il s'agit sans doute d'un moment de grande clairvoyance rétrospective, mais vécu et interprété à travers le moule de la morale et de l'eschatologie de l'époque <sup>92</sup>. En dépit de l'issue positive de quel-

<sup>90</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 13, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 324-326.

<sup>91</sup> *Ib.*, 5, 14, pp. 328-330. Bède ne manque pas, ici non plus, d'ajouter quelques réflexions «pédagogiques» : *Talia dicens sine viatico salutis obiit, et corpus eius in ultimis est monasterii locis humatum, neque aliquis pro eo vel missas facere vel psalmos cantare vel saltem orare praesumebat. O quam grandi distantia divisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras! ... Factum est hoc nuper in provincia Berniciorum, ac longe lateque diffamatum, multos ad agendam et non differendam scelerum suorum paenitudinem provocavit. Quod utinam ex hinc etiam nostrarum lectione litterarum fiat!*

<sup>92</sup> Sur l'évolution de l'eschatologie, axée de plus en plus sur le *post mortem* immédiat plutôt que sur la fin des temps et la Parousie du Christ, voir VAN UYTFANGHE M., *Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne* (600-750), Bruxelles, 1987, pp. 228-246.

ques récits, en dépit aussi du poids accordé à la charité, à la justice et à l'honnêteté<sup>93</sup>, nos Visions se distinguent des *near-death experiences* par leur «pédagogie» du jugement (y compris de tiers, ce qui n'est pas le cas chez Moody), de l'avertissement et de la menace<sup>94</sup>. L'amour et le pardon d'un «être de lumière» n'y sont pas acquis d'avance.

- *Frontière ou limite*. Certaines personnes, au cours de leur passage aux abords de la mort, ont rencontré ce que l'on pourrait appeler une frontière, ou quelque autre sorte de limite. Selon les cas, cette frontière est représentée comme une étendue d'eau, un brouillard gris, une porte, une haie dans un champ, ou une simple ligne de démarcation. De l'autre côté de cette limite, le mourant aperçoit une grande luminosité et/ou des gens (connus ou inconnus) qui l'ont précédé dans la mort. Toutefois, il ne parvient pas à cet autre côté ou il n'y reste pas, soit qu'il ne veuille pas mourir, soit qu'il ne puisse franchir la limite ou que quelqu'un le renvoie<sup>95</sup>.

Qui dit «frontière» ou «autre côté», dans le cas des *Visiones* du très haut Moyen Âge, pensera spontanément au «pont d'épreuve» déjà évoqué. Rappelons toutefois que celui-ci ne se rapporte qu'à des tiers, même si, à son propos, il faudra revenir sur le récit de saint Boniface. Mais il y a des espèces de limite qui concernent plus directement l'itinéraire du visionnaire lui-même. À ce dernier

<sup>93</sup> Dans les Visions de Fursy et de Baronte, les seuls péchés dont il «reste» quelque chose après la psychomachie, constituent précisément des manquements à des règles inspirées par ces vertus-là (voir d'ailleurs aussi le contenu du discours des deux évêques irlandais dans la *Vita Fursei*). À considérer toutefois l'ensemble de nos *Visiones* et leur ambiance religieuse, il faut bien constater que celles-ci ne sont pas tout à fait sur la même longueur d'onde que bien des récits contemporains où l'amour du prochain et l'acquisition de la connaissance apparaissent comme les devoirs par excellence.

<sup>94</sup> S'il est vrai que, par ex., les personnages célestes qui instruisent saint Fursy, «permettent d'esquisser un tableau où la peur et le châtement ne sont pas les seules composantes de l'éthique chrétienne» (AUBRUN M., *Caractères et portée religieuse et sociale des «Visiones» en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle*, dans *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 23 [1980], pp. 109-130, ici p. 127), s'il est vrai aussi que la plupart des visionnaires eux-mêmes ont réchappé à l'enfer, ils n'en restent pas moins conscients que, s'ils n'y prennent garde, leur mort définitive peut toujours leur réserver ce sort.

<sup>95</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 85-89.



il arrive, en effet, de devoir annoncer son retour après avoir atteint une barrière qu'il n'est pas autorisé de franchir. Au haut Moyen Âge, il s'agit généralement d'un secteur précis de l'au-delà, à savoir le paradis ou le ciel. Conformément aux représentations traditionnelles, il peut alors être question d'une porte ou d'une rivière.

Saint Salvi, par exemple, est obligé de sortir de la demeure des saints par la même porte lumineuse par laquelle il y avait été introduit : *Et ait vox, quae loquebatur mihi: «Vade in pace. Ego enim sum custos tuus, donec reducam te in hoc loco». Tunc relictus a comitibus meis, discedens cum fletu, per portam quam ingressus fueram hic sum regressus*<sup>96</sup>. Saint Fursy vit le ciel ouvert au-dessus de lui et il entendit le chant magnifique des anges qui y habitent. Comme les évêques Beoanus et Meldanus, ces anges durent descendre pour l'entourer. Deux d'entre eux regagnèrent ensuite le royaume céleste «comme par une porte» (*Tunc aspiciat ... duos angelos proximam caeli iocunditatem repetentes quasi per ostium intrantes, erumpente circa illos magnitudine claritatis ...*). Fursy, par contre, ne peut plus monter; il est contraint de retourner à la vie terrestre : *Tum praedictos sacerdotes ... a secreto caelo procedere ... ad se venire conspexit; ac sibi ad saeculum redire praecipunt*<sup>97</sup>.

La fonction de la porte (la quatrième et dernière porte du paradis, en l'occurrence) est plus claire dans la *Visio Baronti*. Baronte, on s'en souvient, y rencontre un frère de son monastère, mais aussi la lumière éblouissante et indescriptible dont l'apparition coïncide précisément avec le tournant de son périple visionnaire<sup>98</sup>. Le jugement par saint Pierre aura lieu devant cette porte, car le passage à travers elle n'est plus permis : *Iam deinde non habuimus amplius comiato introeundi, sed mirum splendorem et claritatem in totas partes vidi*<sup>99</sup>.

À l'enfant Auguste le Seigneur lui-même montra, en le tenant par la main, l'*hortus amoenissimus* du paradis où coulait un ruisseau à l'eau limpide et bordé de fleurs et d'herbes aromatiques. Ce fut, paraît-il, la promenade longeant ce ruisseau qui mit une

<sup>96</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 160.

<sup>97</sup> *V. Fursei*, 11 et 12, *ib.*, pp. 208-210.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 23.

<sup>99</sup> *V. Baronti*, 11, *ib.*, p. 252.

fin plutôt abrupte à la vision: *Ac sic iuxta rivum ipsum venientes pervenimus usque ad locum quousque nunc in stratu meo iacens video*<sup>100</sup>. Le cours d'eau réapparaît au cours du voyage dans l'au-delà du moine de Wenlock. Déjà, celui-ci n'avait pu rejoindre les bienheureux du paradis qui avaient pourtant l'air de l'inviter: *qui eum invitabant, ut ad eorum gaudia, si ei licitum fuisset, cum eis gavisurus veniret*. Ensuite, il aperçut une rivière de feu bouillant que surplombait un pont et au-delà de laquelle s'élevaient les grands et hauts murs resplendissants de la Jérusalem celeste (*Et citra illud flumen speculatur muros fulgentes clarissimi splendoris, stupendae longitudinis et altitudinis immensae*)<sup>101</sup>. Le moine voit les âmes qui essaient de traverser le pont, il assiste à quelques «psychomachies», mais lui-même ne peut plus passer outre, car les anges lui ordonnent de rejoindre son corps *sine mora*<sup>102</sup>.

Le récit de Bède rentre déjà moins dans le cadre esquissé. Drythelm, après que son guide eut chassé les démons et changé de direction, parvint à un mur d'une longueur et d'une hauteur apparemment infinies, sans porte ni fenêtre ni escalier<sup>103</sup>. Subitement, il se retrouva au sommet de ce mur entourant la prairie merveilleuse où s'ébattaient les esprits des bienheureux. Drythelm et son compagnon traversèrent même cette prairie. Mais au moment où la lumière et le parfum s'intensifient et où l'on s'approche du véritable royaume céleste réservé aux âmes parfaites (cf. *supra*), le guide s'arrête tout à coup, et force Drythelm à rebrousser chemin, sans qu'une frontière concrète s'interpose pour autant (*In cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem, repente ductor substitit; nec mora, gressum retorquens ipsa me, qua venimus, via reduxit*)<sup>104</sup>. Par ailleurs, tout comme chez Moody l'élément «frontière» ne figure pas dans tous les rapports,

<sup>100</sup> *V. Patr. Emer.*, 1, 21, *ib.*, p. 176. Cf. *Apoc* 22:1: ... *et ostendit mihi fluvium aquae vitae splendidum tamquam crystallum* (le pendant du fleuve infernal de l'Antiquité).

<sup>101</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.* 10, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 350-352.

<sup>102</sup> *Ib.*, p. 356.

<sup>103</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, pp. 314-316: *Coepti autem mirari, quare ad murum accederemus, cum in eo nullam ianuam vel fenestram vel ascensum aliqui conspicerem. Cum ergo pervenissemus ad murum, statim nescio quo ordine fuimus in summitate eius.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ib.*

il fait pareillement défaut dans certains récits du haut Moyen Âge<sup>105</sup>. De plus, sa traduction concrète y est moins variée que chez les témoins modernes.

- *Le retour*. Au contraire des sentiments éprouvés au cours des tout premiers moments qui suivent la mort, bien des mourants, arrivés à un stade plus avancé de leur aventure, n'ont plus envie de revenir — tant ils se plaisent là-bas, notamment en présence de l'être de lumière — et vont parfois jusqu'à opposer une résistance à ce retour au corps physique. D'autres, en revanche, finissent par souhaiter ce retour à cause d'un devoir (familial par ex.) à accomplir ou d'une tâche à achever. Que la réincorporation se fasse par leur propre décision ou qu'elle leur soit concédée ou imposée (par l'être de lumière par ex.), ou encore qu'elle s'effectue sans cause évidente (c'est le plus fréquent), la plupart des témoins ne se souviennent plus de son déroulement concret, même si d'aucuns parlent d'une projection assez brusque vers leur corps physique, voire d'une rentrée dans ce corps par la tête<sup>106</sup>.

La répugnance à la rentrée (imposée) dans le corps se remarque aussi chez bien de nos visionnaires précarolingiens. Dans le livre VII de l'*Histoire des Francs* de Grégoire de Tours, l'évêque-reclus Salvi, au moment où il revint à la vie, clama sa déception et y mêla de manière très nette le thème classique du « mépris du monde » : « *O Domine misericors, quid fecisti mihi, ut me in hunc tenebrosam mundanae habitationis locum redire permetteris, cum mihi melior esset in caelo tua misericordia quam istius mundi vita nequissima?* ». Ce thème, il le reprend plus tard, avant de raconter sa vision aux moines et à sa mère : « *Audite, o dilectissimi, et intellegite, quia nihil est, quod cernitis in hoc mundo; sed sunt iuxta id quae Salomon propheta cecinit: Omnia vanitas [Eccli 1:2]* »<sup>107</sup>. Au terme de son voyage céleste, apprend-on, il avait entendu la voix divine ordonner son retour parce que les églises de sa région avaient besoin de lui : « *Revertatur hic in saeculo, quo-*

<sup>105</sup> Dans les visions de Maxime et de Bonellus par ex., et plus généralement lorsqu'il est question des parties infernales de l'au-delà.

<sup>106</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 90-96.

<sup>107</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 156, et la note 13, p. 164 (référence à Cicéron, *Rep.*, VI, 15, 15 [= *Somnium Scipionis*]; *ib.*, p. 158: ... *hunc squalidum saeculum* ...

*niam necessarius est aeclesiis nostris*». Suite à ses doléances, la voix céleste l'avait rassuré pour l'avenir: «*Vade in pace. Ego enim sum custos tuus, donec reducam te in hoc loco*»<sup>108</sup>. Ensuite, abandonné par ses deux compagnons angéliques, il était retourné au monde en sortant par la *porta luce clarior* par laquelle il avait été introduit dans la demeure des saints.

Déjà après sa première décorporation, saint Fursy ne voulait plus se séparer de la compagnie des anges (*Tunc vir sanctus tedio separandi a societate angelica affectus, dixit se ab eis separari noluisse*), mais ceux-ci lui promirent de revenir. Il ne savait pas comment, ravie par la douceur de leur chant, son âme était rentrée dans son corps<sup>109</sup>. Et lorsque, à la fin de sa seconde ascension, les deux évêques irlandais le renvoient à la vie terrestre (*ad saeculum redire praecipiunt*), il se retourne brusquement, interloqué par cette triste nouvelle (*huius nuntii tristitia stupefactus in momento reversus*)<sup>110</sup>. Mais il reçut la mission d'annoncer en Irlande la proximité de la fin du monde et de prêcher la pénitence. Après le discours des évêques, il se retrouva sur le toit de son église, entouré d'anges. Il aperçut son corps, sans voir pour autant les vêtements qui l'enveloppaient ni les parois de la maison où il gisait<sup>111</sup>, ni la foule, toute en pleurs, de ses proches, des voisins et des clercs. Quand l'ange le somma de reconnaître et de réintégrer son corps, il renâcla à s'en approcher, effrayé par ce cadavre inconnu (*Tunc ille quasi ignotum cadaver timens noluit se ibidem adpropinquare*). Rassuré par l'ange, il vit s'ouvrir sa poitrine (*Tunc vidit pectore illius corpus aperire*) et se réveilla *quasi ex profunda mortis quiete*<sup>112</sup>.

Chez saint Fursy, l'horreur du corps se greffe donc sur le mépris du monde<sup>113</sup>. Ce dernier s'avère très prononcé dans la bouche du

<sup>108</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 156, 158, 160.

<sup>109</sup> *V. Fursei*, 4, *ib.*, p. 194: *Tunc qualiter anima in corpus intraverit huius carminis suavitate laetificata, intellegere non potuit.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ib.*, 12, p. 210.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. le début de la vision, *ib.*, 2, p. 192: *Hac ex causa dum patriam parentesque visitare properaret ..., quadam die corporis egrotantis molestia corripitur ac deinde ad paternam, amicis suggerentibus, commigravit domum ... sed quasi iam mortuus ad proximam deportatus est casam.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ib.*, 17, pp. 222-224.

<sup>113</sup> Voir aussi *ib.*, 8, p. 200: «*Respice mundum*»; *ib.*, 15, p. 220: *Duo enim humanae animae inimici esse probantur, diabolus et mundus.*

moine Maxime, invité par l'ange à faire une comparaison entre le jardin paradisiaque et la terre : « *Terra illa nihil in se bonum habet* » ... « *Volo, Domine, hic tecum semper permanere, quia terra mea execrabilis et infanda est, nichil in se bonum habens, nisi scandalum et perditionem* »<sup>114</sup>. Après avoir vu l'abîme infernal et reçu l'ordre de prendre le chemin du retour (« *Bene. Vadens modo, revertere in domum tuam...* »)<sup>115</sup>, Maxime se jeta aux pieds de l'ange et le supplia : « *Domine, fac in me misericordiam, ut me ad terram illam iniquissimam non remittas, quia hic tecum esse desidero. Sed nec possum, nec scio ubi vadam* ». Toutefois, après que l'ange lui eut indiqué le chemin — il dut passer par une montagne, où un homme tenant un bâton à la main l'éclairerait davantage sur la route à suivre —, il n'osa plus rouspéter (« *quum iam contradicere non audebam* ... »). C'est en cheminant de la sorte qu'il ouvrit subitement les yeux cependant que ses amis célébraient ses obsèques<sup>116</sup>.

Drythelm se délectait beaucoup dans le *locus florifer* où son guide l'avait amené. Nonobstant, après les explications du guide sur l'au-delà, il dut retourner dans son corps et vivre à nouveau parmi les hommes (« *Tu autem, quia nunc ad corpus reverti et rursus inter homines vivere debes* ... »). Lui aussi ne l'accepta qu'à contre-cœur (« *Haec mihi cum dixisset, multum detestatus sum reverti ad corpus, delectatus nimirum suavitate ac decore loci illius quem intuebar* ... »), n'osant pourtant plus rien demander (« *Nec tamen aliquid ductorem meum rogare audebam* ... »). Il ignorait, du reste, comment il avait soudain été réincorporé (« *sed inter haec nescio quo ordine repente me inter homines vivere cerno* »)<sup>117</sup>. Au début du chapitre, Bède avait seulement stipulé que ce brusque réveil s'était produit à l'aube et qu'il avait mis en fuite tous ceux qui, en larmes, veillaient le corps de Drythelm, à l'exception tou-

<sup>114</sup> *Dicta beati Valeri*, 1, *ib.*, pp. 282-284.

<sup>115</sup> *Ib.*, 2, p. 284 : « ... et si bene egeris, beneque penitueris, mox iterum reversus fueris, in isto amenitatis loco te suscipiam, et tecum permanebis in aeternum. Si autem nequiter egeris, et non penitendo emendaberis vitam tuam, dum iterum reversus fueris, statim in huius pessimi Inferni praecipitaberis interitus ».

<sup>116</sup> *Ib.*, p. 286 : « ... Dum autem velociter carperem iter, subito aperiens oculos et ecce collecta vicinitas mea exhibentes exsequias corpusculum meum in medio positum funeris ex more reddebant officium ».

<sup>117</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, pp. 318-320.

tefois de sa femme<sup>118</sup>. Enfin, ce fut également au petit jour<sup>119</sup> que le moine de Wenlock, pressé par les anges d'aller conter aux croyants tout ce qu'il avait vu et entendu, se retrouva dans le corps qu'il avait pourtant eu en horreur tout au long de son expérience, exécrant d'ailleurs autant ses frères qui se chargeaient si pieusement de ses soins funèbres et de ses funérailles<sup>120</sup>.

La tristesse provoquée par le retour ou la résistance opposée à celui-ci n'est cependant pas un élément obligatoire dans nos Visions. D'ailleurs, parfois, le récit évoque à peine ce retour, ou il le fait brièvement<sup>121</sup>. Le plus souvent, le visionnaire obéit néanmoins à un ordre. Dans l'histoire du père de famille racontée par Grégoire le Grand, un ange enjoint aux démons de ramener leur victime à cause des pleurs du prêtre Sévère, qui avait tardé à venir prier pour cet homme<sup>122</sup>. Toujours chez Grégoire le Grand, le cas de l'illustre Étienne, tombé malade et mort à Constantinople, est quelque peu spécial. Il fut conduit en enfer, où il vit tout ce qu'il avait entendu dire sans y croire. Il revint toutefois à son corps parce que le juge qui siégeait refusa de l'admettre, alléguant que ce n'était pas lui mais Étienne le forgeron qu'il avait désigné<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> *Ib.*, p. 308: ... *primo tempore noctis defunctus est, sed diluculo reviviscens* ...

<sup>119</sup> C'est là un élément récurrent dans presque toutes les Visions: voir *ib.*, p. 227, n. 8.

<sup>120</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 358. Voir aussi le *contemptus mundi* chez PSEUDO-BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 115, *ib.*, p. 372: *Et antea hanc miseram vitam, dum ex superiore contemplatione reversa fuerat ... et sine lumine remansisse claritatis, conspexisse se, lugens protestabatur.*

<sup>121</sup> P. ex. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 3, *ib.*, p. 130: ... *sed protinus corpori restitutus* ... ; *ib.*, IV, 37, 7: ... *sed citius rediit*; GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 4, 33, *ib.*, p. 156: *Haec audiens, a somno excutitur* ... ; V. Patr. Emer. 1, 21, *ib.*, p. 176: «... *pervenimus usque ad locum quousque nunc in stratu meo iacens video*».

<sup>122</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, I, 12, 2, *ib.*, p. 126: «*Reducite illum, quia Severus presbiter plangit* ... ».

<sup>123</sup> *Ib.*, IV, 37, 6, p. 132: «*Non hunc deduci, sed Stephanum ferrarium iussi*». Sur ce thème de la mort par erreur, voir DE VOGÜÉ, *o.c.* (n. 43), pp. 128-129, n. 6 (ici: emprunt au récit de saint Augustin, dans *Cura mort*, 12, 25, sur Curma le curiale et Curma le forgeron), et ZALESKI, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 29: «Although this story clearly belongs to the common stock of tales of death by mistaken identity, Gregory insists that such apparent mixups occur 'not as an error, but as a warning'» (cf. IV, 37, 2, *ib.*, p. 130: «*Hoc cum fit, Petre, si bene perpenditur, non error sed admonitio est*»).

De tous nos récits, la *Visio Baronti* décrit le plus longuement le retour; c'est une trajectoire plutôt incohérente et naïvement «terrestre», qui s'étale sur sept chapitres (de 13 à 19 plus précisément). Après la séance de jugement, l'apôtre Pierre confia Baronte à deux anges (deux *pueroli albis stolis induti*, dit le texte) qui devaient le ramener jusqu'à la première porte. Là, il fut pris en charge par les prêtres défunts de son monastère qui désignèrent l'un d'entre eux, Framnoald (un frère mort en très bas âge), pour l'accompagner. En échange, Baronte dut promettre de balayer chaque dimanche son tombeau et d'y réciter le Psaume 50. En même temps, ils lui remirent un cierge qu'il dut faire bénir à l'église — on imaginait donc des églises dans l'au-delà — par le prêtre (lecteur) Ebbon pour se protéger de l'assaut des démons. Ensuite, ce furent tout de même les *fratres* (au pluriel) qui se mirent en marche avec lui (*coeperunt mecum ambulare*): ils survolèrent ensemble la fosse de l'enfer<sup>124</sup>.

Passé l'enfer, d'autres frères (ceux qu'il avait rencontrés au début, près de la première porte du paradis) et aussi des pèlerins en route vers le tombeau de saint Hilaire à Poitiers<sup>125</sup>, rejoignirent Baronte et ses compagnons jusqu'à la descente *in amoenia campania*<sup>126</sup>. Là Baronte restait seul avec Framnoald, les autres frères étant repartis pour la patrie céleste. Ce Framnoald profita de l'occasion pour aller prier sur son propre tombeau à l'église Saint-Pierre de Lonrey, et pour rappeler à Baronte sa promesse. Il lui ôta le corps aérien qu'il avait reçu pour le jugement<sup>127</sup> et lui retira aussi son cierge, avant de s'en aller. Baronte se trouvait seul devant

<sup>124</sup> *V. Baronti*, 16, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 262. Entre le paradis et l'enfer, Baronte voit encore Abraham (*vidi ibi virum senem pulcherrimum aspectum, habentem barbam prolixam, in alta sede quietem sedentem*), et il apprend qu'on doit le prier pour ensuite venir habiter dans son sein. «Le vieux séjour paléochrétien se retrouve donc là, à l'état fossile, réduit à sa fonction symbolique». Cf. CAROZZI, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 442.

<sup>125</sup> Tout cela a l'air quelque peu déconcertant, mais plaide en même temps, en dépit de la stylisation inévitable, pour une certaine authenticité du récit. Sur le réalisme très «terrestre» de celui-ci, notamment dans la scène du retour, voir CICCARESE M.P., *La Visio Baronti nella tradizione letteraria delle Visiones dell'aldilà*, dans *Romanobarbarica* 6 (1981-1982), pp. 25-52, ici pp. 50-51.

<sup>126</sup> *V. Baronti*, 18, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 264.

<sup>127</sup> *Ib.*: *Sic verba completa, abstulit a me corpus, quem de aerem acceperam, et lumine et habuit*. Cf. *ib.*, 4, p. 242: «... *sed loqui minime potest, donec ad discussionem veniat et corpore de aerem recipiat similem, quem hic reliquit*».

l'arcade de l'église, *in tanta tribulatione positus, quam ab illa hora, quam a beati Petri praesentia discesseram, non habueram*. Se traînant par terre, il (c'est-à-dire son âme) se précipita vers son corps. Heureusement, par une intervention divine, un vent se leva et le porta en un coup d'oeil sur le toit du monastère où son corps gisait mort. Regardant dedans, il vit ses frères qui le veillaient et son fils Aglioaldus assis à côté du chevet, tout triste et pris de sommeil. Alors, le vent soufflant à nouveau, Baronte rentra dans son corps par sa bouche (*Et iterum vento flante, intravi per os meum in corpus meum, et primum verbum eripui in laude Dei: «Gloria tibi, Deus»*)<sup>128</sup>.

Valère de Bierzo est moins prolix que l'auteur de la *Visio Baronii*. Baldarius, on s'en souvient, avait visité une superbe montagne où il avait pu contempler le Christ en personne, trônant en majesté. Le Seigneur lui-même ordonna aux trois colombes-guides de le reconduire (*«Reducite eum ad corpus suum, quia nondum completum est tempus eius»*) après avoir «laissé passer» le soleil levant aux rayons torrifiants<sup>129</sup>. La descente (*Post cuius terribilis visionis abscessio cepimus remeare deorsum*) valut à Baldarius la vision cosmique de l'univers déjà évoquée<sup>130</sup> et interrompue par une chute soudaine par laquelle le visionnaire réintégra son corps et ouvrit les yeux (*Dum diutius attenderem, descendens subito, revertens in corpore aperui oculos, et presentibus auferens luctum, adepti sunt consolationis gaudium*)<sup>131</sup>.

Enfin, pour ce qui est de saint Guthlac, bornons-nous à constater que son biographe met en scène son retour dans sa cellule de manière très littéraire (avec des réminiscences de Virgile et de la *Vita Fursei*). Sur l'ordre de saint Barthélemy, qui a déjà chassé les démons, des anges (les *satellites* de l'apôtre) le raccompagnent à son ermitage à travers l'espace aérien. Il s'y retrouva dès l'aurore,

<sup>128</sup> *Ib.*, 19, pp. 266-268.

<sup>129</sup> Et précédé d'un oiseau géant (*ingenti magnitudine avis ruffa*), peut-être le phénix, symbole d'éternité (cf. *ib.*, p. 300, n. 23, avec référence à VAN DEN BROECK R., *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions*, Leiden, 1972).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. VAN UYTFANGHE, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 469.

<sup>131</sup> *Dicta beati Valeri*, 2, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), pp. 294-296.



car les démons l'avaient ravi pendant la nuit<sup>132</sup>. De la sorte, cette *translatio* corporelle fait tout de même penser à la ranimation matinale de certains visionnaires «décorporés».

Le thème du retour présente donc indéniablement des traits communs aux *near-death experiences* contemporaines et aux *Visiones* du très haut Moyen Âge. Tantôt les témoins des deux époques ne savent pas comment ils sont rentrés dans le corps, tantôt ils fournissent des détails à ce propos ( Brusque réveil en présence des proches endeuillés, rentrée par la tête ). Souvent, ils retournent à contre-cœur, mais ce sentiment n'est pas obligatoire.

Quelques différences apparaissent tout de même. Les *Visiones* mettent davantage en exergue l'*ordre* de retourner, alors que nos contemporains ont plus souvent l'impression que leur propre volonté y est finalement pour quelque chose<sup>133</sup>. Ils sont conscients de certaines tâches (familiales) qu'ils ont encore à remplir, tandis qu'au haut Moyen Âge, si mission il y a, c'est une mission reçue d'en haut<sup>134</sup>. Chez les visionnaires anciens, l'opposition au retour va plus facilement de pair avec le mépris du monde et du corps. Ils répugnent surtout à quitter des *lieux* délicieux (ou la compagnie des anges); les modernes, eux, ne souhaitent pas se séparer de la présence de l'«être de lumière». Enfin, certaines *Visiones* décrivent longuement le *chemin* du retour et la manière dont le personnage est reconduit par un ou par des *guides*. Ici encore, les témoins de Moody sont plus «individualistes»; tout au plus, quelques-uns se souviennent d'avoir été ramenés à la vie à

<sup>132</sup> FELIX, V. *Guthlaci*, 33, ib., p. 386: *Imminente ergo aurora, cum sol nocturnas caelo demoverat umbras* (*Aen.*, XI, 210), *praefatus Christi athleta, adepto de hostibus triumpho, in eodem statu, a quo prius translatus est, grates Christo persolvens, constitit*.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. aussi DINZELBACHER, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 31. Ce qui joue ici, c'est sans doute à nouveau l'autonomie de l'individu propre à notre culture contemporaine.

<sup>134</sup> À noter encore, d'après MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 93: «Certains professent l'opinion que l'amour et la prière de personnes de l'entourage peuvent arracher quelqu'un à la mort, sans égard pour son propre désir». Cela fait penser au père de famille de la vallée d'Interorina, rendu à la vie à cause des larmes du prêtre Sévère (GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, I, 12, 2). Toutefois, après avoir fait pénitence pendant sept jours, l'homme mourut «à nouveau», pour de bon cette fois-ci.

travers ce même tunnel sombre qu'ils avaient parcouru au cours de la phase initiale de leur expérience <sup>135</sup>.

- *Le problème du témoignage.* Quiconque a passé par une expérience de cet ordre, ne peut concevoir le moindre doute quant à son caractère réel, et donc non onirique et non hallucinatoire. Toutefois, les témoins hésitent à en parler à d'autres, de peur de rencontrer l'incroyance, l'indifférence, l'incompréhension, ou même l'hostilité ou la raillerie. Il faut y ajouter aussi que d'aucuns ont tellement conscience du caractère indescriptible de leur aventure, qui transcende à la fois le langage et tous les modes de perception humains, qu'il leur semble parfaitement vain d'essayer de l'exprimer <sup>136</sup>.

Il faut bien différencier nos Visions sous cet angle. Certains protagonistes avaient spontanément relaté leur aventure, fût-ce sous le coup de l'émotion et de la frayeur: [Petrus monachus] ... *se ... vidisse testabatur ... , se vidisse narravit ... , cuncta quae circa illum fuerant gesta narravit* <sup>137</sup>; [Furseus] ... *singula per ordinem adnuntiabat* <sup>138</sup>; [Maximus] ... *mici per ordinem referebat* <sup>139</sup>; [Bonellus] *olim ad me veniens cum summa angoris meroreque ... cuncta enarrabit ad singula* <sup>140</sup>; [Baldarius] ... *in se tremens, atque cum nimio stupore fluctuante singulto mihi enarrabit miraculum* <sup>141</sup>; ... *et ille [redivivus] mihi stupendas visiones ... proprio exposuit sermone* <sup>142</sup>.

Il y a en a qui se sont mis à parler pour satisfaire la curiosité de leur entourage: *atque ut mihi cuncta quae viderat singillatim narraret deprecavi. Ad haec inquit ille [Agustus] ... Atque idem Agustus quae prius dixerat nihilominus repetens, eius [abbatis mei] sacris auribus intimavit. Deinde almo ac beatissimo viro cuiusdam levitae universisque fratribus se percontantibus quae paulo*

<sup>135</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 94.

<sup>136</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 97-101.

<sup>137</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 3, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 130.

<sup>138</sup> *V. Fursei*, 17, *ib.*, p. 224.

<sup>139</sup> *Dicta beati Valeri*, 1, *ib.*, p. 280.

<sup>140</sup> *Ib.*, 2, p. 286.

<sup>141</sup> *Ib.*, p. 292.

<sup>142</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 342.

*ante dixerat repetebat*<sup>143</sup>; *Tunc omnes congregati in unum, interrogaverunt illum per ordinem, ubi fuisset vel quid vidisset, eis per singula exponeret. Ille vero [Barontus] quasi ex gravi somno evigilans [cf. Gen 45:26] dixit ..., et sic postea omnia superius memorata retuli per singula, quantum mihi praeceptum fuit, fratribus nostris*<sup>144</sup>.

Quelques-uns, pourtant, prennent leurs précautions. Ainsi, le petit Auguste, vivement impressionné par sa vision, insista sur le caractère non fictif de celle-ci: «*Testor dominum caeli et terrae me tibi phantasticam visionem nullam referre; sed ut magis credas, fateor etiam tibi me hac nocte minime dormire*»<sup>145</sup>. Ailleurs, les auteurs eux-mêmes se chargent de cette protestation d'authenticité<sup>146</sup>. D'autres visionnaires se gardent bien de se confier à n'importe qui. Drythelm, par exemple, réservait sa narration à ceux qu'il savait désireux de progresser dans la piété: *Haec et alia quae viderat idem vir Domini, non omnibus passim desidiosius ac vitae suae incuriosis referre volebat, sed illis solummodo qui, vel tormentorum metu perterriti vel spe gaudiorum perennium delectati profectum pietatis ex eius verbis haurire volebant*<sup>147</sup>. Les anges eux-mêmes avaient interdit au moine de Wenlock de communiquer son expérience à des gouailleurs: *Tunc demum beati angeli praecipiebant ei ... ut sine mora ad proprium rediret cor-*

<sup>143</sup> V. Patr. Emer., 1, 6 et 24, *ib.*, pp. 172 et 178.

<sup>144</sup> V. Baronti, 3 et 19, *ib.*, pp. 240 et 268.

<sup>145</sup> V. Patr. Emer., 1, 6, *ib.*, p. 172.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, *ib.*, p. 160: *Ego vero haec scribens vereor, ne alicui legenti sit incredibile, iuxta id quod Salustius historiam scribens ait: Ubi de virtute ... (Catil. con., 3). Nam testor Deum omnipotentem, quia ab ipsius ore omnia quae rettuli audita cognovi; V. Baronti, 20, *ib.*, p. 268: *Ista et omnia superius memorata ego, qui scriptitare praesumpsi, non ab alio dicta vel audita, sed per memet ipsum ad praesens probata didici. Si quis aliquis hunc opusculum a me factum legendum in manibus acciperit, potest me de rusticitatem verbi reprehendere, non potest de mendacii culpam redarguere.**

<sup>147</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, p. 320. Bède en cite deux nommément: le moine-prêtre irlandais Haemgisel, de qui il tenait lui-même le récit visionnaire, et le roi Alfred, dit le Bâtard, qui gouverna la Northumbrie de 685 à 705 (à comparer: la note 138 sur saint Fursy). À noter que d'après le début du chapitre (*ib.*, p. 308), ceux qui veillaient le corps de Drythelm, s'étaient tous enfuis lors de son retour à la vie, à l'exception de sa femme: *uxor tantum, quae amplius amabat, quamvis multum tremens et pavida remansit. Quam ille consolatus, «Noli» inquit «timere, quia iam vere surrexi a morte qua tenebar, et apud homines sum iterum vivere permissus ...».*

*pus et universa, quae illi ostensa fuerunt, credentibus et intentione divina interrogantibus manifestare non dubitaret, insultantibus autem narrare denegaret ...*<sup>148</sup>.

Saint Salvi avait déjà convoqué les moines et sa mère, lorsqu'une soudaine hésitation à s'ouvrir à eux s'empara de lui: *Et cum haec dicerit, dubitare coepit, utrum loqueretur amplius an sileret*. Il le fit quand même, pressé par les prières de ses frères (*implicitus fratrum praecibus, ut quid vidisset exponeret*). Après, on apprend que son scrupule concernait avant tout la grandeur des mystères eschatologiques qu'il allait divulguer de manière téméraire: *Haec eo loquente, stupentibus cunctis qui aderant, coepit iterum sanctus Dei cum lacrimis dicere: «Vae mihi, quia talem misterium ausus sum revelare ... Et scio, quia non fuit bene placitum Domino meo, ut haec arcana vulgarentur»*<sup>149</sup>.

Mais il arrive aussi que, tout en ne craignant pas de rapporter ce qu'il a vu, le narrateur éprouve une gêne au niveau de l'expression ou de l'entendement. Ainsi, après sa première vision, pensant toujours à la splendeur et la douceur des anges et à la *sollicitudo* qu'ils lui avaient imposée, saint Fursy fut amené à regretter l'absence d'un sage qualifié pour lui expliquer le sens de tout cela<sup>150</sup>. Quant au moine de Wenlock, il imputait à une certaine amnésie consécutive à sa décorporation, son incapacité de se rappeler et d'exposer *per ordinem* d'autres parties ou aspects de sa vision<sup>151</sup>. Il y a cependant lieu d'inférer de ce qui précède, qu'une vision se décrit plus aisément au haut Moyen Âge qu'au XXe siècle et que la société d'antan y était sans doute plus récep-

<sup>148</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, pp. 356-358. Parmi ceux que le moine devait éclairer, saint Boniface cite une femme pécheresse et un prêtre nommé Beggan (cf. *infra*, n. 168 et 169).

<sup>149</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, *ib.*, pp. 158-160. Salvi invoque ensuite la miséricorde de Dieu et sa promesse: «*Sed tu nosti, Domine, quia in simplicitate cordis haec feci, non in iactantia mentis. Sed, quaeso, indulgeas et non me derelinquas iuxta pollicitationem tuam*».

<sup>150</sup> V. Fursei, 4, *ib.*, p. 196: ... *maestus erat quod non habebat ibidem sapientem hominem qui ea quae viderat clare exponere potuisset, ne revertentibus angelis eum invenissent imparatum*. La proposition finale («pour qu'à leur retour les anges ne le trouvent pas au dépourvu») montre que l'optique n'est tout de même pas tout à fait la même que chez Moody.

<sup>151</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 360: *Et dicebat se post istas mirabiles visiones tam tenacem memoriae non fuisse, ut ante fuerat*.

tive que la nôtre. La crainte d'être confronté au scepticisme et à l'incrédulité fut néanmoins loin d'être inexistante <sup>152</sup>.

- *Répercussions sur la conduite de la vie*. Beaucoup de témoins ont assuré à R. Moody qu'à la suite de ces événements, leur vie avait gagné en profondeur et en largeur de vues; ils se sont mis depuis lors à réfléchir et à s'interroger davantage sur les problèmes philosophiques fondamentaux. On parle d'un changement d'attitude envers la vie physique, ou d'une plus grande importance accordée à l'esprit par rapport au corps, ou encore de la découverte de facultés d'intuition voisines de la médiumnité. Une unanimité remarquable se déclare quant aux «leçons» rapportées de ces voyages aux abords de la mort: presque tous les témoignages mettent l'accent sur la nécessité absolue, en cette vie, de l'amour du prochain, et maints d'entre eux insistent également sur l'intérêt d'une recherche continuelle de la connaissance, c'est-à-dire d'une activité qui ne cesse pas, même dans l'éternité <sup>153</sup>.

Le «voyage dans l'au-delà» a évidemment eu des répercussions sur la vie terrestre du visionnaire «revenu» — si du moins il ne meurt pas rapidement pour de bon <sup>154</sup> —, mais dans un sens passablement différent de la conduite nouvelle adoptée par les témoins de Moody. C'est que la plupart des héros de nos *Visiones* ont vu les supplices infernaux ou au moins les démons. Même s'ils en ont personnellement réchappé, ils en tirent d'autant plus volontiers les conclusions potentielles pour l'avenir, que le cas

<sup>152</sup> Pour ce qui est des auteurs eux-mêmes, voir *supra*, n. 146, et plus généralement: VAN UYTFANGHE M., *La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle, et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge latin*, dans *Hagiographie. Cultures et sociétés, IVe-XIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, Paris, 1981, pp. 205-231.

<sup>153</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 102-107.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, I, 12, 3, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 126: *Et dum per dies septem de perpetratis culpis paenitentiam aeger redivivus ageret, [Severus] octavo die laetus de corpore exivit; ib.*, IV, 32, 4, p. 128: *His igitur dictis, statim Reparatus defunctus est; ib.*, IV, 37, 7, p. 132: ... *Stephanus isdem defunctus est; V. Patr. Emer*, 1, 25, *ib.* p. 178: ... *inde regressus iam vespascente die eum [Agustum] defunctum repperi.*

échéant un personnage céleste les y a encouragés<sup>155</sup>. Si l'on peut éventuellement parler d'une plus grande relativisation de la vie physique, commune aux visions du très haut Moyen Âge et de notre temps, les premiers mettent l'accent sur l'ascèse et la pénitence beaucoup plus que sur la charité ou sur la recherche de la connaissance. Les seconds passent eux aussi par une « conversion », mais celle-ci ne se place pas sous le signe de la peur ou de la culpabilisation.

Certes, en évoquant le cas de l'illustre Étienne, Grégoire le Grand constate que, malgré la vue de l'enfer, d'aucuns refusent toujours de s'amender<sup>156</sup>. Le soldat du roi de Cenred et le moine du royaume de Bernicie, en ce qui les concerne, avaient été tellement négligents à cet égard, qu'au moment de leur vision, ce fut d'ores et déjà trop tard pour eux<sup>157</sup>. D'autres, au contraire, ont profité de leur retour au corps pour essayer d'éviter l'enfer par une vie mortifiée. Ainsi, le moine Pierre d'Illyrie « se contraignit tellement aux jeûnes et aux veilles que son genre de vie, à défaut de toute explication, montrait qu'il avait vu les peines de l'enfer et qu'il les redoutait ». Et Grégoire le Grand d'ajouter : « Dieu tout-

<sup>155</sup> Par ex. *V. Fursei*, 17, *ib.*, pp. 222-224: *Benefaciens (= Si benefacies) omnem gressum tuum usque in finem videbimus, et sic te laetum bene operantem suscipiemus*; *V. Baronti*, 13, *ib.*, p. 256: *... si exinde negligens apparueris, multum te in egressione animae tuae penitebis, et erit tibi ruina peior priora* [cf. *Mt* 12:45]; *Dicta beati Valeri*, 2, *ib.*, p. 284: *Si autem nequiter egeris ... statim in huius pessimi Inferni perpetuo praecipitaberis interitu* (cf. aussi *supra*, n. 115); *BEDA, Hist.*, 5, 12; *ib.* p. 318: *... si actus tuos curiosius discutere, et mores sermonesque tuos in rectitudine ac simplicitate servare studueris, accipies et ipse post mortem locum mansionis ...*

<sup>156</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 14, *ib.*, p. 136: *Qua de re collegitur quia ipsa quoque inferni supplicia cum demonstrantur, aliis hoc ad auditorium, aliis vero ad testimonium fiat, ut isti videant mala quae caveant, illi vero eo amplius puniantur, quo inferni supplicia nec visa et cognita vitare voluerunt*. L'auteur de la *Visio Baronti* (20, *ib.*, p. 268) s'en réfère à Grégoire (*Hoc et sanctus Gregorius confirmat ...*) pour conclure: *Sed ideo multi non credunt, quia plus eos delectat amor saeculi et quomodo terrena, quam delectat amor Dei et societas angelorum adque sanctorum*.

<sup>157</sup> *BEDA, Hist.*, 5, 13, *ib.*, p. 324: *«... non enim mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre»*; *ib.*, 5, 14, p. 330: *«Non est mihi modo tempus vita mutandi, cum ipse viderim iudicium meum iam esse completum»*.

puissant, dans son admirable largesse, l'avait fait mourir pour qu'il ne mourût point»<sup>158</sup>.

Fursy passait des années à accomplir auprès des *Scotti* la mission de prédication que les anges et les deux évêques lui avaient confiée, puis après avoir bâti un monastère en Angleterre (Cnobbetsburg, appelé plus tard Burg-Castle), se retira au désert avec son frère Ultan pour s'y adonner à la contemplation et à la pénitence<sup>159</sup>. Selon Valère de Bierzo, le moine Maxime n'oublia point ni la promesse ni la mise en garde du Christ, et fit la pénitence nécessaire avant sa mort définitive<sup>160</sup>, tandis que Bonellus, par crainte de l'enfer («... *quia valde timeo, ne in tam pessima ruyna ultra incidam*») se retrancha comme ermite à Léon, dans une cellule extrêmement étroite<sup>161</sup>.

Drythelm, qui fut un pieux laïc et père de famille avant sa vision, comprit à son tour qu'il devait désormais vivre autrement («... *non tamen ea michi, qua ante consueveram, conversatione sed multum dissimili ex hoc tempore vivendum est*»). Il partagea ses

<sup>158</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 37, 4, *ib.*, p. 130: ... *tantisque se postmodum vigiliis ieiuniisque constrinxit, ut inferni eum vidisse et pertimuisse tormenta, etiam si taceret lingua, conversatio loqueretur, quippe cui omnipotentis Dei mira largitate in morte actum est, ne mori debuisset*. Trad. de VOGÜÉ, *o.c.* (n. 43), pp. 127-129.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. *Vita Fursei*, 4-8, éd. B. KRUSCH, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, S.R.M., IV, 1902, pp. 436-438. Le délai imparti à Fursy pour sa prédication se complique du fait que le mystérieux *unius diei iter quod laboraturus es* du ch. 12 des *Visiones*, interprété d'abord par le protagoniste lui-même comme étant un jour = une année, se prolonge ensuite (après une apparition angélique) jusqu'à douze années, et enfin (après une nouvelle apparition) s'affranchit de toute limite chronologique. Ce trait plutôt incohérent plaiderait pour l'authenticité du récit de la vision.

En ce qui concerne le contenu des *instructions* que le rédacteur met dans la bouche des deux évêques décédés, M.P. CICCARESE, *Le visioni di S. Fursa*, dans *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984-1985), pp. 231-303, ici pp. 243-244, se demande s'il ne s'agit pas d'une justification *post eventum* de la prédication du saint lui-même, qui semble avoir connu des difficultés personnelles en Irlande et avoir rencontré l'*invidia* (voir son départ pour l'Angleterre, plus tard pour la Gaule). Dans ce cas-là, le discours de Beoanus et de Meldanus devait sans doute empêcher que la critique ne condamnat les paroles de Fursy à l'oubli.

<sup>160</sup> *Dicta beati Valeri*, 2, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 286: *Quo statim ex infirmitate convaluit et aliquo tempore in hoc seculo vixit; agens demum penitentiam, iterum migrabit [= migravit] e corpore* (voir aussi *supra*, n. 115).

<sup>161</sup> *Ib.*, p. 292: *Hic ergo perrexit ad Legionem civitatem, retrusit se ad corpora sanctorum martyrum. Et usque hodie ibidem perseverat.*

biens en trois parts, un tiers pour sa femme, un tiers pour ses enfants, un tiers pour les pauvres, et entra dans un ermitage du monastère isolé de Mailros, dans un méandre de la Tweed, pour y vivre dans une austérité exceptionnelle (... *et ibi usque ad diem mortis in tanta mentis et corporis contritione duravit, ut multa illum, quae alios laterent vel horrenda vel desideranda vidisse, etiamsi lingua sileret, vita loqueretur*)<sup>162</sup>, n'hésitant pas, par exemple, à prendre des bains ascétiques dans l'eau glacée de la rivière, à la manière irlandaise<sup>163</sup>. À ceux qui s'étonnaient de le voir supporter des macérations pareilles, il avait l'habitude de répondre simplement : «*Frigidiora ego vidi*», ou : «*Austeriora ego vidi*»<sup>164</sup>.

Nos contemporains qui ont bénéficié d'une expérience proche de la mort sont unanimes, semble-t-il, à en déduire la nécessité absolue, en cette vie, de l'amour du prochain. Au haut Moyen Âge, la peur de l'enfer peut estomper cet amour, quelle que soit la place des péchés contre la charité dans les jugements psychomachiques (cf. *supra*). L'histoire de l'abbé Sunniulf s'avère significative à ce sujet. C'était un homme d'une simplicité et d'une charité parfaites, dit Grégoire de Tours. Souvent, en effet, il lavait lui-même les pieds des hôtes et les essuyait de ses mains. Une chose seulement est à noter, poursuit l'historien des Francs, c'est qu'il gouvernait le troupeau qui lui était confié non par la crainte, mais en usant de supplications. Or, après sa vision onirique du pont d'épreuve (cf. *supra*), il se montra beaucoup plus sévère pour ses moines<sup>165</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, *ib.*, pp. 308-310. *Etiamsi lingua sileret* ... : emprunt à Grégoire le Grand (cf. *supra*, n. 158).

<sup>163</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 320-322 : ... *Cumque tempore triennali defluentibus circa eum semifractorum crustis glacierum, quas et ipse aliquando contriverat, quo haberet locum standi sive immergendi in fluvio* ... Cf. GOUGAUD L., *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge*, Paris, 1925, pp. 155-173 («Les immersions ascétiques»).

<sup>164</sup> BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 12, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 322 : ... *Sicque usque ad diem suae vocationis infatigabili caelestium bonorum desiderio corpus senile inter cotidiana ieiunia domabat, multisque et verbo et conversatione saluti fuit*.

<sup>165</sup> GREGORIUS TURON. : *Hist.*, 4, 33, *ib.*, p. 156 : *Haec audiens, a somno excutitur, multo deinceps monachis severior apparens* (cf. LATOUCHE, o.c. [n. 45], p. 217).



Une attitude pareille prend évidemment le contre-pied de la mentalité moderne telle qu'elle se répercute dans les *near-death experiences*<sup>166</sup>. Mais elle s'harmonise aisément avec la fonction et l'objectif du genre littéraire des Visions, qui ne sont pas non plus ceux des publications de Moody et de ces collègues. En effet, quel que soit le degré d'authenticité des récits visionnaires, leurs auteurs les propageaient pour convaincre leurs lecteurs (monastiques et autres) de l'existence de l'au-delà (et notamment de l'enfer) et pour les inciter à obéir à Dieu et à l'Église, à expier leurs péchés par la pénitence et à échapper de la sorte aux peines éternelles<sup>167</sup>.

Enfin, en ce qui concerne d'éventuelles facultés d'intuition se manifestant après la vision (et inexistantes auparavant), il n'en est question que dans le dossier épistolaire de saint Boniface. C'est grâce aux anges que le moine de Wenlock connaissait les péchés d'une femme habitant une région lointaine et qu'il pouvait lui annoncer la possibilité d'une réconciliation avec Dieu par la pénitence<sup>168</sup>. Par les anges il savait également que le prêtre auquel il devait confesser les péchés dont les démons l'avaient accusé, portait depuis plusieurs années, par amour de Dieu et à l'insu de tous, une ceinture de fer autour des reins<sup>169</sup>. Le protagoniste (féminin) de la lettre pseudo-bonifatienne prédit sa propre guérison d'une maladie qui avait envahi son corps deux ans plus tôt. Et à ses proches, au roi, à la reine, aux évêques et à beaucoup

<sup>166</sup> Encore qu'il convienne d'ajouter que les critères d'appréciation relatifs à des notions telles qu'«amour», «sévérité», «laxisme», peuvent changer d'une époque et d'une culture à l'autre.

<sup>167</sup> Par ex. V. Baronti, 2, *ib.*, p. 238: ... *ut qui audiunt expavescunt de illorum vitia et ex toto corde convertantur ad Christi servitia, ne in novissimo plangant in perpetua poena, qui hic emendare noluerunt per penitentiam veram*; *ib.*, 20, p. 268: *Quisnam ille est, fratres karissimi, rogo, tam ferream mentem habet, quam non terreant ista denuntiata supplicia ... ?*; BEDA, *Hist.*, 5, 13, *ib.*, p. 322: *At contra fuit quidam de provincia Merciorum, cuius visionis ac verba, non autem et conversatio, plurimis, sed non sibi met ipsi, profuit*; *ib.*, p. 326: ... *qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum vacat, timerent, ne improvise articulo praeveniti impaenitentes perirent*.

<sup>168</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 358: ... *et ut cuidam mulieri, quae inde in longinqua regione habitabat, eius perpetrata peccata per ordinem exponeret et ei intimaret, quod omnipotentem Deum potuisset per satisfactionem repropitiari sibi, si valuisset* ...

<sup>169</sup> *Ib.*: ... *quia iam per pluriuos annos zonam ferream circa lumbos, nullo hominum conscio, amore Domini cogente, habuerat*.

d'autres, elle dévoila, séparément, des choses particulières dont les autres n'avaient pas connaissance<sup>170</sup>. Tout cela ne diffère pas beaucoup, semble-t-il, des facultés « paranormales » ressenties par une (petite) minorité des patients interrogés par Moody, même si ceux-ci n'y impliquent pas de messagers célestes.

- *Nouvelles perspectives sur la mort. La near-death experience* affecte profondément les idées qu'on a pu se forger sur la mort physique. Les sujets concernés n'entretiennent plus aucun doute sur la survie après la mort corporelle. Ils n'ont plus peur de celle-ci, tout en ne la recherchant pas activement, car ils sont convaincus d'avoir des tâches à remplir aussi longtemps qu'ils seront physiquement vivants. De toute façon, le suicide leur apparaît comme absolument indésirable et condamnable. Et s'il arrive à certains d'évoquer le vieux thème (platonicien) de la « délivrance de la prison du corps », personne ne peint un tableau inspiré de la mythologie courante du paradis et de l'enfer, ou de la notion de récompense — châtiment dans l'après-vie. Même ceux qui avaient auparavant l'habitude de concevoir les choses sous cet angle-là, ont renoncé à leurs anciennes figurations. Ils « sont revenus nantis de conceptions différentes et de vues nouvelles sur l'autre monde : vision excluant l'idée d'un jugement unilatéral au profit d'une collaboration efficace, se donnant comme fin dernière l'accomplissement de la personnalité »<sup>171</sup>.

La rubrique précédente laissait déjà entendre que nos *Visiones* n'infirmement nullement le schéma traditionnel récompense — châtiment. Bien au contraire, elles complètent ce schéma en le concrétisant et en le visualisant, et elle le situent dans le *post mortem* immédiat, alors que l'eschatologie paléochrétienne le réservait pour le dernier jour, celui de la Parousie et de la résurrection universelle<sup>172</sup>.

Les visionnaires du haut Moyen Âge partagent avec les visionnaires modernes la certitude inébranlable relative à l'existence de

<sup>170</sup> PSEUDO-BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 115, *ib.*, pp. 370-371: *Ad confirmationem autem huius ostensionis aegritudinis suae salutem ... praedixit ... sed et confamiliaribus singillatim specialia ceterisque incognita, et non ipse tantum, sed regi reginaeque episcopisque et multis ... manifeste innotuit.*

<sup>171</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 108-112.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 49.

l'au-delà postmortal immédiat<sup>173</sup>. Leur au-delà est cependant différent à bien des égards, ce qui fait que la perspective sur la mort qui en découle l'est tout autant. Aussi après la vision, la mort reste quelque chose qui est plein de risques et de menaces à conjurer. Inculquer cette vérité aux chrétiens : voilà, répétons-le, l'intention des auteurs de ces récits.

Deux de nos personnages n'avaient toutefois plus peur de la mort, tant ils se sentaient sûrs de la récompense future. L'enfant Auguste fut dans ce cas<sup>174</sup>, car le Seigneur lui-même lui avait promis le bonheur éternel : «*Noli timere. Scito quia protector tuus ero. Numquam tibi aliquid deerit. Ego te semper pascam, ego te semper vestiam, ego te omni tempore protegam et numquam derelinquam*»<sup>175</sup>. À saint Fursy le souvenir de sa première sortie du corps procura la sérénité et la joie lorsque son état physique se dégradait à nouveau : ... *laetus excepit mortem. Recordabatur enim iocundissimae visionis, quam per eadem signa viderat antea* ...<sup>176</sup>. Plus tard, en revenant de sa seconde extase, il se montra impressionné par l'âpreté du trépas mais aussi par la récompense qui attend ceux qui parviennent au séjour des bienheureux (... *arduum et difficile transitum ammirans magnitudinem quoque pervenientibus ad beatas sedes*). À la vue de tous ces proches, voisins et clercs qui entouraient son chevet, il se lamenta sur la grande folie des hommes (*ingemescens magnitudinem humanae stultitiae*)<sup>177</sup>. C'est donc le *contemptus mundi* qui refait surface ici<sup>178</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Les *Visiones* devaient précisément dissiper les incertitudes à cet égard. Celles-ci (cfr la question : avant ou après le Jugement dernier ?) ont plus longtemps porté sur l'enfer que sur le paradis ou le ciel (ces derniers étant parfois distincts l'un de l'autre). Mais même Alcuin, vers 800, parle encore d'une *clancula dubitatio* que d'aucuns ressentaient à propos du séjour céleste des âmes des apôtres, des martyrs et d'autres parfaits *ante diem iudicii* (Epist., 113, *Ad Paulinum patriarcham*, MIGNE, P.L., 100, col. 342).

<sup>174</sup> V. Patr. Emer., 1,5, CICCARESE, o.c. (n. 4), p. 172 : *At ille inquit «Equidem, quantum ad praesentis pertinet vitae spem fateor ita iam omnes corporis mei artus resolutos ut nihil virium omnino artus mei remanserint. Quantum vero pertinet ad spem vitae aeternae non solum spem habere me gaudeo, verum etiam ipsum vitae aeternae auctorem dominum ... me vidisse confiteor».*

<sup>175</sup> *Ib.*, 1, 15, p. 174. Auguste mourra peu de temps après son extase, et après avoir reçu le sacrement de la pénitence (*ib.*, 25, p. 178).

<sup>176</sup> V. Fursei, 5, *ib.*, p. 196.

<sup>177</sup> *Ib.*, 17, p. 224.

<sup>178</sup> Dans le même récit : voir *supra*, n. 113.

Rappelons, à ce propos, que saint Salvi avait proclamé avec plus de force, devant les siens, la vanité de la vie d'ici-bas: «*Audite, o dilectissimi, et intellegite, quia nihil est quod cernitis in hoc mundo; sed sunt iuxta id quae Salomon propheta cecinit: Omnia vanitas [Eccli 1:2] ...*». Non sans ajouter, par ailleurs, quelle était selon lui — comme selon tant de visionnaires de cette époque-là — la vraie tâche qui incombe à l'homme en ce monde: «*Felix est enim qui ea agere potest in saeculo, ut gloria Dei cernere mereatur in caelo*»<sup>179</sup>. En gros, il ressort de tout cela que, par rapport à ceux du haut Moyen Âge, les témoignages de notre temps «sécularisent» les tâches de l'homme, dédramatisent la mort et relativisent la vie d'ici-bas sans la dévaloriser.

- *Confirmations*. Bien des témoins de Moody affirment être demeurés séparés de leur corps pendant des périodes assez longues et avoir assisté durant cet intervalle à des événements précis qui se déroulaient dans le monde physique. Or, dans un nombre appréciable de cas, il y a moyen de confronter ces récits avec ceux d'autres témoins dont on sait qu'ils étaient présents sur les lieux de la scène, ou avec d'autres faits ultérieurs venant les corroborer. Aussi, plusieurs «décorporés» ont étonné leurs médecins ou d'autres assistants en décrivant correctement des faits qu'ils avaient observés au cours de leur séjour hors de leur corps, et notamment les procédés utilisés au cours des tentatives de réanimation. Moody se dit en mesure d'ajouter d'autres témoignages indépendants, provenant de tiers, mais il se refuse à y voir des «preuves» proprement dites<sup>180</sup>.

Les auteurs de *Visiones* font également état de confirmations plus ou moins semblables. Par exemple, le père de famille de la vallée d'Interorina savait, par le *iuvenis pulchrae visionis* céleste, que le prêtre Sévère avait pleuré à cause de sa négligence — il avait en effet tardé à venir au chevet du père de famille — et que «le Seigneur l'a donné à ses larmes»<sup>181</sup>. Le moine de Wenlock

<sup>179</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, *ib.*, pp. 156-158.

<sup>180</sup> MOODY, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 113-122.

<sup>181</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, I, 12, 2, CICCARESE, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 126: «*Reducite illum, quia Severus presbiter plangit. Eius eum lacrimis Dominus donavit*».

trouva confirmé par les faits ce que les anges lui avaient révélé sur le prêtre Beggan et sur la femme pécheresse <sup>182</sup>.

D'autres cas sont moins comparables aux rapports modernes <sup>183</sup> et relèvent d'un merveilleux plus typiquement médiéval. Le *spec-tabilis vir* Reparatus, juste avant de mourir lui-même, put prédire la mort imminente d'un prêtre nommé Tiburce, qui passait pour assujetti aux désirs charnels, parce qu'il avait vu en enfer l'immense bûcher qu'on préparait pour lui <sup>184</sup>. Quand l'illustre Étienne revint à son corps, le forgeron Étienne, qui habitait près de chez lui, trépassa sur l'heure. Cette « erreur », le juge céleste l'avait annoncée à l'*illustris vir*, ce qui inspire à Grégoire le Grand la conclusion suivante : *Sicque probatum est vera fuisse verba quae audierat, dum haec effectus mortis Stephani demonstravit* <sup>185</sup>. L'enfant Auguste, décédé peu après avoir narré sa vision à quelques-uns, se manifesta la nuit suivante à deux *pueruli* de son âge. L'un d'entre eux, Quintilien, l'avait entendu prononcer son nom ; l'autre, Vérézien, l'avait vu apparaître en habit blanc <sup>186</sup>. Si l'on en croit Boniface, la mort rapide du mauvais roi Celred de Mercie (le successeur du roi Cenred, chef du soldat visionnaire évoqué par Bède <sup>187</sup>) démontra la véracité de sa psychomachie à laquelle le moine de Wenlock avait assisté dans l'au-delà. Le souverain avait en effet commis tant de crimes, que les anges, à court d'arguments, renoncèrent vite à le défendre contre les démons.

<sup>182</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 358 (cf. *supra*, n. 168 et 169) : *Et postea de presbitero religioso et peccatrice muliere, sicut ei ab angelis manifestatum est, ita illis profitentibus, verum esse probavit.*

<sup>183</sup> Même les deux précédents présentent des différences non négligeables par rapport aux situations concrètes évoquées par Moody (sur d'autres il reste plus vague). Celles-ci se produisent, en effet, en milieu hospitalier et les connaissances dont il s'agit, ne sont pas acquises par un « intermédiaire » de l'au-delà.

<sup>184</sup> GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial.*, IV, 32, 4, *ib.*, p. 128 : ... *Puer vero, qui transmissus ad Tiburtium fuerat, iam eum mortuum invenit.*

<sup>185</sup> *ib.*, IV, 37, 6, p. 132.

<sup>186</sup> *V. Patr. Emer.*, 1, 26-27, *ib.*, p. 178 : ... *intempesta nocte idem Agustus alium puerulum aequavum suum nomine Quintilianum a foris per nomen voce magna vocavit. Cuius voce audita et cognita quidem puer simplex et verax nomine Verenianus illico surrexit egressusque foras ipsum Augustum in albam stantem videre promeruit ...*

<sup>187</sup> Cenred gouvernait la Mercie de 704 à 709, Celred de 709 à 716.

Son sort était donc scellé et ne devait pas se faire attendre longtemps<sup>188</sup>.

Il y a, enfin, des visionnaires qui portent dans leur corps les traces visibles de leur extase. Salvi, par exemple, après avoir imprudemment divulgué les mystères de l'au-delà, se sentait la langue gonflée et couverte de plaies<sup>189</sup>. Entre les épaules et sur le visage de saint Fursy, ses amis remarquaient les brûlures provenant de l'homme arraché au feu et projeté sur lui par les démons<sup>190</sup>. Et, durant toute la semaine qui suivait sa vision, le moine de Wenlock, encore lui, ne voyait rien de ses yeux pleins de vésicules et sécrétant régulièrement des gouttes de sang<sup>191</sup>. Il est évident que de tels phénomènes, tout comme la perte de mémoire éprouvée par le même moine<sup>192</sup>, peuvent éventuellement être mis sur le compte de la maladie qui a occasionné l'état extatique<sup>193</sup>. De toute manière, on est en droit d'affirmer que, tout en ayant en commun l'élément de la confirmation ultérieure, les récits modernes et ceux du passé avancent à ce propos des faits qui ne sont pas toujours de la même nature.

(À suivre)

<sup>188</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, pp. 358-360: ... *Subsequens autem et citus scelerati regis exitus, quae de illo visa fuerunt vera esse, procul dubio probavit.*

<sup>189</sup> GREGORIUS TURON., *Hist.*, 7, 1, *ib.*, p. 160: *Sed et lingua mea gravibus est operta vulneribus et ita tumefacta, ut omne os meum videatur implere.*

<sup>190</sup> *V. Fursei* 17, *ib.*, p. 224: *Atque superfusus aqua, incendium inter scapulas illius, quod de iniquo sumpsit viro, et in facie eius apparuit; mirumque in modum quod anima sola sustinuit in carne demonstrabatur.*

<sup>191</sup> BONIFATIUS, *Epist.*, 10, *ib.*, p. 358: *Redivivo autem in corpore plena septimana nihil omnino corporalibus oculis videre potuit, sed oculi vesicis pleni, frequenter sanguine stillaverunt.*

<sup>192</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 151.

<sup>193</sup> Voir ZALESKI, *o.c.* (n. 3), pp. 78-79.

# Non-Vulgate Readings of Codex AMB I.61 SUP.

## I. The Gospel of Matthew

by

Martin MCNAMARA, M.S.C.

(Dublin)

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. THE IRISH (MIXED) GOSPEL TEXT

Since the publication of J. O. WESTWOOD's *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* in 1843-1845 interest has grown in a group of manuscripts of Irish and British origin which have certain peculiar readings in common<sup>1</sup>. In his influential work, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age*<sup>2</sup> Samuel BERGER devoted considerable attention to the Irish manuscripts, and in particular to what he considered the Irish Mixed Gospel text (Vulgate and Old Latin). He did much to give currency to the theory that the European Mixed Text of the Gospels was due to the influence of Irish manuscripts, brought to Europe by Irish missionaries. Berger's views influenced Henry Julian WHITE, who with John WORD-

<sup>1</sup> London: William Smith. Reprint under a new title *The Art of Illuminated Manuscripts. Illustrated Sacred Writings*, being a series of illustrations of the ancient Versions of the Bible copied from illuminated manuscripts executed between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. London: Bracken Books 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Paris 1893; reprint New York 1961.

SWORTH was to edit the critical edition of the Vulgate Gospels.<sup>3</sup> In this critical edition the manuscripts designated *DELQR* are taken as forming a family apart, one which according to the editors may have originated in Ireland, Gaul or Britain.

Bonifatius Fischer, who has devoted a lifetime to the study of the Latin text of the Bible, is very critical of Berger's view concerning Irish influence on the European Mixed Gospel text<sup>4</sup>. In Fischer's opinion, which is also shared by other scholars, Berger's theory, too readily and uncritically accepted by Wordsworth and White, does not explain the facts of the case. From the sixth to the ninth century, Fischer notes, there is evidence for a rich variation of a Mixed Text, of Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* readings. In his opinion, at the basis of this mixed text stands an Italian edition of the Gospels, originating in the sixth century at the latest. This edition, in his view, has its chief witness in MS BL Harley 1775 (with the symbol *Z*). He believes that the various mixed texts of Europe are but variants of the *Z* type. Dom Fischer has also expressed the view that in the Split manuscript of the Chapter Library (once *sine numero*; now Split Chapter Archives MS 621), given the symbol *P* in the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, we have the bridge between *Z* and *E* of the Celtic/Irish group<sup>5</sup>. In the course of an

<sup>3</sup> A. WORDSWORTH and H. J. WHITE, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi*. Pars prior — Quattuor Evangelia, Oxford 1889-1898; treatment of the text affiliations in *Epilogus* to vol. 1, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> B. FISCHER, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters", *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio ... 10, Spoleto 1963, 519-600, at 519f. = *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (mit einem Vorwort hrsg. von Hermann Josef Frede) (Freiburg 1985) (Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bible 11), 35-100, at 35f.; summary in M. McNAMARA, "The Text of the Latin Bible in the Early Irish Church. Some Data and Desiderata", in *Ireland and Christendom. The Bible and the Missions*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. 1987, pp. 77-55, at pp. 28-29.

<sup>5</sup> B. FISCHER, "Bibelausgaben.." (note 4 above), p. 542f. (= *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, 54f.; id. "Die Alkuin-Bibeln," (*Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, 377; "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte". In *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. K. ALAND ed. (Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 5), Berlin-New York 1972, 1-92, at 37-39, 53, 55f.



essay in 1972 Bonifatius Fischer noted that in this matter further progress could not be made by random tests, but only systematic and major research<sup>6</sup>.

B. Fischer's next major statement on the matter came in 1986, when at a colloquium at Louvain-la-Neuve he announced the completion of his major work on the text of the Latin Gospels, gave the reason for it and the principles behind it. This work he published in four yearly volumes between 1988 and 1991: *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. After decades of study Fischer reveals the immensity of the task confronting us in the study of the text of the Latin Gospels. He expresses reservations on Wordsworth and White's division of the texts into two large classes, and this on the basis of some 30 manuscripts. In the introduction to this new work he notes that no genuine progress can be made until the task is properly confronted. We cannot speak of text-type or text-relationship until this has been done. The only classification permitted at the moment, in his view, is a geographical one - according to the areas of composition or transcription. Codicological examination is of course permitted. The question of textual affiliations, however, can only be undertaken when a new study of the manuscripts has been completed. And in this manuscript study a cutoff point is necessary. This he takes to be the beginning of the tenth century, with the multiplication of manuscripts in the Ottonian age. All indirect transmission through citations is also excluded.

In the introduction to the volumes (pp. 7-8) Fischer expresses himself as follows:

The critical text recension of the Gospels in the 'manual edition' (Handausgabe) of the Stuttgart Vulgate rests on sure foundations. And with this the certainty ends. With regard to the transmission of the text positions are put forward as certain which are really only assumptions. The researcher must venture forth unprejudiced, without map, into unknown territory and must himself outline his own plans, which may serve as a landmark, possibly even as a coordinate system, for future researchers. This in practice means that one can not select out a definite number of passages in the Gospels in which the manuscript differ from one another in a characteristic manner, for the purpose of bringing together for these texts the readings found in all the witnesses.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* \*("Das Neue Testament ..."), 39.

Fischer's approach in the four volumes is to choose four test pericopes (Probeabschnitte) from each of the four Gospels, amounting to about one tenth of the whole. In each of these 16 pericopes there are about 300 texts (Stellen) in which manuscripts differ: for Matthew and Mark together 2848 places, and for all four Gospels 5690 places. For the study of these pericopes and texts Fischer makes an exhaustive collation of 466 pre-tenth century manuscripts. These he divides into 29 groups according to Old Latin text and geographical origin of the manuscripts, e.g. X (Old Latin, 21/22 MSS), Italy (J; 26 MSS, including Amb. I 61 sup), Northumbria (N, 9), England (E, 15), Hibernia (Ireland-Wales-Scotland) (H); Brittany (B, 26), Gaul before Charlemagne (G, 16 MS, including Echternach Gospels, Ge), etc. etc. He notes 9 MSS with mixed texts and assigns them to the appropriate groups, e.g. the Irish Usserianus 2 ( $r^2$ ) as Hg and mull(ing), 35 as Hm Hn, and gat. (Gatianum) 30 as Bt.

In his monumental four-volume work on the Latin Gospels until the tenth century (inclusive)<sup>7</sup> Bonifatius Fischer includes twenty-two manuscripts in his "H"-Group, i.e. representing Ireland, Wales and Scotland. This number is due in part to his cutoff point (tenth century), thus excluding the three Gospel texts Oxford Corpus Christi College 122 (s. XII; after 1140), London, British Library Harley 1023 (s. XII) although he includes (as Hz) British Library Harley 1802 (the Gospels of Mael-Brigte; A. D. 1138). He lists Amb I. 61 sup. (from Bobbio, by an Irish scribe) as belonging to the Italian group, and the Book of Durrow among the 15 manuscripts from England. The Book of Mulling and Usserianus Secundus ( $r^2$ ) are listed among 9 manuscripts with a mixed text and, naturally, Usserianus Primus ( $r^1$ ) is classed among the Vetus Latina texts. With regard to this listing I may remark that while it suits Dom Fischer's plan, from the point of view of the study of Irish Gospel texts it is preferable to take the

<sup>7</sup> The project was announced by B. Fischer in "Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes der Evangelien", in (R. Gryson and P.-M. Bogaert ed.), *Recherches sur l'histoire de la Bible latine*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1967 (Cahiers de la Revue théologique de Louvain 1), 51-104. The completed works followed: B. FISCHER, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. 1. Varianten zu Matthäus, 2. Varianten zu Markus, 3. Varianten zu Lukas, 4. Varianten zu Johannes, Freiburg i. Br. 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 (Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 13, 15, 17, 18).

pre-Norman period (before A.D. 1150) as a unit and to take the group of Gospel texts connected with Ireland for this period as twenty-eight.

In 1986 and later the present writer gave a brief survey of the study of the Irish Gospel text and put forward a plan for a project towards an in-depth study of the subject<sup>8</sup>. The plan would take account of the collation work already done, and would proceed to systematic examination, complete collation, and if needs be to the edition of all the known manuscripts. Such an examination would set itself the task of determining the nature of the Bible text in each of the manuscripts — whether basically *Vetus Latina* or *Vulgate* or mixed, noting the changes from one form of text to the other within the same manuscript. The textual affiliations of both the *Vulgate* and *Vetus Latina* of these manuscripts could then be studied. The non-*Vulgate* elements in Irish texts could profitably be brought together in a corpus, which might help us to ascertain the forms of *Vetus Latin* texts in circulation in Ireland in the earlier period. This evidence for both the *Vulgate* and *Vetus Latin* texts in use could of course be filled in by a collection of Latin Gospel citations from Irish or Celtic (Irish, Welsh, Breton, Cornish) writers.

Since this project was first put forward part of the work has been done by the four-volume opus magnum of Bonifatius Fischer. There has also been a complete collation of the text of the Book of Kells (*Q*) by Patrick McGurk<sup>9</sup>.

A question arising from Bonifatius Fischer's most recent publications is whether all work on individual manuscripts and minor groupings or affiliations should be suspended until the implications of his findings have been made clear. I personally do not

<sup>8</sup> M. McNAMARA, "The Text of the Irish Latin Gospels", in *The Folio*. The Newsletter of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center for Preservation and Research, Claremont, CA., 6 (1986); also id., *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels* (A. D. 600 - 1200) (*Instrumenta Patristica XX*), Steenbrugis-Dordrecht 1990, 8-11.

<sup>9</sup> P. MCGURK, "The Gospel Text", in *The Book of Kells. MS 58 Trinity College Library Dublin*, Luzern, Facsimile Verlag 1990, 37-152.

think that this should be the case. Invaluable as Dom Fischer's monumental work is, I do not believe it dispenses with the desirability, indeed the necessity, for complete collation of individual manuscripts. Manuscripts do have an individuality, a personality, that emerges with difficulty when they are considered just as ciphers, as members of a larger collection — not to mention a collection as large as 466. While the exhaustive analysis of the sixteen pericopes from the Gospels put before us opens up new vistas for Gospel study and permits us to situate any particular reading in the total context, I think that there still remains a number of aspects of individual Gospel texts which this evidence does not reveal. Thus the Echternach Gospels (MS Paris BN lat 9389, "um 690 wohl in Northumbrien (Lindisfarne?), seit Willibrord in Echternach") is given as one of the five manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon script of the pre-Carolingian Gaul group. The Echternach Gospels appear to have at least 100 non-Vulgate readings, which agree with the Mac Durnan Gospels (MS Lambeth Palace Library 1370) and with other Gospels texts of Armagh provenance<sup>10</sup>. In

<sup>10</sup> See M. McNAMARA, "The Echternach and Mac Durnan Gospels: Some Common Readings and their Significance", *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-1988), 217-222; in slightly revised form, id. op. cit. (*Studies...*), note 8 above, 102-111. It is worth noting that 15 of these 100 texts are fully collated in B. Fischer's four volumes (note 7 above), and his analysis indicates that the readings in question tend to be rare. Thus: Mat 8:28 (Fischer no. 1229g, *periculosi nimis*, Xca?uhq Jo Hyz<sup>1</sup> Bw Ge\* Pg Cf), 8:21 (Fischer 12260q, *ita autem nemo posset trans. p. u. illam Ge\**; 12260r, *ita autem nemo potest t. p. u. illam Hy*); 9:6 (Fischer 12364h, *dimittere*, Xd Jf? Nd Hqyz<sup>1</sup> Sm\*x Gke\*zw? Lb<sup>m</sup>); Mark 2:12 (Fischer 21002a, under *surrexit et, om. et*, Nayr Hqyz<sup>1</sup> Ge\*; *surgens* (om. *et*) Xecabfq); 8:19 (Fischer 22206h, *fragmentorum sustulisti uel sim.*, om. *plenos*, Xkdcabfir?q Jr Ea Hgyz Btblm\* Sv Ge\* Ac Ok\*b\* Cz Ri Yw\* Fgq L<sup>m</sup>); 10:41 (Fischer 23256h, *iacobo et iohanni*, om. *de*, Hyz Ge\*; *iohanni*, as above); Luke 6:18 (Fischer 31025h, *sanabantur* Jao Hyz Ge\* Oq Qx Fa<sup>2</sup>); 6:36 (Fischer 31219h, *sicut*, om. *et*, Xde Jw\*aol Nd Edh Hfhdyz Ge\* Ib ty); 6:48 (Fischer 31371z, super, Xedcbfri Jzyix\*h Evrc\*o Hfhosibyz Gd<sup>1</sup>ge\* Ttmn Ol\* Vb Zr Pq Yb Dw Isy [= Mt 7,25]); 11:8 (Fischer 33120h, *eo quod amicus sit*, om. *eius*, Hyz Gkwe\* Om\* Cn Qx\* Rz Fm La; [eo<sup>xxxx</sup> Qx\*]; 11:8 (Fischer 33123h, *inopportunitatem* Hfhysz<sup>m</sup> Ge\*; *inoportunatatem* Hf; 331231, *inportunatatem*. Xcbfr Job Ea Sb Gd\*fbu<sup>2</sup> Oe\* Za\* Cefhe); John 20:3 (Fischer 44031b, om. *il-le*, Ji\* Hyz Bg Gge\*; 20:4 (Fischer 44039b, om. *citius*, Hy Ge\* Vw Kue Dm); 20:4 (Fischer 44041h, *primum* Eb Hyz Wb Ge\* Dw<sup>2</sup>); 20:6 (on Vg *introiuit*, Fischer 44056f, *introit*, Hfsay\* Ge\*).

his introduction to the volumes Bonifatius Fischer notes that Hs (the Irish Gospels of St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. no. 51) in section 11 (i.e. Mat 2,19-4,17) is found to be as far removed from the Vulgate as the Latin text of Codex Bezae and scarcely less removed than the Old Latin Codex Bobiensis. While this is true for the earlier chapters of Matthew, there are many "Irish" readings in the later ones and throughout John there is an altogether extraordinarily close correspondence between Hs and the Irish texts *D* (the Book of Armagh) and *R* (the Mac Regol or Rushworth) Gospels<sup>11</sup>

## 2. PROPOSED METHODOLOGY: FULL COLLATION AND IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PASSAGES

In the present state of research what seems indicated is full collation of a manuscript combined with in-depth analysis for the passages examined in the full textual evidence by Bonifatius Fischer. By full collation I mean a listing of the variants from the Vulgate text, with an indication of the textual affiliations of these, principally for most researchers with the aid of the Apparatus of the critical edition of the Gospels by Wordsworth and White. This full collation may indicate general tendencies of the manuscript text in question, and apparent close affiliations with some other known text or family of texts. An obvious danger with this approach is that the relations in question can be deceptive unless we also study the divergences. There is also the other clear weakness of drawing conclusion from a comparison with a limited number of manuscripts (say even 20 or 30) when the actual number of Latin (pre - A.D. 900) Gospel manuscripts now known to us is in the region of 460. A comparison of the variants from the Vulgate with those for the entire tradition given by Bonifatius Fischer should help as a check on any conclusions arrived at, and keep us aware of the larger issues involved in the study of the question.

This is the approach I intend to adopt in this present study of Codex Amb I 61 sup..

<sup>11</sup> See M. McNAMARA, op. cit. (*Studies...*), 112-160.

## 3. CODEX AMB I 61 SUP.

Codex Amb. I. 61 sup. came to the Ambrosian Library Milan from the monastery of Bobbio and has a fifteenth-century Bobbio *ex-libris*. It contains the four Gospels in the usual order. The script is Irish majuscule of the seventh or eighth century. Scholars differ as regards the exact date. Bonifatius Fischer assigns it to the first half of the seventh century. From the palaeographical point of view, the manuscript might have been written in Ireland or Bobbio.

Samuel Berger examined the biblical text for his history of the Vulgate.<sup>12</sup> He notes that in this manuscript we do not find the large interpolations of the mixed Irish texts, even though Irish readings abound in it. For the First Gospel he instances Mat 2,4: *interrogavit ab eis nasceretur ubi Christus*; 2,7 *exquisiuit*; 4,10: *vade retro*; 5,19 omits: *qui autem -- caelorum*; 21,19: *ossianna*, 2° m. *osianna*; 22, 45: *in spiritu vocat*; 26,26: *manducate*. He goes on to remark that other readings found there are rare in manuscripts, for the First Gospel instancing Mat 1,12, with omission of *Et post transmigrationem Babylonis*; 3,15: *Tunc dimisit eum baptizari et confestim ascendit*; 6,32: omits *scit -- indigetis*; 27,16: *qui propter homicidium missus fuerat in carcerem*; ib. 46, *heli heli lama zabathani*. Berger notes that the Bobbio manuscript is also interesting by reason of the many corrections it carries, corrections in different handwritings, the one Irish, the other a Merovingian cursive. He asks whether the Merovingian corrector is the same as the Irish corrector, and answers that it can scarcely be doubted that he was. In effect, he continues, the additions in cursive are, with one exception, those which had to occupy most space in the narrow margins; furthermore the Merovingian minuscule is found in the text itself, at the end of the Gospel of Saint Luke and in the words at the end (fol. 89): *Deo semper gracias*. Finally and especially the (biblical?) text of one and the other corrector

<sup>12</sup> S. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 58f. For a study of the externals of the codex see also P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Paris, Brussels, Antwerp and Amsterdam, 1961 (Publications de Scriptorium 5), no. 96 (p. 88); id., "The Irish Pocket Gospel Book", *Sacris Erudiri* 8(1956), 249-270.

seems to be the same. He goes on to say that one is thus permitted to believe that our manuscript was corrected on the Continent, immediately after it was written, and it is not at all impossible that it was copied at Bobbio itself.

In a final paragraph on this manuscript Berger states that these interpolations are of the greatest interest. They are very rare in manuscripts and many of them are not found in any other Latin manuscript. They are all the more interesting, he says, because they represent the Greek text on which the most ancient Latin translations of the Gospels were made, that is the text called "Western", which we find nowhere else in its purity except in the sole Syriac text of Cureton. The text of our interpolator, Berger states, is that of Cureton; thus it is at Bobbio that the Irish text encountered the most ancient texts of the Bible.

This represents one scholar's position in 1893.

E.A. Lowe makes a detailed study of the manuscript in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (III [1938], No. 350). He describes it as Irish Majuscule, saec. VII<sup>2</sup>. Luke has a colophon in cursive; and John has merely the formula "deo semper gratias" in Continental cursive. The typical Insular abbreviations are lacking in the text but the *autem*-symbol (*h*) occurs in additions by scribe and early corrections on fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, 15, 58<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>. Spelling shows confusion between *e* and *i* but not the Irish misuse of *s* for *ss*. There is little ornament and no colour. The initials at the opening of Matthew, *LIB* on fol. 1<sup>v</sup> and *XPI* on fol. 2 are insular in type, the latter group somewhat diluted by foreign accretions. The *Q* at the beginning of Luke (fol. 46) shows the fish motif and the fringe-like finial strongly redolent of North Italy. The parchment is prepared in the Irish manner and rough to the touch, except for foll. 69-74, 77-82, 87, prepared in the Continental manner. Script is an Irish majuscule by more than one hand; *y*, unlike the usual Irish form, is v-shaped and dotted as in (Amb) O. 212 sup (CLA III, 361). There are marginal entries in early uncial (fol. 2), in cursive (foll. 1<sup>v</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup>, 65, 68<sup>v</sup>, 69, 89 in ink now greenish) and in various Irish hands (fol. 15 etc.). After all this evidence, Lowe's conclusion comes as no surprise: "Written by Irish scribes, pro-

bably at Bobbio". Lowe, relying most probably on Samuel BERGER, says that the *MS.* is remarkable for its text. Berger's statements on Amb. I. 61 sup. and its biblical text seem to have been neglected until the researches of Bonifatius Fischer in our own day<sup>13</sup>. He has included the codex in his exhaustive study of Latin Gospel texts up to the tenth century and has completely collated sixteen passages from it, four for each Gospel: for Matthew 2,19 — 4,17; 8,2 9,6; 16,9 — 17,7; 26,39-58; 27,29-46. He assigns it the symbol Ji and classes it among the (26) manuscripts of his Italian group of texts. He believes that, although in Irish script, it was written in Bobbio, and in the early seventh century.

I studied some texts of the manuscript in 1986 and published the results of my enquiries in 1990<sup>14</sup>. There I collated portions of three of the Gospels (and a single text from Luke). I noted Bonifatius Fischer's position listing it with the Italian group, rather than associating it with Irish tradition or the Celtic mixed family. I noted, however, that this notwithstanding, Amb I. 61 sup. still merits full collation. Only in this manner can we determine what, if any, relationship it has to the Irish tradition of Latin Gospel texts, and whether it is totally Italian in text or has an Irish overlay.

I have now made a full collation of the Gospel of Matthew in Amb I. 61 sup. As a basis of this collation I have used the Stuttgart critical edition of the Vulgate (1969). I have compared the variants from this critical edition with the Apparatus of the critical edition of the Gospels edited by J. Wordsworth and H. J. White. If the variants corresponded to texts of the Vulgate tradition as registered in this Apparatus, I have generally gone no further. When this Apparatus showed no relevant variant, I have compared with the *Vetus Latina* text of Matthew, as edited by A. Jülicher and W. Matzkow (1938). In this first collation I have also noted the complete collation of Bonifatius Fischer for the four pericopes from Matthew's Gospel and incorporated its evidence as I deemed useful. I have also drawn on my own partial collation of MS Sankt

<sup>13</sup> op. cit. (*Die lateinische Evangelien*), note 7 above, p. 14\*.

<sup>14</sup> op. cit. (*Studies...*), note 8 above, 205-213.



Gallen Stiftsbibl. 51 (*Hs*), of the Cadmug Gospels (*Hf*) and of the biblical text of the *Catechesis Celtica*.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS FROM THE COLLATION OF MATTHEW

In Codex Amb I.61 sup. for Matthew's Gospel I have found about 844 variants from the Stuttgart Vulgate text. The chief element in a collation, of course, is the presentation of the evidence. A further step is that of drawing conclusion from this evidence, in keeping with the questions the individual researcher may wish to put to the text. The present writer is chiefly interested in ascertaining whether the "Celtic/Irish" (*DELQR*, *Ep* etc.) or the Italian elements predominate, whether the text can be regarded as Italian, or at least non-"Celtic/Irish" even if it has an Irish overlay, or whether it has sufficient of what are generally regarded Irish-type (*DELQR*) readings as to indicate an Irish textual affiliation. A first impression can be got from the collation against the apparatus of Wordsworth and White, and the few other Irish texts already mentioned. A computer analysis of this admittedly limited collation indicated a very strong Irish affiliation. It is as follows:

##### *a. agreement with Irish/Celtic texts*

1. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *L* in 464 variants;
2. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *R* in 370 variants;
3. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *E* in 300 variants;
4. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *D* in 299 variants;
5. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *Q* in 204 variants;
6. Amb I.61 sup. agrees with *Ep* in 195 variants (*Ep*<sup>1</sup> 8; *Ep*<sup>mg</sup> 33).

Agreement with multiple Irish/Celtic texts is as follows: with *DE* 119 times; with *DEL* 12; with *DELQ* 5; with *DELQR* 4; with *DE Ep* 63; with *EL* 40; with *ELQ* 4 times; with *LQ* 66 times; with *LQR* 49 times; with *LR* 78 times; with *DLR* 10 times; with *DL* 31 times; with *EL* 25 times; with *QR* 32 times.

Objections can, of course, be raised to such an evaluation of the evidence, and even to the very approach adopted towards an ex-

amination of it. To begin with, the variants vary in quality, some of them being merely orthographic, personal or place names. Then again, the individual texts of the "Irish/Celtic" group of manuscripts in question vary considerably among themselves; each of these, too, has its own distinct character or personality. Furthermore, it may be stated, the number of texts used for the apparatus of Wordsworth-White (some 30 or so) is limited, in comparison with the known totality of Latin Gospel texts (B. Fischer uses some 466). A distinct weakness with the results of the collation against the apparatus of Wordsworth and White, of course, is that very little is revealed of affiliations of Amb I.61 sup. with the Italian group of texts. The value of some of these observations can be granted. A number of the variants are of an orthographical nature, and as such much less significant for textual affiliations than others. Even such orthographical variants, however, have their significance, especially if they follow a pattern. It must also be observed that a number of the agreements with Irish (DELQR, St Gall 51 etc.) texts go beyond orthography. This phenomenon of Irish affiliations which is clear from the collation with the apparatus of Wordsworth and White calls for explanation. The limited number of texts used in the Wordsworth-White apparatus and the lack of evidence for the Italian tradition must be taken seriously. For this reason I have supplemented the collation of the entire text of Matthew against the apparatus of Wordsworth and White with the evidence from the entirety of the Latin tradition (from the 466 or so manuscripts) presented by Bonifatius Fischer for the four pericopes of the First Gospel (Mat 2,10 — 4,17; 8,2 — 9,8; 16,9 — 17,17; 20,39-58; 27,29-46). I reproduce this evidence in its entirety in the Appendix for Fischer's H (Ireland-Scotland-Wales) group of texts (in roman lettering) and for J (Italian) (in italics); adding also the evidence for the *Vetus Latina* (sigled X -a, etc. by Fischer). The evidence which seems to be clear from this full collation of these passages is that the variants of Amb I.61 sup. are well attested both in the Italian (J) and Irish (H) group of texts, sometimes more strongly in one than in the other. Through further analysis we may be able to draw more inferences from the evidence so thoroughly presented by B. Fischer, especially when we have a better understanding of how to interpret the vast amount of material he has put before us.

*b. affiliations with Vetus Latina*

There are a number of instances in which the Amb I.61 sup. variants agree with *VL* rather than with known Vulgate texts (in about 150 cases). In a forthcoming essay I examine these variants in some detail. The evidence they present does not appear to be of any great significance, as there does not appear to be any pronounced affiliation with any one particular *Vetus Latina* manuscript.

5. AMB. I 61 SUP.: ITALY, IRELAND, BOBBIO AND COLUMBANUS

The conclusion from all this analysis seems to be that Codex Amb I.61 sup. cannot be regarded as belonging solely to the Italian family or group of texts. It has strong affiliations with Irish Gospel texts as well as with Italian. On the basis of present examination alone one could not definitely say that it belongs to one rather than the other. It does not appear that the evidence can be explained by regarding the text as fundamentally of the Italian type, but with an Irish overlay. The Irish affiliation seems to go much beyond this. Further examination is needed of the relevant Latin Gospel tradition before more definite conclusions can be reached. What bearing this evidence has on the place of writing (whether Bobbio or Ireland) remains to be determined. Another matter to which attention might be given is the assigning of a precise date to the manuscript; E. A. Lowe, as we have seen, gives saec. VII<sup>2</sup>, while Bonifatius Fischer give saec VII<sup>1</sup>. If the work really comes from the first half of the seventh century it might have been written within, or very near, the lifetime of Columbanus, founder of the monastery of Bobbio (died 23 November 615). G.S.M. WALKER<sup>15</sup> has analysed the biblical text used in the writings of Columbanus, using four categories: (1) Vulgate; (2) Old Latin, *VL*; (3) uncertain; (4) peculiar to Columbanus. Eighteen (18) of the 50 texts from Matthew's Gospel coincide with the Vulgate; 4 are given as Old Latin, 9 as peculiar to Columbanus and the remainder (19) as uncertain. One of the Old Latin texts given (*sed*

<sup>15</sup> G. S. M. WALKER, *Sancti Columbani Opera (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 11)* (Dublin 1970), 216-220, 217f. for Matthew's Gospel.

*sicut tu uis*, Mat 26,39) also coincides with Amb I. 61 sup.; another (Mat 18,19 has similarities with Amb I.61 sup but differs from it. In the texts peculiar to Columbanus and in the uncertain texts, Amb tends to agree with the Vulgate. It appears from this that Amb I.61 sup., even if written in Bobbio in Columbanus's lifetime or soon afterwards, was not the text of Matthew used by him.

#### ABBREVIATIONS:

Abbreviations are as in Wordsworth and White (Vulgate) and B. Fischer; for the *Vetus Latina* as in ed. cr. Special abbreviations: MTr (Gospels of Martin of Tours), MS Tours, Bibl. mun. 22 (B. Fischer Ot); Ep, Gospels of Echternach; CatCelt (Catechesis Celtica; MS Reg. lat. 49).

Amb	Milan. Bibl. Ambrosiana I.61 sup.
b	Codex Veronensis of the <i>Vetus Latina</i>
Be	B. Fischer's symbol for E below
BL	British Library
cad	The Cadmug Gospels: Fulda. Landesbibliothek Bonifatius 3
CCC	Oxford. Corpus Christi College 122. Evangelia
D	The Book of Armagh: TCD 52. Novum Testamentum
dim	The Book of Dimma (Gospels), TCD 59 (A.IV.23)
E	London. British Library, Egerton 609
Ep	The Gospels of Echternach: Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9389
Ep <sup>mg</sup>	The marginal (and interlinear) glosses of Ep
Harl	Harley
gat	The Gospels of St Gaten: Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1587
H..	Bonifatius Fischer's abbreviations for Irish, Welsh, Scottish Gospel texts
He	B. Fischer's symbol for The Book of Cerne: Cambridge. University Library LI.I.10
Hf	= cad
Hi	= L
Hh	= her
Hw	= wüz
Ho	Oxford. Bodleian Rawlinson G. 167 (14890)
Hs	Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek 51
Hr	= R

Hm	= mul
Hn	TCD 60 (A.IV.5). fol. 95-98: Mulling Fragments
Ht	RIA D.II.3 (Excerpts from John's Gospel)
Hu	Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek 60. St. John's Gospel
Hg	= r <sup>2</sup>
Hq	= Q
Hd	= D
Hi	= dim
Ha	London, British Library Additional 40618
Hc	The Book of Deer: Cambridge, University Library li.VI.32 (1911)
Hb	Bern, Burgerbibl. 671
Hx	London, BL Addit. 9381
Hy	= macdur
Hz	London, Harley 1802 (the Gospels of Máel-Brigte)
her	The Hereford Gospels: Hereford. Cathedral Library P.I.2
Ji	B. Fischer's symbol for Amb above
Jx	B. Fischer's symbol for X below
Jy	B. Fischer's symbol for P below
Jz	B. Fischer's symbol for Z below
L	The Lichfield Gospels (the Gospels of St. Chad), Lichfield, Cathedral, s.n.
macdur	The Mac Durnan Gospels: London, Lambeth Palace Library 1370
MTr	Codex Ev. Martini Turonensis (Tours, Bibl. Mun. 22; B. Fischer's Ot)
mul	The Book of Mulling: TCD 60(A.I.5)
P	Split. Chapter Archives MS 621
Q	The Book of Kells: TCD 58(A.I.6)
R	The Gospels of Mac Regol: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.19(3946)
r <sup>1</sup> (or: r)	Codex Usanianus Primus: TCD 55(A.IV.15)
r <sup>2</sup>	Codex Usanianus Secundus ("The Garland of Howth"): TCD 56(A.IV.6)
RIA	The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
Vg(Vulg)	The Vulgate
VL	<i>Vetus Latina</i>
würz	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek. M.p.th.f.61. St Matthew's Gospel
X	Oxford, Corpus Christi College 286
X(ab...)	B. Fischer's symbol for VL
Z	BL Harley 1775

# COLLATION OF CODEX AMB. I.61 SUP

## Matthew

1.	1,1	fili (Dauid) ( <i>filii D.</i> )	= KRZ
2.	1,1	fili (Abraham) ( <i>filii Ab.</i> )	= RZ
3.	1,2	Isac (twice) ( <i>Isaac</i> )	= Ep LRQ
4.	1,2	Isac genuit ( <i>Isaac autem genuit</i> )	om. autem (W/W) HK MTr XZ
5.	1,3	Zaram ( <i>Zara</i> )	= D Ep LRW
6.	1,4	Nason ( <i>Naason</i> )	= D Ep
7.	1,5	Nason ( <i>Naason</i> )	= D Ep
8.		Boz ( <i>Booz</i> )	Bo(o)z (o 2° interl) HL Botz D
9.	1,6	Solomonem ( <i>Salomonem</i> )	Solo- unique; Salam- DLQRZ
10.	1,7	Solomon ( <i>Salomon</i> )	solo- unique; salam- DLQRZ
11.	1,7,8	Asar ( <i>Asa</i> )	Asar unique; Asam, Q; Assa (twice) E
12.	1,8	Asar ( <i>Asa</i> )	Asar unique; Assaph (twice) D Ep <sup>mg</sup> ; Asafath (twice) R
13.	1,9	(Ioa)thas ( <i>Ioatham</i> )	Ioathas, unique
14.	1,9	Achaz autem Ezechiam ( <i>Ach. autem genuit Ez.</i> )	om. genuit unique; error?
15.	1,10	Manassem (twice) ( <i>Manassen, twice</i> )	Manassem, twice = Q; menassem, -es BUY
16.	1,11	Ammon (twice) ( <i>Amon, twice</i> )	= Ep H

17. 1,12 (in transmigratione Bab. no v.l. om. "et  
Iechonias autem genuit post tr. Bab.; error?  
Salathiel  
(*in t. Bab. et post  
transmigrationem Ba.  
Iechonias autem genuit S.*)
18. 1,13 Abioth (twice) unique; T, Abiuth, Abiut  
(*Abiud, twice*)
19. 1,15 Eliazar (twice) = Ep (twice)  
(*Eleazar, twice*)
20. 1,16 Matham (twice) = D (twice);  
(*Mathan, twice*) L matham matha
21. 1,17 generationes sunt XIII(1°) + sunt DE<sup>c</sup>R Hs  
(*generationes quat-  
tuordecim*)
22. Babilonis (twice) = Ep R(once)TW  
(*Babylonis*)
23. 1,17 generationes sunt XIII (2°) + sunt D Ep R  
(*gener. quattuordecim*)
24. 1,17 Babilonis (2°) = (twice) Ep R(once) TW  
(*Babylonis*)
25. 1,17 generationes sunt XIII (3°) + sunt DR  
(*gen. quattuordecim*)
26. 1,18 dispnsata (disp-) = CDE\* Ep  
HΘLQRT  
(*desp-*)
27. 1,18 Maria (interl.) no v.l. om. Maria  
(*Maria*)
28. 1,19 demittere dem- = R  
(*dim-*)
29. 1,22 adinpleretur adinp- = CLR Hs  
(*adimpl-*)
30. 1,23 uocabis -abis, unique; -abit, VL d,  
(*uocabunt*) ff<sup>1</sup>
31. 1,23 interpraetatum -raet-. E Ep θ Z MTr RZ\*  
(*interpretatum*)
32. 1,24 sompno = DW  
(*somno*)
33. 1,24 praecipit = D(pre-) Ep QR  
(*praecepit*)
34. 1,24 accipit = Ep Q  
(*accepit*)

- |     |      |  |   |
|-----|------|--|---|
| 35. | 1,24 | acc. Mariam coniugem<br>( <i>acc. coniugem</i> )   | + mariam, unique  |
| 36. | 2,1  | Bethlem<br>( <i>Bethleem</i> )   | = D Ep H*LQRT   |
| 37. | 2,1  | Iuda<br>( <i>Iudaeae</i> )   | = E Ep F  |
| 38. | 2,1  | Hierusolimam<br>( <i>Hierosolymam</i> )  | = Ep L Hs   |
| 39. | 2,3  | Herodis (rex)<br>( <i>Herodes r.</i> )   | = EL*R  |
| 40. | 2,3  | Hierusolima<br>( <i>Hierosolyma</i> )  | = E Ep LR   |
| 41. | 2,4  | interrogauit ab eis<br><br>nascetur ubi Christus<br>( <i>scisitabatur ab eis ubi<br/>Christus nascetur</i> ) | interrogauit, Hs;<br>VL, except <i>aur, f</i><br>> nas.ubi Ch. unique |
| 42. | 2,5  | in Bethlem Iuda<br>( <i>in Bethleem Iudaeae</i> )  | Bethlem = D Ep θLQRT<br>Iuda = D                                      |
| 43. | 2,6  | Bethlem (terra Iuda)<br>( <i>Bethleem t.I.</i> )   | = D Ep LQRT   |
| 44. | 2,6  | numquid (minima)<br>( <i>nequaquam</i> )   | = CT; VL, <i>ff</i> <sup>1</sup>                                      |
| 45. | 2,7  | Herodis<br>( <i>Herodes</i> )  | = LR  |
| 46. | 2,7  | occulte<br>( <i>clam</i> )   | = VL, except <i>aur, k</i> ; Q,<br>clam occulte                       |
| 47. | 2,7  | exquisiuit<br>( <i>didicit</i> )   | = Hs; VL, except <i>aur</i>   |
| 48. | 2,8  | eos<br>( <i>illos</i> )  | = D Ep QR Hs  |
| 49. | 2,8  | Bethlem<br>( <i>Bethleem</i> )   | D Ep LQRT   |
| 50. | 2,12 | in suam regionem<br>( <i>in regionem suam</i> )  | > = R; Hs( <i>ad s.r.</i> ); some<br>MSS VL                           |
| 51. | 2,13 | Herodis<br>( <i>Herodes</i> )  | LQR; Erodis D   |
| 52. | 2,14 | accipit<br>( <i>accepit</i> )  | E*QR  |
| 53. | 2,15 | ut inpleretur<br>( <i>ut adimpleretur</i> )  | impleretur, VL <i>b</i>   |
| 54. | 2,16 | Herodis<br>( <i>Herodes</i> )  | = L*QR; Erodis D  |



55. 2,16 quia (in)lusus quia, VL, *d*  
*(quoniam inlusus)*  
56. Bethlem = DLRT  
*(Bethleem)*  
57. 2,17 adinpletum adinp- CLRY  
*(adimpletum)*  
58. 2,17 Heremiam = Q; Herimiam. L;  
*(Hieremiam)* Hirimiam, R

2, 19-4,17 collated by B. Fischer

59. 2,21 accipit ELQR Hs  
*(accepit)*  
60. 2,22 Archilaus = L\*QR  
*(Archelaus)*  
61. 2,22 illuc (ire) = ADEFHθQRTUX\*V  
*(illo ire)*  
62. 2,23 adinpleretur = CDLR  
*(adimpleretur)*  
63. 3,1 Iohannis = CEL\*RZ\*  
*(Iohannes)*  
64. 3,3 profetam = DLR  
*(prophetam)*  
65. 3,4 Iohannis = DEQR  
*(Iohannes)*  
66. 3,4 locusta = DL; lucusta HZ\*  
*(locustae)*  
67. 3,5 exiebant hieru/ exiebant EHT; VL MSS  
solimitae Hierusolomitae unique  
*(exiebat ad eum)*  
*Hierosolyma)*  
68. 3,5 Iudea = DELQRTW  
*(Iudaea)*  
69. 3,5 Iordanen ad eum > ad eum, unique  
*(Iordanen)*  
70. 3,7 Phariseorum = D  
*(Phariseorum)*  
71. 3,7 Saduceorum = RW  
*(Sadducaeorum)*  
72. 3,7 ab ira uentura VL *a c f*  
*(a futura ira)* > a uentura ira W  
73. 3,9 inter (uos) = HR  
*(intra uos)*

74. 3,9 potens est Deus + est BEH ̸JK MTr WX  
(*potens Deus*)
75. 3,10 posita est = DELQR  
(*posita est*)
76. 3,10 excidetur = Vg W/W; many Vg MSS  
(*exciditur*)
77. 3,10 mittetur = Vg W/W; many Vg MSS  
(*mittitur*)
78. 3,11 ego autem autem unique  
(*ego quidem*)
79. 3,11 baptizo = E  
(*baptizo*)
80. 3,11 baptizabit -isza- unique  
(*baptizabit*)
81. 3,12 in horreum suum + suum W; VL *ff*<sup>1</sup> *g*<sup>1</sup>  
(*in horreum*) in horreo suo VL *b*
82. 3,13 baptizaretur = E  
(*baptizaretur*)
83. 3,14 Iohannis = DEE\*L\*R  
(*Iohannes*)
84. 3,14 baptizari = E\*  
(*baptizari*)
85. 3,14 implere = CDLQ  
(*implere*)
86. 3,16 dimisit eum baptizari d. eum. bap. unique  
et confestim ascendit et confestim unique  
(*dimisit eum. Baptizatus autem confestim ascendit*) confestim et CatCelt
87. 3,16 super eum (se interl. super eum VL *d f*  
above eum)  
(*super se*)
88. 4,2 esuriuit = VL L  
(*esuriit*)
89. 4,4 in solo pane = WX<sup>c</sup>; VL *a aur*  
(*in pane solo*)
90. 4,4 uiuit = Vg W/W; many Vg MSS  
(*uiuet*)
91. 4,5 adsumpsit assumpsit DKE Ep Ep<sup>1</sup> ̸  
JLQTZ\*  
Hs  
(*adsumit*) assumsit, A etc.
92. 4,6 ut manibus ut (in manibus) DL<sup>2</sup>  
(*et in manibus*) om in unique

93. 4,6 tollant = D (ut ... tollant)  
(*tollent*)
94. 4,7 rursum ait illi Iesus >rur. ait unique  
scriptum est  
(*ait illi Iesus rursum s.est*)
95. 4,8 adsumpsit illum  
diabolus  
  
(*adsumit eum diab.*)  
adsumpsit E Ep H $\theta$  JLQRZ\*;  
(B. Fischer, Hfihwsrm-  
qdicbxyz)  
assumpsit DK MTr VWY\*  
assumsit XZ<sup>2</sup>  
illum, VL *kl* (*adsumit i.*)
96. 4,9 procedens (= procidens)  
(*cadens*) X\*; Hs (St Gall 51);  
procidens J
97. 4,10 uade (retro)  
satanas (space; erasure?  
after uade; what erased  
not clear in microfilm)  
(*uade Satanas*) + retro DE Ep L $\theta$  RX\*
98. 4,13 Iohannis = DE Ep R  
(*Iohannes*)
99. (Caph.) maritimum = Hs (St Gall 51)  
(*c. maritimam*)
100. 4,14 ut inpleretur = C Ep\* Q; impl- (B.  
(*ut adimpleretur*) Fischer) many  
MSS and  
Hfqc x\*yz
101. 4,14 profetam = D Ep LOQR; and many  
(*prophetam*) others
102. 4,13,15 Neptalin = D Ep H233\*L MTr  
(*Nephtalim*) QRTVW;  
but see B. Fischer
103. 4,16 (in regione) umbrae umbrae, many MSS; no  
(mortis) Irish; see B. Fischer, p.126  
(*in reg. et umbra mortis*)
104. 4,18 retia = DE Ep <sup>ms</sup> MTr QRX\*  
(*rete*)
105. 4,19 faciam (uos) In mg. et om. et unique; error?  
added  
(*et faciam uos*)
106. 4,21 Zebedeo = DE EphLOQRW  
(*Zebedaeo*)

107. 4,22 illi autem relictis (in mg.  
statim added)  
(*illi autem statim r.*) om. statim Z\*, Z<sup>2</sup>; VL, a b  
g<sup>1</sup> h  
= CE Ep LRT
108. 4,23 sinagogis  
(*synagogis*) = Ep HLQTX\*
109. 4,23 langorem  
(*languorem*) = D Ep HLRTX\*
110. 4,24 langoribus  
(*languoribus*) conprae- CE EpHθ\*L  
MTrQR .
111. 4,24 conprachensos  
(*conprehensos*) om. et paralyt. W;
112. 4,24 et lunaticos et  
corauit eos  
(*et lun. et paralyticos et  
cur.eos*) cor- unique  
= Ep\* LQR
113. 4,25 decapuli  
(*decapoli*) = E Ep LR
114. 4,25 Hierusolimis  
(*Hierosolymis*) + nunc DE Ep LRY<sup>g1</sup>;  
CatCelt
115. 5,5 lugent nunc  
(*lugent*) = D Ep LR
116. 5,5 consulabuntur  
(*consolabuntur*) multa, VL d h q
117. 5,12 multa  
(*copiosa*) = Ep LOQ
118. 5,12 profetas  
(*prophetas*) om. in quo salietur  
unique; error?
119. 5,13 sal euanuerit  
ad nihilum ualet ultra  
(*sal euanuerit in quo  
salietur ad nih. ual. ultra*) = DE Ep LQR
120. 5,14 possita  
(*posita*) = DK\* MTr QRV
121. 5,15 in domu  
(*in domo*) > = EEp LOQRTW
122. 5,16 opera uestra bona  
(*opera bona uestra*) = D Ep LOR
123. 5,17 profetas  
(*prophetas*) amen amen unique
124. 5,18 amen amen dico  
(*amen quippe dico*)

125. 5,19 mandatis his his unique  
(*mandatis istis*)
126. 5,19b, om. (qui autem  
fec. et doc. mag. uoc.  
in reg. c.) but  
D om. qui autem  
fecerit to end of ver.  
inserted in lower marg.  
= Q
127. 5,20 farisseorum  
(*Pharisaeorum*)  
= DEHΘK Mtr O<sup>g1</sup>  
Q TVWY
128. 5,24 (ueniens) offeres  
(*offers*)  
> = EW
129. 5,25 cum eo in uia  
(*in uia cum eo*)  
= DLQRW
130. 5,27 mechaberis  
(*moechaberis*)  
= DLQRW
131. 5,28 concupiscendam eam;  
-dam D Ep MTr  
Q RVX YZ<sup>1</sup>  
in leg. marg. u (= -dum)  
-escendam E  
(*concupiscendum eam*)
132. 5,28 mechatus eam  
(*moechatus est eam*)  
mech- DLRW;  
om. est unique
133. 5,30 expedit enim tibi  
(*expedit tibi*)  
+ enim = Vg in W/W
134. 5,32 demiserit  
(*dimiserit*)  
dem- unique
135. 5,32 excepta causa fornic.  
(*excepta for. causa*)  
= Hs; VL, a b c h
136. 5,32 demisam  
(*demissam*)  
= EL
137. 5,32 adulteratur  
(*adulterat*)  
adulteratur unique
138. 5,33 periurabis  
= CDE Ep KL MTrO<sup>g1</sup>  
Q RTWYZ<sup>3</sup>  
(*peierabis*)
139. 5,35 Hierusalem  
(*Hierosolymam*)  
= R; D Hyerusalem
140. 5,36 capud  
(*caput*)  
= LQR
141. 5,36 uel (nigrum)  
(*aut nig.*)  
= R
142. 5,39 dexteram maxellam praebe  
dexteram maxillam tuam  
DEKL MTr ORVW  
(*dextera maxilla tua praebe*) om. tuam VL a f h
143. 5,40 iudio  
(*iudicio*)  
iudio, unique; error

144. 5,40 *tonicam* = DELR  
(*tunicam*)
145. 5,40 *dimitte illi et palleum* dimitte ei E Ep\*  
(*remitte ei et pallium*) QR(dem.)W; VL  
illi, VL *aur c b*
146. 5,41 *angarizauerit* = Ep<sup>1</sup> LQR; angari/ / z E;  
(*angariauerit*) angaritz D
147. 5,43 *odies (inimicum)* = BDE Ep<sup>ms</sup> JLMQRW  
(*odio habebis in.*)
148. 5,44 *pro persequentibus uos* om. et cal. unique  
*ut sitis filii patris*  
(*pro per. et calumniantibus*  
*uos ut sitis filii p.*)
149. 5,46 *diligitis* = EH<sup>c</sup>ΘL<sup>c</sup>Z<sup>3</sup>  
(*diligatis*)
150. 6,2 *facis* facis = BCHTΘKMM  
(*facies*) TrWX\*Z\*
151. 6,2 *elimosinam* aelomisi. Z; aelymos. E;  
(*elemosynam*) aeleymoysi. D; elimoysi. Ep  
QR
152. 6,2 *perciperunt* = DE(epe-)LQ  
(*receperunt*)
153. 6,2 *elomosinam* aelimosi. E; elimoisi. L;  
(*elemosynam*) elimosi. Q; elimoyse Ep R
154. 6,3 *senistra* sen- unique  
(*sinistra*)
155. 6,4 *elimosina* = R; elimoy. Q; elmmoysu  
(*elemosyna*) Ep; aelymoysi D
156. 6,4.6.8 *in absconso* = B\*DJLMQR; CatCelt  
(*in abscondito*)
157. 6,5 *perceperunt* = CatCelt; VL, except *aur*,  
(*receperunt*) *ff<sup>1</sup>, l, k*
158. 6,7 *quod (in)* = DERWZ<sup>1</sup>  
(*quia in*)
159. 6,8 *quid uobis opus sit* >uobis opussit DJQR  
(*quibus opus sid uobis*) quid CDE<sup>c</sup>JKL<sup>c</sup> MTr  
OQRTVWX\*Z
160. 6,8 *ab eo (eum in L.h. marg)* ab eo = DEQ  
(*eum*)
161. 6,9 *es in caelis( = Vg W/W)* es in caelis with  
(*in caelis es*) ADEJLO<sup>st</sup> QTWXY

162. 6,10 adueniat (= Vg W/W) adueniat ADE Ep<sup>ms</sup> K MTR  
(*ueniat*) QRVWX<sup>1</sup>YZ<sup>1</sup>
163. 6,10 cotidianum = CDE Ep<sup>ms</sup> LTW  
(*superstantialem*)
164. 6,13 ne patiaris nos ind(uci) pat. nos in. = DR cad  
(*ne nos inducas*) (Hf)
165. 6,16 perciperunt perceperunt VL *f b*  
(*receperunt*)
166. 6,17 capud = L  
(*caput*)
167. 6,19 demoliuntur demoliuntur unique  
(*demolitur*)
168. 6,19 effudiunt = L  
(*effodiunt*)
169. 6,21 (enim) fuerit = Q  
(*enim est*)
170. 6,21 (ibi) erit = DE Ep LQR; VL *aur, gat*  
(*ibi est*)
171. 6,22 (lucerna) corporis tui + tui BD Ep<sup>ms</sup> H<sup>0</sup>KL  
(*luc. corporis*) MTr OQRTWX
172. 6,22 oculus tuus + tuus BCDE EpH<sup>0</sup>KL  
(*oculus*) MTr OQRTWX
173. 6,22 simplex simplex unique  
(*simplex*)
174. 6,23 ipsae tenebrae quantae sunt ipse ten. BDH<sup>0</sup>JKL  
(*tenebrae quantae erunt*) MTr V  
sunt BE Ep<sup>ms</sup> QRT
175. 6,24 contempnet contemp- DE Ep <sup>0</sup>KQRVW  
(*contemnet*)
176. 6,25 et corpus quam corp. quam = Vg W/W,  
with  
(*et corpus plus quam*) CD Ep JLRTVXX\*
177. 6,26 plures (estis) plures ABDE  
(*pluris estis*) EpFLMO\*QR(istis)TXYZ
178. 6,27 adicere potest + ad. pot. unique  
(*potest adicere*)
179. 6,28 nec... (microfilm illegible)  
(*nec nent*)
180. 6,29 quia (nec) = DEL  
(*quoniam*)
181. 6,29 (ex) illis (ex) illis unique  
(*ex istis*)

182. 6,30 modicae (fidei) modicae GD  
(*minimae fidei*)
183. 6,32 requirunt requirunt unique;  
(*inquirunt*) quaerant VL g<sup>1</sup>; quaerunt  
VL k
184. 6,32 text om. ( + in marg)  
scit autem pater uester quia  
his omnibus indigetis) =  
Vg no v.l. omits
185. 6,33 adponentur adponentur VL c b;  
(*adicientur*) praestabuntur D (and VL  
texts)
186. 6,34 (sibi) ipsi sibi ipsi = E<sup>c</sup> H<sup>c</sup> KMMTr  
O g<sup>1</sup>  
(*sibi ipse*) VWZ3
187. 7,3 fistucam = D Ep HL\*QR  
(*festucam*)
188. 7,4,5 fistucam = HL\*QR  
(*festucam*)
189. 7,11 filis = LR  
(*filiis*)
190. 7,16 ficos = D Ep O\*R  
(*ficus*)
191. 7,17 bonos fructus facit > E MTrR, cad (Hf)  
(*fructus bonos facit*)
192. 7,22 (multi) mihi dicent > = DEL  
(*multi dicent mihi*)
193. 7,23 discedete discede- unique  
(*discedite*)
194. 7,25 cecidit = DLR\*  
(*cecidit*)
195. 7,25 supra petram)( = Vg W/W) super D Ep<sup>ms</sup> LQRZ\*  
(*super*)
196. 7,26 super (harenam) = CDE Ep JKL MTr TW<sup>c</sup> Z  
(*supra har.*)
197. 7,27 cecidit = DEL\*R\*  
(*cecidit*)
198. 7,29 Pharissei -iss- unique  
(*Pharisei*)
199. 8,1 descendisset = E Ep LRY  
(*descendisset*)



8, 2-9, 8 collated by B. Fischer

- |      |      |  |  |
|------|------|--|--|
| 200. | 8,5  | quidam centurio<br>( <i>centurio</i> )                               | + quidam = Q (B. Fischer Hlsmqdi; only Ji of the Italian family) |
| 201. | 8,6  | (eum) dicens<br>( <i>eum et dicens</i> )                             | om. et cad (= Hf), Jx* Ea* Zm* Pi*                               |
| 202. | 8,6  | in domu<br><br>( <i>in domo</i> )                                    | = DQRV (B. Fisch, Hhrmqb);<br>only Ji of the Italian family      |
| 203. | 8,7  | ego ueniens et<br>( <i>ego ueniam et</i> )                           | ueniens et unique; ueniens VL c a b                              |
| 204. | 8,7  | ego homo sub<br>( <i>ego homo sum sub</i> )                          | om. sum only L; Uz*  |
| 205. | 8,9  | sub potestate constitutus<br>( <i>sub potestate habens sub me</i> )  | = Hhsrmqdbxz<br>an habens sub me other MSS; see B. Fisch.        |
| 206. | 8,9  | sermio<br>( <i>seruo meo</i> )                                       | sermio error for seruo meo                                       |
| 207. | 8,11 | Isac<br>( <i>Isaac</i> )   | = Ep LR CatCelt  |
| 208. | 8,12 | regni huius<br><br>( <i>regni</i> )                                  | = huius DE Ep LQR (B. Fisch. Hflhwsrqdbxyz) and other MSS        |
| 209. | 8,12 | ubi erit<br><br>( <i>ibi erit</i> )                                  | = R (B. Fisch. Hrbz);<br>CatCelt<br>of Italian family only Ji    |
| 210. | 8,13 | in illa hora<br>( <i>in hora illa</i> )                              | >in illa h. CDEp FH0J MTr QT(ora)VWXXZ*, mul.                    |
| 211. | 8,16 | (ei)ciebat uer(bo)<br>spiritus<br>( <i>eiciebat spiritus uerbo</i> ) | >uer. sp. et omn.<br>unique; uerbo spir.<br>inmundos R           |
| 212. | 8,17 | accipit<br>( <i>accepit</i> )  | = Ep LO*QR (B. Fisch. Hflhwsarmqiby (+ Xk; Jo*; Bg; Ge; Pn       |
| 213. | 8,18 | circa se<br>( <i>circum se</i> )                                     | = DE Ep <sup>ms</sup> LR (B. Fisch. Hllhwsrmdib                  |

214. 8,20 (uolucres caeli) nidos ubi requiescant. nidos ubi requiescant. *cabuhqo*; nidos ubi requiescunt EQ, wüz; nidos tabernacula D  
Filius)  
(*Vg, u.c. tabernacula.*  
*Filius*)
215. 8,20 capud = LQRW  
(*caput*)
216. 8,23 in nauiculam (= Vg W/W) -am, many MSS  
(*in nauicula*)
217. 8,25 et accesserunt discipuli + dis. eius  
(*et accenserunt et* = mul; eius et suscitauerunt  
*suscitauerunteum*) eum  
Pg; VL b; ad eum discipuli  
eius et sus. eum Hfwrdbxz
218. 8,27 homines autem illi hom. aut. illi = dim; Nr;  
(*porro homines*) Sb;Ggf; Zw\*; Pt\*; illi aut.  
h. Many VL MSS; wüz
219. 8,29 et exclamauerunt (om. ecce) mul; et ecce  
(*et ecce clamauerunt*) exclamauerunt Hlhsdi, VL  
and some other MSS
220. 8,33 fugierunt = Hwdx, and some other  
(*fugerunt*) MSS
221. 8,34 ecce ciuitas om. tota only or MS, Hs  
(*ecce tota ciuitas*) and Na\*
222. 9,5 tibi peccata tua + tua E Ep<sup>mg</sup>;  
(*tibi peccata*) Hfhwsmqdi?b; other MSS
223. 9,6 surge et tolle + et Hflhwsrqdibz;  
grabatum tuum and other MSS; in J only Jid  
(*surge tolle lectum tuum*) grab(b)atum Ep, Hmyz; in  
J, only Ji
224. 9,10 in domu = D MTr QRV  
(*in domo*)
225. 9,17 rumpentur = LR  
(*rumpuntur*)
226. 9,17 uinum effundetur = DEH  $\emptyset$ LQ  
(*u. effunditur*)
227. 9,17 (utres) peribunt = EH  $\emptyset$ LR  
(*u. pereunt*)
228. 9,21 dicebat autem autem unique  
(*d. enim*)
229. 9,22 te (interl.) saluam no v.l. om. te  
(*te saluam*)

230.	9,23	tubicines ( <i>tibicines</i> )	= CDEJT
231.	9,31	defamauerunt ( <i>diffamauerunt</i> )	= DE Ep LR
232.	10,1	langorem ( <i>languorem</i> )	Ep HLTXXZ
233.	10,1	infirmi- tatem in populo ( <i>infirmi- tatem</i> )	+ in populo VL g <sup>1</sup>
234.	10,2	apostulorum ( <i>apostolorum</i> )	-tul- unique
235.	10,3	Iohannis ( <i>Iohannes</i> )	= DE Ep RZ*
236.	10,3	Tadtheus ( <i>Thaddeus</i> )	Tadtheus unique; Tatheus DE
237.	10,4	Symon ( <i>Simon</i> )	= CD
238.	10,4	Iudas Scarioth ( <i>Iudas Scariothes</i> )	= VL a c ff <sup>1</sup> g <sup>1</sup> b
239.	10,4	qui eum tradidit ( <i>qui et tradidit eum</i> )	> = VL k ff <sup>1</sup>
240.	10,6	putius ( <i>potius</i> )	= Ep R
241.	10,6	ad oues perditas ( <i>ad oues quae perierunt</i> )	= VL a c d ff <sup>1</sup> h q
242.	10,8	accipistis ( <i>accepistis</i> )	= DE Ep LRY
243.	10,12	salutate eam dicentes pax huic domui ( <i>salutate eam</i> )	† = BCDE Ep <sup>ms</sup> FHΘJKL O <sup>ms</sup> QRTVWXYZ
244.	10,13	reuertetur ( <i>reuertatur</i> )	= BD Ep <sup>1</sup> HΘKL MTr QRVWX*Z
245.	10,14	reciperit ( <i>recepit</i> )	= DE Ep LR
246.	10,14	de domu ( <i>de domo</i> )	= DQR
247.	10,15	Gomurreorum ( <i>Gomorraeorum</i> )	-omurr-- unique
248.	10,17	cauete autem uobis ab ( <i>cauete autem ab</i> )	+ uobis VL except <i>aur d</i> ff <sup>1</sup> i L; f vos
249.	10,18	et ante reges et praesides ( <i>et ad praesides et ad reges</i> )	= VL a g <sup>1</sup> b
250.	10,18	pro tewstimonio ( <i>in testimonium</i> )	pro testimonio unique

251. 10,19 in illa hora ( + marg.  
sup. )  
(*in illa hora*) dabitur enim u. i  
i.h. quid loq. om.  
in QZ\*
252. 10,22 omnibus hominibus  
(*omnibus*) + hominibus DEθK  
MTrRVZ
253. 10,25 Belzebul  
(*Belzebub*) = R
254. 10,25-26 domesticos. Nihil est  
enim opertum domesticos = DLR  
(*domesticos eius ne ergo*  
*timueritis eos nihil enim*  
*op.*) n. en. e. op. BEHθLQRX\*  
om. ne ergo tim. eos  
unique  
+ est (nihil est e.o.) VL d  
f ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> h
255. 10,27 dicete  
(*dicite*) -ete unique
256. 10,28 putius  
(*potius*) = LR
257. 10,28 qui potest animam  
(*qui potest et animam*) om. et BEH<sup>c</sup>KT
258. 10,29 (asse) ueniunt  
(*asse ueneunt*) = ACDE Ep HLMQRTYZ\*
259. 10,32 qui me confitebitur  
(*qui confitebitur me*) > q. me c. unique
260. 10,32 in caelis est  
(*est in coelis*) = DE Ep LQRW( cel)
261. 10,32 in caelis est  
(*est in c.*) = E Ep LQR
262. 10,34 pacem mittere  
(*mittere pacem*) = BD Ep RX] CatCelt
263. 10,35 separare filium  
(*separare hominem*) = VL, except f k; sep.  
filium hominem Q
264. 11,1 Iesus omnia uerba haec  
praecipiens + Om. uerb. haec EW;  
(*Iesus praecipiens*) + sermones hos D
265. 11,1 in ciuitatibus  
(*in ciu. eorum*) om. eorum unique
266. 11,1 Iohannis  
(*Iohannes*) = E Ep LR
267. 11,4 quae audistis caeci  
(*quae auditis et uidetis*  
*caeci*) om. et uid. unique;  
audistis ABD Ep  
HθJKM MTr OQTW XYZ

268. 11,5 clodi = D  
(*claudi*)
269. 11,7 in deserto = EFL\*Z  
(*in desertum*)
270. 11,7 arundinem = 0JRW  
(*harundinem*)
271. 11,8 uestimentis indutum = VL *b f b L*  
(*uestitum*)
272. 11,9 profetam (twice) = Ep O  
(*prophetam*)
273. 11,11 babtista = DL  
(*baptista*)
274. 11,12 et uim facientes uim facientes VL L  
diripiunt illud  
(*et uiolenti rapiunt illud*) diripiunt B Ep K MTr  
OTVXZ
275. 11,13 profatauerunt = D Ep LÖR  
(*proph-*)
276. 11,14. (uultis) scire = B; some VL MSS  
(*u. recipere*)
277. 11,14 Elias = T  
(*Helias*)
278. 11,16 adsimilabo = VL *f q*  
(*similem aestimabo*)
279. 11,17 cicinimus = DL  
(*cecinimus*)
280. 11,17 lamentauimus uobis et = uobis E Ep LQ  
(*lamentauimus et*)
281. 11,17 planxistis = E  
(*planxistis*)
282. 11,18 Iohannis = BDE Ep LRX  
(*Iohannes*)
283. 11,20 eo quod non egerint eo quod VL *ff*<sup>1</sup> *g*<sup>1</sup>  
paenitentiam dicens uae egerint VL *b* (p. n. eg.)  
(*quia non egissent paen.*  
*uae*) = dicens unique
284. 11,21 Sydone = DEOV  
(*Sidone*)
285. 11,21 in cinere et cilicio > = VL *l*  
(*in cilicio et cinere*)
286. 11,23 Sydone = DEFR  
(*Sidone*)

287. 11,23	Cafarnaum ( <i>Caph-</i> )	= Ep R
288. 11,23	exaltabiris ( <i>exaltaberis</i> )	= V
289. 11,23	discendes ( <i>descendes</i> )	= Ep R; discendis DL
290. 11,24	quam uobis ( <i>quam tibi</i> )	= DL
291. 11,28	honerati ( <i>onerati</i> )	= CE Ep O; honorati DLQR
292. 11,30	honus meum leue ( <i>onus meum leue est</i> )	honus CD Ep <sup>ms</sup> LRT om. est 2° CDJLRTW
293. 12,1	abiit Iesus per sata (discipuli) ( <i>abiit Iesus sabbatis per sata d.</i> )	om. sabbat. unique
294. 12,3	esuriuit ( <i>esuriit</i> )	esuriuit unique
295. 12,7	condempnassetis ( <i>condemnassetis</i> )	= DE Ep <sup>1</sup>
296. 12,8	enim est ( <i>est enim</i> )	= J
297. 12,10	interrogabat eum si licet ( <i>inter. eum dicentes si l.</i> )	om. dicentes unique
298. 12,11	qui habet ( <i>qui habeat</i> )	= CD Ep H*KQTV
299. 12,11	ciciderit ( <i>ceciderit</i> )	= DLR*
300. 12,14	Farisei ( <i>Pharisei</i> )	farisaei R; farisei unique
301. 12,15	multi infirmi ( <i>multi</i> )	+ infirmi unique
302. 12,16	praecipit ( <i>praecepit</i> )	= D Ep HQR
303. 12,17	ut inpleretur ( <i>un adimpleretur</i> )	= Q
304. 12,17	profetam ( <i>proph-</i> )	= Ep LR
305. 12,18	electus meus ( <i>dilectus</i> )	electus, unique
306. 12,18	bene conplacuit ( <i>bene placuit</i> )	= BCDE Ep KL MTr QRTVWXZ

307. 12,19 et non contendet + et, unique  
(*non contendet*)
308. 12,19 neque aliquis audiet > al. aud., unique  
(*neque audiet aliquis*)
309. 12,20 arundinam -dinam, unique;  
(*harundinem*) arundinem 0JLRTW
310. 12,20 quasatum quasa- unique  
(*quassatum*)
311. 12,24 Farisei autem dicebant om. audientes,  
(*Pharisaei autem audientes*) dicebant, VL *d*  
(*unique; dixerunt*)
312. 12,24 daemonia nisi in Belzebul daemonia LQ  
(*daemones nisi in*)  
(*Beelzebub*) Belzebul R\*;  
Beelzebul E
313. 12,25 desolabitur = ABCDEFH0JKO<sup>sax-</sup>  
(*desolatur*) RTVWXYZ<sup>1</sup>
314. 12,27 Belzebul = 0R  
(*Beelzebub*)
315. 12,27 fili = E  
(*filii*)
316. 12,28 si autem (ego, interl.) om. ego VL *b c g*<sup>1</sup>  
in spiritu  
(*si autem ego in spiritu*)
317. 12,29 deripere = L  
(*diripere*)
318. 12,29 allegauerit alleg-, unique  
(*alligauerit*)
319. 12,29 deripiet = deripiet, unique;  
(*diripiat*) deripiet CDE Ep 0M MTr  
QRTVW
320. 12,30 dispargit = ELQ  
(*spargit*)
321. 12,33 cogniscitur = BCEQWX  
(*agnoscitur*)
322. 12,34 habundantia = CD  
(*abundantia*)
323. 12,35 de bono thesauro cordis + cordis sui DER  
sui  
(*de bono thesauro*)

324. 12,35 de malo thesauro cordis = QR  
sui  
(*de malo thesauro*)
325. 12,36 quodcumque locuti quodcumque Ep<sup>mg</sup>  
fuerint homines  
(*quod locuti fuerint h.*)
326. 12,37 condempnaberis = E<sup>c</sup>θRW  
(*condemnaberis*)
327. 12,38 Fariseis = Ep RT  
(*Phariseis*)
328. 12,41 Niniuitae = HθJ  
(*Ninevites*)
329. 12,41 condempnabunt = DcE Ep θRW  
(*condemnabunt*)
330. 12,42 Salomonis = R  
(*Salomonis*)
331. 12,42 Solomon = R  
(*Salomon*)
332. 12,44 inuenit eam uacantem = eam BE Ep<sup>mg</sup> H<sup>1</sup> θKL  
(*inuenit uacantem*) MTr RTVWXXZ
333. 12,45 adsumit secum septem secum septem (VII)  
(*ad. septem alios sp. secum*) alios spir. DLQRX\*
334. 12,45 habitant in eo in eo VL *b c ff*<sup>2</sup>  
(*habitant ibi*)
335. 12,46 quaerentes loqui cum eo = DLQ  
(*quaerentes loqui ei*)
336. et (manum + in marg., > manum ext.  
with  
add. sign . after et) ex-  
tendens unique  
ad discipulos  
(*et ext. manus in discipulos*) ad (disc.) VL *a ff*<sup>2</sup> *b*
337. 12,50 ipse meus frater om. et before frater  
(*ipse meus et frater*) DEKLQWX<sup>c</sup>Z
338. 13,1 de domu = DLQ  
(*de domo*)
339. 13,3 in parabolis = Ep  
(*in parabolis*)
340. 13,3 exiuit = VL *k*  
(*exiit*)
341. 13,4,5,7,8 ceciderunt = DLR  
(*ceciderunt*)



342. 13,4 uolucres caeli = caeli (ex Luc 8,5) QR  
(*uolucres*)
343. 13,5 habebant (= Vg W/W), with E Ep  
JKL  
(*habebat*) MMT<sup>r</sup> RT <sup>c</sup>W
344. 13,8 centissimum = Ep L  
(*centesimum*)
345. 13,8 sexagensimum = CE Ep Z\*  
(*sexagesimum*)
346. 13,8 tricissimum trigissimum L  
(*tricesimum*)
347. 13,10 parabolis = C Ep LR  
(*parabolis*)
348. 13,11 mysterium regni caelorum misterium DEQ;  
(*mysteria regni caelorum*) misterium r. Dei CatCelt  
mysterium VL *a*, etc.
349. 13,12 habundabit = CLW  
(*abundabit*)
350. 13,13 parabolis = Ep LR  
(*parabolis*)
351. 13,14 ut adimpleatur adimpleatur AFKM  
(*et adimpletur*) T <sup>c</sup>VX <sup>c</sup>YZ
352. 13,14 profetia Esaiiae dicentis profetia D Ep LOR  
(*proph. Es. dicens*) dicentis BDEJL <sup>c</sup>O <sup>c</sup>Q<sup>r</sup>V
353. 13,15 incrassatum est cor om. enim T; VL  
(*incrassatum est enim cor*) g<sup>1</sup> *a* *k*
354. 13,15 oculos cluserunt om. suos; Z\*  
(*oculos suos cluserunt*)
355. 13,17 amen dico uobis om. quippe CO\*RT  
(*amen quippe dico uobis*)
356. 13,17 quae audistis = BCE Ep JOX\*  
(*quae auditis*)
357. 13,18 parabolam = C Ep LR  
(*parabolam*)
358. 13,22 qui autem in spinis > = BRX\*  
seminatus est  
(*qui autem est seminatus*  
*in spinis*)
359. 13,22 suffucant uerbum suffocant DELQ  
(*suffocat uerbum*)

360. 13,23 aliud quidem C<sup>mum</sup> centesimum CH<sup>c</sup> ̸JTWZ<sup>1</sup>;  
 aliud.LX.mum alius uero  
 XXXmum centissimum LQR;  
*(aliud quidem centum alius*  
*autem sexaginta porro aliud* sexagissimum LQR;  
*triginta)* sexagensimum C;  
 tricissimum R;  
 tricensimum CQ;  
 tricesimum H<sup>c</sup> W  
 = C Ep L\*r
361. 13,24 parabolam  
*(parabolam)* = D E Ep L
362. 13,24 propossuit  
*(proposuit)* = E Ep LQ
363. 13,24 (prop.) eis  
*(pr. illis)* = ER
364. 13,24 simile est (reg. cael.)  
*(simile factum est r.c.)* = ER
365. 13,25 inimicus et  
*(inimicus eius et)* om. eius VL ff<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup> b
366. 13,28 colligemus  
*(colligimus)* = EJQ
367. 13,20 collegite prius  
*(colligite primum)* collegite, D Ep;  
 prius, unique
368. allegare  
*(alligate)* alleg- unique
369. 13,31 parabolam  
*(parabolam)* = E Ep LR
370. 13,33 parabolam  
*(parabolam)* = E Ep LOR
371. 13,34 in parabolis  
*(in parabolis)* = D Ep L
372. 13,34 sine parabolis  
*(sine parabolis)* = Ep L
373. 13,35 in parabolis  
*(in parabolis)* = Ep LR
374. 13,35 loquar absconsa  
*(eructabo abscondita)* loquar, unique;  
 absconsa, Ep<sup>mg</sup> LQR
375. 13,36 demissis  
*(dimissis)* = OR
376. 13,36 eedissere  
*(dissere)* = Ec ̸TW

377. 13,36 parabolam tritici et -bulam, C Ep LR  
zizaniorum agri + tritici et D  
(*parabola, zizanorium agri*) Ep<sup>mg</sup>QRTW; VL gat
378. 13,39 diabolus = D Ep\*KR  
(*diabolus*)
379. 13,43 qui habet aures audiendi + audiendi BDE Ep  
(*qui habet aures*) HΘLQRT<sup>c</sup>W
380. 13,45 quaerenti bonam  
margeritam = D  
(*q. bonas margeritas*)
381. 13,46 uendit = D Ep V  
(*uendidit*)
382. 13,47 saginae misae saginae. D Ep H\* MTr R<sup>1</sup> Y  
(*sagenae missae*) misae, ELRY
383. genere piscium + piscium ABDE Ep ΘK  
(*genere*) MTrO<sup>c</sup>QRTVWXYZ
384. 13,48 eligerunt bonos in uassa uassa DE Ep LQR  
(*elegerunt bonos in vasa*) elig- unique
385. 13,48 malos uero (in marg.  
autem) uero, unique;  
miserunt foras > mis. foras, R  
(*malos autem foras*  
*miserunt*)
386. 13,53 parabulas par. istas Ep R  
(*parabolas*)
387. 13,53 transiuit = Q  
(*transiit*)
388. 13,55 Symon = DCW  
(*Simon*)
389. 13,57 in domu = DLRV  
(*in domo*)
390. 14,1 audiuit = BDEKL MTrO<sup>2</sup>  
(*audiit*) QRTVWZ<sup>1</sup>
391. 14,1 Herodis = ERL; Erodis D  
(*Herodes*)
392. 14,1 tetracha = ELR; cad (Hf);  
(*tetrarcha*) tetracha W  
dedracha Hs
393. 14,2 Iohannis = DE Ep LR  
(*Iohannes*)
394. 14,2 resurrexit = VL ff<sup>1</sup> h  
(*surrexit*)

395.	14,2	operantur ( <i>inoperantur</i> )	= Vg W/W
396.	14,3	Herodis ( <i>Herodes</i> )	= BE Ep R; Hirodis L; Erodis D
397.	14,3	possuit ( <i>posuit</i> )	= E Ep QR
398.	14,3	in carcerem ( <i>in carcere</i> )	= Vg W/W
399.	14,3	Herudiadem ( <i>Herodiadem</i> )	Herud- unique
400.	14,4	Iohannis ( <i>Iohannes</i> )	= DE Ep L
401.	14,5	profetam ( <i>proph-</i> )	= E Ep LOR
402.	14,6	Herudoadis ( <i>Herodiadis</i> )	Herud- unique
403.	14,8,11	capud ( <i>caput</i> )	= RW
404.	14,9	qui simul discumbebant ( <i>qui pariter recumbebant</i> )	= VL /
405.	14,12	corpus eius ( <i>corpus</i> )	+ eius DE Ep θJK MTr QRTW
406.	14,13	pedistres ( <i>pedestris</i> )	pedistres, unique
407.	14,14	misertus est illis ( <i>misertus est eius</i> )	illis, VL <i>a b c ff</i> <sup>2</sup> L <i>q</i>
408.	14,15	praeteriuit ( <i>praeteriit</i> )	-iuit, VL <i>k</i>
409.	14,17	et responderunt ( <i>responderunt</i> )	+ et unique
410.	14,18	huc mihi ( <i>mibi huc</i> )	> huc mihi B
411.		in nauculam ( <i>in naucula</i> )	= Vg W/W
412.	14,23	dimisa ( <i>dimissa</i> )	= E Ep L
413.	14,24	iectabatur ( <i>iactabatur</i> )	= D
414.	14,26	super (mare) ( <i>supra m.</i> )	= W

415. 14,28 Petrus autem respondens >p.a.r. unique  
(*repondens autem Petrus*)
416. 14,29 discendens = D Ep L  
(*descendens*)
417. 14,31 adpraehendit -prae- E Ep H0LORZ\*  
(*adprehendit*)
418. 14,32 cum ascendisset Iesus ascendisset E0RX\*  
in nauculam = Iesus, unique  
(*cum ascendissent in nauc.*)
419. 14,34 Gennezareth = R  
(*Gennesar*)
420. 15,1 Hierusolimis = Ep LR  
(*Hierosolymis*)
421. 15,4 patri et (in marg., uel) et, unique (but see  
matri v.6); aut VL *c*  
(*patri uel matri*) *d g<sup>1</sup> k*
422. 15,4 morietur = Ep<sup>1</sup> JRX\*  
(*moriatur*)
423. 15,6 honorificauit = AC Ep  
FHKLOQRWX\*YZ  
(*honorificabit*)
424. 15,6 et matrem et = R; see v. 4  
(*aut matrem*)
425. 15,6 inritum = C Ep JLRZ\*  
(*irritum*)
426. 15,7 profetauit = Ep LR  
(*proph-*)
427. 15,8 labis = Ep LR  
(*labiis*) lapis Hs
428. 15,10 uidete uidete, unique  
(*audite*)
429. 15,12 Farissei = L  
(*Pharisei*)
430. 15,12 hoc uerbo + hoc Ep QRW Hs  
(*uerbo*)
431. 15,5 parabulam = Ep<sup>1</sup> LO\*R  
(*parabola*)
432. 15,16 dixit ad illos + ad illos, unique; eis  
(*dixit*) VL *q*
433. 15,21 Sydonis = 0W  
(*Sidonis*)
434. 15,22 Channanea cannanea EpR;  
(*Chananea*) Cannania L

435. 15,25 ueniens adorauit  
(*uenit et adorauit*) ueniens adora- VL;  
ueniens VL *b d f ff<sup>1</sup> q*  
adorauit VL except *aur b d*  
*ff<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup>* (with adorabat)
436. 15,27 catuli  
(*catelli*) = EP\* LQR Hs
437. 15,30 claudos  
(*clodos*) = EK MTr RVWZ
438. 15,31 claudos  
(*clodos*) = EJK MTr RVWZ
439. 15,36 et accipiens Iesus  
(*et accipiens*) + Iesus  $\theta$ LQWZ\* Hs
440. 15,38 manducauerunt  
(*manducauerant*) = Ep  $\theta$ JK MTr VWZ
441. 15,39 dimisa  
(*dimissa*) = EL Hs
442. 15,39 Magidon (apparently)  
(*Magedon*) Magidan L
443. 16,1 Farissei  
(*Pharisei*) -iss- unique
444. 16,1 temptantes eum  
(*temptantes*) + eum VL *c*
445. 16,1 rogauerunt ut  
(*rogauerunt eum ut*) om. eum VL *ff<sup>2</sup>*
446. 16,3 tempestas erit  
(*tempestas*) + erit VL *a ff<sup>2</sup>*
447. 16,3 faciem ergo diiudicare  
(*faciem ergo caeli*  
*diiudicare*) om. caeli unique
448. 16,4 non potestis agnoscere  
(*non potestis*) + agnoscere, unique;  
Vg MSS + VL  
+ cognoscere, scire.
449. 16,18 Iesus autem sciens  
(*sciens autem Iesus*) > Ies. a. sc. unique

16,9-17,7 collated by B. Fischer

450. 16,9 panum in quinque (mil.)  
(*panum quinque mil.*) + in B Ep H $\theta$ JKMO  $\epsilon$ TV  
Hfhz and many other MSS

451. 16,10 panum et (*sic MS.*)  
quattuor m. pan(es) et VL *a ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> q*  
et quattuor milia hominum  
Hlhws<sup>2</sup>qibxyz, and many  
other MSS  
(*panum quattuor mil.*)
452. 16,3 interrogavit (mg. ba =  
-abat) -avit = mul, dimma; some  
other MSS  
(*interrogabat*)
453. 16,13 quem me homines dicunt  
esse filium Filium hominis quem me Hflhws\*rmixy;  
(*quem dicunt homines esse* BE\*JLOTZ\* and many  
*Filium hominis*) other MSS  
>homines dicunt  
E Hg and  
some other MSS
454. 16,14 de profetis de Ee\*; Btpc; Pg; Vl *d.*  
(*ex prophetis*)
455. 16,19 dabo tibi >Ym; VL *a q*  
(*tibi dabo*)
456. 16,20 praecipit = Ep LO; Hflhws\*rmqb;  
(*praecepit*) precipit L
457. 16,20 ipse esset Christus om. Iesus Hrgyz  
(*ipse esset Iesus Christus*)
458. 16,21 oportet eum oportet Hfhws\*s\*rmgqibxy  
(*oporteret eum*) and many other MSS
459. 16,23 Satanas = Hflhwsrmgqibxyz, and  
(*Satana*) several other MSS
460. 16,23 scandalum mihi es >VL *f*  
(*scandalum es mihi*)
461. 16,23 sed quae hominum om. ea Hhgyz, and some  
(*sed ea quae hominum*) other MSS
462. 16,24 abneget se ipsum sibi se ipsum = Hhwsriyz  
(*semetipsum*) se ipsum sibi E Hlmgqb
463. 16,26 commotationem = Ep L  
(*commutationem*)
464. 17,2 coram eis coram eis = Ggf Pn Cf Fi;  
(*ante eos*) coram illis (ipsis) VL *d o e*
465. 17,3 Elias = T  
(*Helias*)
466. 17,4 faciamus trea tabernacula om. hic R\*; E; Jwyz\*L  
(*fac. hic tria tab.*) trea, KLR + V
467. 17,4 Moysi = Hfhwrmgqixyz,  
(*mosi*) E, Jrgovuetk, and other MSS

468. 17,6 caeciderunt caecider. C  
(*ceciderunt*)
469. 17,7 dixitque eis nolite timere om. surgite et,  
(*dixitque eis surgite et* unique  
*nol. tim.*)
470. 17,9 discendentibus = Ep FLR  
(*desc-*)
471. 17,9 praecipit Hflhwsrgqiby; E, Ep.  
(*praecepit*)
472. 17,9 pr. Iesus nemini om. dicens Hg (= r<sup>2</sup>); Bl\*;  
(*pr. Ies. dicens nemini*) Ks
473. 17,10 quod Eliam oportet = Hflhwsrmgqibxyz<sup>m</sup>, E  
(*quod Heliam oporteat*) and many other MSS
474. 17,12 quod Elias (iam uenit) quod Hfg and some other  
(*quia Helias iam u.*) MSS
475. 17,13 Bap̄tista = L; Bab Hfw  
(*baptista*)
476. 17,14 miserere filio meo filio meo, Hflhwsrgqix  
(*miserere filii mei*) and several other MSS
477. 17,18 ex illa hora (h interl.)  
(*ex illa hora*)
478. 17,19 senapis sen- unique  
(*sinapis*)
479. 17,20 eiecitur = E MTr  
(*eicitur*)
480. 17,21 Gallilea Gall- unique  
(*Galilaea*)
481. 17,21 dixit Iesus om. illis VL *aur ff<sup>1</sup> r<sup>1</sup>*  
(*dixit Iesus illis*)
482. 17,22 contristati sunt + discipuli, unique;  
discipuli uehementer uehementer R; uehementer  
(*contristati sunt* L  
*uehementer*)
483. 17,23 dedragma = ER  
(*didragma*)
484. 17,23 (qui dedr. accipiebant) om. ad Petrum, VL *a*  
et dixerunt Petro *d ff<sup>1</sup> n*;  
(*qui did. acc. ad Petrum*  
*et dixerunt*) + Petro, VL *d*
485. 17,24 intrasset in domum + in BE Ep KKLM MTr  
(*intrasset domum*) QRVWZ
486. 17,26 amum = CHJM\*O\*QRT  
(*hamum*)



487. 18,1 quis potas pot- unique  
(*quis putas*)
488. 18,7 uae homini illi + illi HLQRT  
(*uae homini*)
489. 18,8 bonum est tibi > est tibi QRX\*  
(*bonum tibi est*)
490. 18,8 pedes habentem mitti in  
gehennam ignis uidete ne...  
(Amb omits v. 8b, 9a, mitti  
in ignem aeternum...oculos  
habentem)
491. 18,9 omitted in Amb
492. 18,10 contempnabis = θW  
(*condemnatis*)
493. 18,10 quod angelis quod, VL, except *f ff<sup>1</sup> L*  
(*quia angeli*)
494. 18,13 et (interl.) si contigerit om. et unique  
(*et si contigerit*)
495. 18,13 dico uobis gaudebit om. quia (quod,  
(*dico uobis quia gaud.*) quoniam) unique
496. 18,15 corripe illum illum, VL *c ff<sup>1</sup>, L*  
(*corripe eum*)
497. 18,26 in ore duorum uel > uel tr. test. EEp  
trium testium θLO <QRW  
(*in ore duorum testium uel*  
*trium*)
498. 18,18 allegaueritis = H  
(*alligaueritis*)
499. 18,18 legata le- unique  
(*ligata*)
500. 18,19 duobus ex uobis duobus ex uob.  
conuenerit conuenerit = VL *b f g<sup>1</sup> h*  
duobus conuenerit ex  
(*duo ex uobis consenserint*) uobis VL *ff<sup>2</sup>*
501. 18,19 de omni re quamcumque quamc. VL *aur*  
(with am-symbol) *c ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>2</sup>*  
(*de omni re quacumque*)
502. 18,20 congregati duo uel tres > c.d. uel tr. unique  
(*duo uel tres cong.*)
503. 18,24 caepisset = L  
(*coepisset*)

504. 18,25 et reddi debitum + debitum ABEKL MTr  
(*et reddi*) O<sup>sax</sup>QRX<sup>c</sup>YZ<sup>1</sup>
505. 18,26 procedens = AB Ep L\*O\*QRX\*Y  
(*prociens*)
506. 18,29 procedens + BE Ep L\*O\* (corr.  
(*prociens*) O<sup>sax</sup>)RXY
507. 18,30 misit illum illum VL *e*  
(*misit eum*)
508. 18,31 quae faciebat = VL *q*  
(*quae fiebant*)
509. 18,34 tradidit illum illum, unique  
(*tradidit eum*)
510. 18,34 debitum uniuersum > deb. un unique  
(*uniuersum debitum*)
511. 19,1 Gallilea Gall- unique  
(*Galilaea*)
512. 19,1 (in fines) Iudae = R  
(*in f. Iudaeae*)
513. 19,3 Farisei = Ep; Farissei LR  
(*Pharisei*)
514. 19,5 relinquet patrem et matrem relinquet E; VL *aur*  
(*with omission sign interl. b c d f ff<sup>2</sup>*  
*between rel. and patrem,*  
*but inserted word not visible*  
*in margins*) om. homo, J  
(*dimittet homo patrem et*  
*matrem*)
515. 19,6 coniuncxit = EFθ  
(*coniunxit*)
516. 19,6.8 Moyses = E Ep HθJK MTr O<sup>g</sup>RV  
(*Moses*)
517. 19,8 dimitti uxores (*but final i* dimitti, unique  
*of dimitti seems a cor-*  
*rection*)  
(*dimittere uxores*)
518. 19,9 ob causam fornicationis = Q  
(*ob fornicationem*)
519. 19,9 moechatur (with h interl.) moecatur X\*  
(*moechatur*)
520. 19,10 causa uiri uiri E, VL,  
(*causa hominis*) excep *fL e*
521. 19,12 eunuchizauerunt = BCJK MTr TVZ; VL *a,*  
(*castrauerunt*) *aur*

522. 19,13 (manus) illis (inponret) illis, VL *ff*<sup>1</sup>  
(*m. eis in p.*)
523. 19,13 increpant increpant, unique  
(*increpabant*)
524. 19,14 nolite eos (eos interl.) om. eos W; VL *b*  
prohibere  
(*nolite eos prohibere*)
525. 19,16 quid faciam ut om. boni VL *ff*<sup>2</sup>;  
(*quid boni faciam ut*)
526. 19,19 honora patrem tuum et  
matrem tuam + tuum  
CFHΘKMT<sup>ro</sup> <sup>sa</sup>RTWXZ  
(*honora patrem et matrem*) = tuam ER
527. 19,20,21 aduliscens unique; aduliscens  
(*adolescens*) SEKLMT<sup>r</sup> V
528. 19,23 ait = T  
(*dixit*)
529. 19,26 ait (illis) = E  
(*dixit illis*)
530. 20,2 cum operariis suis + suis unique  
(*cum operariis*)
531. 20,6 circa undecima uero undecima VL *ff*<sup>1</sup> (und.  
(*circa undecimam uero*) autem h.)
532. 20,6 otiosi tota die > = R; VL *hr*<sup>1</sup>  
(*tota die otiosi*)
533. 20,7 dicunt ei (om. in text; om. ei L  
added in marg., with om. sign in text)  
(*dicunt ei*)
534. 20,8 cum autem sero factum esset > aut. sero OQ;  
(*cum sero autem factum*  
*esset*) aut. serum R
535. 20,8 uiniaie = LR  
(*uineae*)
536. 20,8 mercidem = ELR  
(*mercedem*)
537. 20,9 circa horam undecimam  
uenerant > hora un. VL *c*  
(om. in text; added in lower marg.)  
(*circa undecimam horam*  
*uenerant*)

538.	20,9,10	dinarios ( <i>denarios</i> )	din- unique
539.	20,11	mormorauerunt ( <i>murmurabant</i> )	-auerunt VL except <i>aur fl</i>
540.	20,13	dinario ( <i>denario</i> )	= R ( + diurno )
541.	20,15	facere quod uolo de meis ( <i>quod uolo facere</i> )	>fac. q. uol. VL <i>b</i> <i>ff<sup>2</sup> q</i> + de meis, unique; in meis E, Q; de rebus meis VL <i>c r<sup>1</sup></i>
542.	20,16	multi enim sunt uocati ( <i>multi sunt enim uocati</i> )	>enim sunt CEHθKOQTW
543.	20,17	Hierusolimam ( <i>Hierosolymam</i> )	= Ep <sup>mg</sup> QR
544.	20,18	Hierusolimam ( <i>Hierosolymam</i> )	= O
545.	20,18	condempnabunt ( <i>condemnabunt</i> )	= EθRW
546.	20,23	ad dexteram meam uel sinistram ( <i>ad dex. meam et sinistram</i> )	uel ad s. JKMT <sup>r</sup> VZ uel a s. E aut ad s. Ep <sup>mg</sup> LQR
547.	20,25	(scitis) quod ( <i>s. quia</i> )	= E
548.	20,27	sit uester seruus ( <i>erit uester seruus</i> )	sit, unique
549.	20,30	(audierunt) quod ( <i>audierunt quia</i> )	= θO
550.	20,34	misertus est ( <i>misertus</i> )	+ est ER CatCelt
551.	21,1	Hierusolimis ( <i>Hierosolymis</i> )	= Ep LR <sup>sax</sup>
552.	21,4	inpleretur ( <i>impleretur</i> )	inpl. CFLT
553.	21,6	praecipit ( <i>praecepit</i> )	= Ep LQ
554.	21,8	plurimae autem turbae ( <i>plurima autem turba</i> )	-ae...ae = DQR CatCelt
555.	21,9	ossianna (s 2° may have been erased) fili Dauid ( <i>osanna filio Dauid</i> )	ossianna R; ossianna C fili DELWZ*; filii Ep*QR

556. 21,9 benedictus qui uenit uenit CDE Ep<sup>ms</sup>  
*(benedictus qui uenturus est)* (F)θOQRTWZ\* and <sup>1</sup>
557. 21,9 osianna in altissimis osianna C; ossianna  
*(osanna in altissimis)* R; ossanna DL
558. 21,10 Hierusolimam = DE Ep R;  
*(Hierosolymam)* Ierusolimam W
559. 21,12 Gallilea Gall- unique  
*(Galilaea)*
560. 21,12 eiciebat = D  
*(eiciebat)*
561. 21,12 mummolariorum -ol- BV  
*(mumulariorum)*
562. 21,13 dixit illis dixit VL, except *aur d g*<sup>1</sup>  
*(dicit eis)* illis, VL *b c f ff<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup> q*
563. 21,13 fecistis illam illam = (Vg W/W)  
*(fecistis eam)*
564. 21,15 quae Iesus fecit fecit + Iesus DEQR;  
*(quae fecit)* CatCelt  
 Iesus fecit unique
565. 21,15 osianna fili Dauid osianna C; ossianna R;  
*(osanna filio Dauid)* fili DELZ\*; CatCelt  
 filii EpQR
566. 21,21 ait om. eis DT  
*(ait eis)*
567. 21,21 tolle te et iacta te tolle + te DEFLMQRTW  
*(tolle et iacta te)*
568. 21,24 ait illis ait VL *aur*  
*(dixit illis)*
569. 21,35 babtisma baptisma VL *d l q*  
*(baptismum)*
570. 21,25 intra se intra DEθQR  
*(inter se)*
571. 21,25 dicit (nobis) dicit VL *ff<sup>1</sup> l*  
*(dicet n.)*
572. 21,25 quare non credidistis om. ergo VL *a b d*  
*(quare ergo non cred.)* *ff<sup>2</sup> q r<sup>1</sup>*
573. 21,26 (omnes) enim (enim interl.) habent no var. lec.  
*(omnes enim habent)* om. enim
574. 21,27 respondentes ad Iesum ad Iesus DRWX\*  
*(respondentes Iesu)*

575. 21,27 (*ait illis*) Iesus Iesus VL *e ff<sup>1</sup> h*  
(*ait illis et ipse*)
576. 21,28 *operare in uineam meam* uineam meam  
(*op. in uinea mea*) DEHJKMOQR <sup>sax</sup>TWZ\*
577. 21,30 *dixit dixit similiter* dixit dixit error  
(*dixit similiter*)
578. 21,30 *non abiit* abiit VL *aur c ff<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup> h r<sup>1</sup>*  
(*non iuit*)
579. 21,31 *dicunt ei primus* + ei BDE Ep <sup>ms</sup> K MTr  
(*dicunt nouissimus*) RV  
primus DEH, etc.  
and VL MSS
580. 21,31 *quod publicani* quod VL (*quod mer.*  
(*quia publicani*) et publ.)
581. 21,32-33 *habuistis ut crederitis ei.* om. *postea*  
(In marg., *aliam parabulam*  
*audite*) VL *aur*  
*homo erat* parabulam D Ep<sup>1</sup>  
(*habuistis postea ut*  
*crederetis ei.* LOR  
*Aliam parabulam audite*  
*homo erat*)
582. 21,33 *sepe circumdedit eam* saepe VG W/W  
(*sepe circumdedit ei*) eam VL, except *f*  
*ff<sup>1</sup> l*
583. 21,33 *agriculis* = BHLR  
(*agricolis*)
584. *acceperent de fructibus* de fructibus VL  
*uineae* except *f g<sup>1</sup> l*  
(*acciperent fructus eius*) uineae suae *ff<sup>1</sup>*
585. 21,35 *agriculae* = HLR  
(*agricolae*)
586. 21,35 *adpraehensis* = BE Ep FRZ\*  
(*adprehensis*)
587. 21,35 *ci(c)i erunt* (reading cederunt Ep HL<sup>0</sup> R\*Y  
not clear)  
(*cecid erunt*)
588. 21,37 *filium suum uerebuntur* om. *dicens* unique  
*forsitan filium meum* forsitan uerebuntur  
(*filium suum* *dicens*  
*uerebuntur*  
*filium meum*) VL *b c ff<sup>2</sup>*; >uer.  
for. unique

589. 21,38 coloni autem  
(*agricolae autem*) coloni VL except *aur*  
*g*<sup>1</sup> *l*
590. 21,38 inter se  
(*intra se*) inter LW
591. 21,39 adprachensum  
(*adprehensum*) adprach. BE Ep  $\theta Z^*$
592. 21,40 uinia  
(*uineae*) = DR
593. 21,40 agriculis  
(*agricolis*) = LR
594. 21,41 uineam conlocabit  
(*uineam locabit*) conlocabit unique
595. 21,42 capud  
(*caput*) = ELRW
596. 21,43 fructum  
(*fructus*) = DQR CatCelt
597. 21,44 caeciderit (twice)  
(*ceciderit*) = CE
598. 21,45 Farisei  
(*Pharisaei*) = Ep; Faris. D  
Farissei L;  
Farissaei R
599. 21,45 parabulas  
(*parabolas*) = D Ep LR
600. 21,1 dixit in parabolis  
iterum  
(*dixit iterum in parabolis*) > in par. iter. unique
601. 22,2 simile est regnum caelorum  
(*simile factum est reg. c.*) = VL, except *g*<sup>2</sup> *l* *ff*<sup>2</sup>
602. 22,4 paratum est  
(*parauit*) paratum est unique
603. 22,13 pedibus et manibus  
(*pedibus eius et manibus*) om. eius JQ
604. 22,16 Erodianis  
(*Herodianis*) = D
605. 22,17 uid/(end of line)  
tur (= uideatur?)  
(*uideatur*) uidetur many Vg MSS
606. 22,17 Caesari aut non  
(*caesari an non*) aut BCELQT
607. 22,19 dinarium  
(*denarium*) din- unique

608. 22,21 quae Caesaris sunt Caesari quae C. (caesari T) sunt CT;  
(*quae sunt Caesaris*) Cessari quae Cessari sunt R
609. 22,23 ad eum (with sign after eum) Saducei om. ad eum DR  
(*ad eum Sadducaei*)
610. 22,23 et (interl.) interrogabant -abant, unique  
(*et interrogauerunt*) om. et unique
611. 22,24 Moyses Moyses = DE Ep<sup>c</sup>  
(*Moses*) H0JKMTrTVY<sup>c</sup>
612. 22,25 non habens semen et reliquit + et VL *c ff*<sup>1</sup>  
(*non habens semen reliquit*)
613. 22,32 Isac = Ep L  
(*Isaac*)
614. 22,37 in toto corde tuo = Vulg. W/W; BCD Ep LQRT  
(*ex toto c. tuo*)
615. 22,40 pendit = H\*  
(*pendet*)
616. 22,43 quomodo Dauid om. ergo unique  
(*quomodo ergo Dauid*)
617. 22,45 si ergo Dauid in spiritu + in spiritu DE Ep<sup>mg</sup>  
uocat FQW  
(*si ergo Dauid uocat*)
618. 23,1 ad turbas et ad discipulos (et) + ad Vg  
(*ad turbas et discipulos*) W/W
619. 23,2 s. cathedram Moysi Moysi DE Ep H0IJK  
(*s. cath. Mosi*) MTrTVW
620. 23,4 honera grauia honera CDE Ep ORT  
(*onera grauia*)
621. 23,5 filacteria filacteria unique;  
(*phylacteria*) filactiria Ep LR
622. 23,6 recubitos -tos D<sup>c</sup> Ep  
FH\*JLMO\*RTYZ\*  
(*recubitus*)
623. 23,12 qui autem se humiliauerit > hum. exalt..ex.  
exaltabitur et qui se ex- hum. unique  
altabit  
humiliabitur  
(*qui autem se axaltauerit*  
*humiliabitur et qui se*  
*humiliauerit*  
*axaltabitur*)



624. 23,14 (13)...sinitis intrare.  
 (14) uae uobis scribae et  
 Pharisei hypocritae qui com-  
 editis domus uiduarum ora-  
 tione longa orantes propter  
 hoc amplius accipietis  
 iudicium. (15) Uae uobis ...  
 quia circuitis  
 ([13] sinitis intrare. [15] Vae  
 uobis  
 sc. et. Ph. hyp. quia cir-  
 cuitis)
- V. 14 is an interpolated passage  
 in the Vg (cf. Luke 20,47)*
- Interpolation  
 in QRT S<sup>mg</sup>; VL *b c*  
*ff*<sup>1</sup>, *r*<sup>1</sup>, with minor variants  
 = DLQR Ep T\*
625. 23,15 prosilitum  
 (*proselytum*)
626. 23,16 iurauerit in templum  
 (*iurauerit per templum*)
627. 23,16 debitor est  
 (*debet*)
628. 23,18 in altare  
 (*in altari*)
629. 23,18 debitor est  
 (*debet*)
630. 23,20 iurat in illud et in omnia  
 (*iurat in eo et in omnibus*)
631. 23,21 qui habitat  
 (*qui inhabitat*)
632. 23,23 mentam (interl., et anetum)  
 et cyminum  
 (*mentam et anethum et  
 cyminum*)
633. 23,25 pleni estis  
 (*pleni sunt*)
634. 23,26 Pharise (.ae, or sim. interl.)  
 (*Phariseae caece*)
635. 23,26 ut fiat id quod  
 (*ut fiat et id quod*)
636. 23,27 sepulc(h interl.)ris  
 (*sepulchris*)
- in temp. BDLQR  
 = DEL MTr O (debtor  
 O\*, corr O<sup>sax</sup>)  
 QRX\*Z\*, with VL MSS  
 -are = ADEKLQRXZ\*
- = DELQR (O debetor)
- in illus, unique  
 in omnia, unique  
 = BCDEHΘJKLMTr  
 QRTVWX\*Z
- om. anet(h)um unique
- p. estis = CDΘRTWX; pleni  
 estis sunt Q
- L Farisseae cece
- om et Ep<sup>mg</sup> L
- cris DOTWZ

637. 23,27 quae foris  
(*quae a foris*) quae foris FH\*T
638. 23,29 munumenta  
(*monumenta*) = R
639. 23,30 si fuissimus  
(*si fuissemus*) fuissim- unique
640. 23,30 non essimus  
(*non essemus*) essimus, unique
641. 23,34 profetas (et interl.)  
sapientes et scribas  
(*prophetas et sapientes et scribas*) profetas, om et X\*Z\*
642. 23,35 sanguinem Zachariae  
(interl. fili Barachiae) quem  
(*sanguinem Zachariae filii Barachiae quem*) om. fil. Bar. unique
643. 23,37 sub alis et  
(*sub alas et*) alis ( + suis)  
FR
644. 23,38 relinquetur  
(*relinquitur*) -quetur BCDE Ep HθJL MTr  
QRT\*VWX\*X
645. 24,2 dixit illis  
(*dixit eis*) illis BCELRTW
646. 24,2 destruatur  
(*destruatur*) dist- D Ep L
647. 24,4 uos seducat ullo modo  
(*uos seducat*) + ullo modo E
648. 24,6 nondum erit finis  
(*n. est finis*) erit unique
649. 24,11 seodo profetae  
(*pseudoprophetae*) seodo prof. DL (-te)R
650. 24,12 habundabit  
(*abundabit*) hab- CDE Ep RW
651. 24,12 karitas  
(*caritas*) kar- unique
652. 24,15 a D(a interl.)niele  
(*a Danihelo*) Daniele W; Danielo DE Ep  
JLRTWVYZ
653. 24,16 fugient  
(*fugiant*) -ient DθL
654. 24,17 discendat  
(*descendat*) disc- DE Ep LR
655. 24,17 de domu  
(*de domo*) domu DL MTr QRV

656. 24,18 uestem suam  
(*tunicam suam*) uestem unique; VL MSS  
uestimentum
- 656a. 24,19 praegnantibus  
(*praegnatibus*) -nant- BCEJL\*QWYZ<sup>3</sup>  
pregnant- D Ep K MTr OZ\*  
= L (seudo xpi, pseudo  
profetae)
657. 24,24 pseudochristi et  
seudoprofetae  
(*pseudoch. et pseudop.*)
658. 24,24 signa magna ita ut  
(*signa magna et prodigia ita  
ut*) om. et prodigia  
unique
659. 24,26 paenetrabilibus  
(*penetralibus*) paen- E;  
penetrabilibus B  
EpF0KL MTrORVW\*YZ  
-ul- Ep<sup>1</sup> LQR
660. 24,32 parabolam  
(*parabolam*)
661. 24,32 folia nascuntur  
(*folia nata*) nascuntur = VL a b ff<sup>2</sup> q
662. 24,33 scitote quoniam  
(*sc. quia*) quoniam Ep
663. 24,34 quoniam non praet.  
(*quia non pr.*) quoniam VL ff<sup>1</sup>
664. 24,34 donec omnia fiant  
(*don. omnia haec fiant*) om haec J MTr Z<sup>c</sup>
665. 24,37 sicut autem fuit  
in diebus Noe  
(*sicut autem in dieb. N.*) + fuit DER
666. 24,38 manducantes et bibentes  
et nuptum tradentes (in  
marg. nubentes)  
(*comedentes et bibentes  
nubentes et nuptum  
tradentes*) om. nubentes R\*
667. 24,38 diem cum intrauit Noe  
in arcam  
(*diem quo introiuit in ar-  
cam Noe*) diem cum unique  
> Noe in a. EQR
668. 24,44 ueniat  
(*uenturus est*) ueniat unique; ueniet VL d
669. 24,43 perfoderi  
(*perfodiri*) -eri unique; -ere VL ff<sup>2</sup>
670. ideo et uos stote parati  
(*ideoque et uos estote  
parati*) ideo et uos = Vg W/W;  
stote H

671. 24,44 quia nescitis qua hora >n.q.h. DEθKLMTr  
(*quia qua necistis hora*) QRTVZ\*
672. 24,47 super omnia bona constituet om. sua VL *b*  
(*sup. om. bon. sua con.*)
673. 24,50 hora qua nescit nescit VL *d*  
(*hora qua ignorat*)
674. 9 24,51 diuidit diuidit, VL *aur*;  
(*diuidet*) diuidiuit (sic) R
675. 25,1 obuiam sponso om. et sponsae unique  
(*ob. sponso et sponsae*)
676. 25,9 responderunt en (ap- n = ?; + autem DLQ  
parently) prudentes  
(*responderunt prudentes*)
677. 25,15 et profectus est abiit om. statim, vel  
(*et profectus est statim. Abiit*) sim. unique
678. 25,7,18,20,22,24 acciperat = E Ep R;  
(*acceperat*) acciperet L
679. 25,18 fodit in terram terram EHJLO\*TWX  
(*f. in terra*)
680. 25,18 paecuniam paec- E  
(*pec-*)
681. 25,20 alia quinque dicens om. talenta R  
(*alia quinque talenta dicens*)
682. 25,23 super multa super CDE Ep H°θJLMTr  
(*supra multa*) QRVW
683. 25,24 accidens accid- unique  
(*accedens*)
684. 25,24 durus homo >d.h. unique; durum  
(*homo durus*) hominem esse *ff*<sup>2</sup>; durus est  
homo *d*
685. 25,25 et timens te + te unique  
(*et timens*)
686. 25,25 in terram terram VL *f ff*<sup>2</sup> *g*<sup>1</sup>  
(*in terra*)
687. 25,27 oportuit ergo paecuniam paecun- E  
meam te dimittere num- dimi. unique  
mulariis) > Amb unique  
(*oportuit ergo te mittere pecuniam meam nummulariis*)

688. 25,28 *decim* = KL  
(*decem*)
689. 25,31 *cum illo* illo unique  
(*cum eo*)
690. 25,32 *haedis* haedis = Vg W/W; AO  
(*hedis*) EpQ
691. 25,33 *statuet quidem oues* >s.q.o. unique  
(*st. oues quidem*)
692. 25,33 *haedos* haedos = Vg W/W; AD  
(*hedos*) Ep FHΘLQRXYZ
693. 25,34 *dicit* = O\*; VL MSS  
(*dicet*)
694. 25,35, 43 *hospis* hospis BD Ep OR  
(*hospes*)
- 694a. 25,37 *et pauimus te* + te BY; VL MSS  
(*et pauimus*)
695. 25,35,43 *collegistis* = BDE Ep<sup>ms</sup> H<sup>1</sup>  
(*collexistis*) ΘJQTWX\*Z
696. 25,38 *collegimus* = Vg W/W; BCDE Ep<sup>ms</sup>  
(*colleximus*) ΘJKLTWX\*Z
697. 25,38 (col. te) *nudum et* om. aut D  
*cooperuimus te* + te BCDE Ep ΘJK MTr  
(*c.t. aut nudum et*  
*cooperuimus*) OQTVWXXZ
698. 25,40,41 *dicit* = LO  
(*dicet*)
699. 25,41 *qui praeparatus est* = Vg W/W; A Ep FHKL  
(*qui paratus est*) MTr O<sup>c</sup>QTVXYZ
700. 25,45 *respondebit eis* eis VL *d' h r*<sup>1</sup>  
(*resp. illis*)
701. 26,4 *occiderint* -int unique  
(*occiderent*)
702. 26,6 *Symonis* = CDETW  
(*Simonis*)
703. 26,7 *praetiosi* praec- = BE Ep HΘ\*JL MTr  
(*pret-*) OR
704. 26,7 *capud eius* capud LRE  
(*caput ipsius*) eius E\* Ep<sup>ms</sup> LQR cad(Hf)
705. 26,9 (uenumdari) *multo praetio* = EJ; multo pretio  
(*uen. multo*) BY<sup>c</sup>; pretio multo DL
706. 26,10 *ut quid (molesti)* ut quid VL *c*  
(*quid mol.*)

707. 26,10 opus enim bonum + enim R<sup>sax</sup> VZ; some  
(*opus bonum*) VL MSS
708. 26,11 (semper) habebitis = BDEFHθJKL MTr OQRT<sup>c</sup>  
(*s. habetis*) VWXZ<sup>2</sup>
709. 26,12 saepiliendum sepi. D  
(*sepiendum*)
710. 26,13 (quod) fecit haec = EQ  
(*quod haec fecit*)
711. 26,15 et ait om. illis unique  
(*et ait illis*)
712. 26,17 (prima autem) azemorum D Ep LR  
azemorum die (acceserunt) >aut. az. die unique  
(*prima autem azymorum* autem + die BDE  
*ac.*) EpFHθJKL MTr OQWY<sup>c</sup>  
pr. die autem RX
713. 26,17 tibi (man)ducare Q manducare pacha  
pascha (man not visible manducare pascha VL *a c d*  
in photo; lost in margin) f ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>1</sup> (-scham)  
(*tibi comedere pascha*)
714. 26,18 ite in ciuitate -ate = VL *a b d g*<sup>1</sup>  
(*ite in ciuitatem*)
715. 26,20 (cum duodecim) discipulis + suis BCEFθJK  
suis MTr OTVWXZ  
(*cum d. discipulis*)
716. 26,21 aedentibus = CD  
(*edentibus*)
717. 26,22 caeperunt = L  
(*ceperunt*)
718. 26,24 tradetur = BDE Ep Hθ KL MTr  
(*traditur*) QRVWX\*Z<sup>2</sup> CatCelt
719. 26,26 caenantibus caen- (Vg W/W  
(*cen-*) CDEHθJK MTr OQV
720. 26,26 (accipite et) manducate = LR CatCelt  
(*acc. et comedite*)
721. 26,27 bibete -ete unique  
(*bibite*)
722. 26,28 effundetur = BCDE Ep θ JKL MTr  
(*effunditur*) QRTVWXZ
723. 26,30 ymno = D Ep WZ\*  
(*hymno*)
724. 26,32 surrexero = D  
(*resurrexero*)

725. 26,32 Gallileam                      Gall- unique  
       (*Galilaeam*)
726. 26,36 Gethsamani                Gethsa- QRZ\*  
       (*Gethsemani*)
- 26,39-58; 27,29-46 collated by B. Fischer
727. 26,39 procedit (in faciem)        = DE Ep LOX (B. Fisch  
       (*procidit in fac.*)                Hflhwsmqdic\*abx\*y)
728. 26,39 sed sicut tu uis            + uis BDE Ep <sup>mg</sup>  
       (*sed sicut tu*)                    H 0LOQRTXY cZ\* (B.  
    Fischer Hflhwsmqdiabz
729. 26,40 ad discipulos suos        = suos BDE Ep F I <sup>mg</sup>  
       (*ad discipulos*)                JKL MTr\* ORX c (B. Fischer  
    Hflhwsmqdicabx
730. 26,41 prumptus                    = DE Ep KL MTr RV  
       (*promptus*)                    (prumptus LZ<sup>3</sup>)
731. 26,42 orauit eundem            + eun. ser. only Ji Kr (=   
       sermonem dicens                Mark 14,39)  
       (*orauit dicens*)
732. 26,42 (si non) possibile est    pos. est t. c.  
       transire calicem nisi illum    unique  
       bibam                            >il. bib. DEp QR;  
       (*si non potest hic calix tran-    Hfe*  
       sire nisi bibam illum)
733. 26,45 tradetur                    = Vg W/W; many  
       (*traditur*)                    MSS (B. Fischer,  
    Hflhwsmngqdicabxyz)
734. 26,47 et fustibus missi        = misi, E Ep LR; B.  
       a principibus                Fischer, (misi a)  
       (*et fustibus a prin.*)        Hflwrmngqdicabxyz
735. 26,48 ipse est (est interl.)    om. est unique  
       (*ipse est*)
736. 26,49 aue rabbi                aue 0JKL MTr VW (B.  
       (*haue rabbi*)                Fischer, Hflhsm<sup>2</sup>ngqibxz
737. 26,51 eximit                    = DR\*; Hay  
       (*exemit*)
738. 26,51 percussit... et            = E0QRX\*Z (B.  
       amputauit                    Fischer, Hrmgqexz)  
       (*percutiens...amputauit*)
739. 26,52 acciperint                = BDE Ep LY (B.  
       (*acceperint*)                Fischer, Hlism<sup>2</sup>ndie\*bxy

740. 26,53 potas me modo p. me m. n. pos. unique  
non posse rogare  
(*putas quia non possum*  
*rogare*)
741. 26,55 conpraehendere conprac- E Ep<sup>ms</sup> θ MTr  
(*conprehendere*)
742. 26,57 Caifan = Ep\* LT (B. Fischer,  
(*Caiaphan*) Hlhwsnmngqicabxyz)
743. 26,61 et dixerunt audiuius aud. hunc d + VL *b*  
hunc dixisse possum  
distruere *c ff<sup>2</sup> b r<sup>1</sup>*  
(*et dixerunt hic dixit*  
*possum*  
*destruere*) dist- = D Ep LR
744. 26,61 et in triduo illud in trid. = VL *q*  
reaedificare reaed. + D Ep<sup>ms</sup>  
H<sup>c</sup>θO<sup>s</sup>W<sup>;</sup>  
(*et post triduum aedificare*  
*illud*) >illud reaed. VL *b ff<sup>2</sup> b*  
*r<sup>1</sup>*
745. 26,64 a dextris uirtutis Dei = Dei FT  
(*a dextris uirtutis*)
746. 26,67 colaphis eum caederunt caed. = BL MTr YZ<sup>c</sup>;  
(*colaphis eum ceciderunt*) ceder- D Ep IR
747. 26,69 Gallileo Gall- unique  
(*Galilaeo*)
748. 26,70 coram omnibus om. dicens unique  
(*coram omnibus dicens*)
749. 26,71 uidit illum alia illum VL *a b n q*  
ancilla et ait + ancilla VL MSS  
(*uidit eum alia et ait*)
750. 26,71 cum Iesu Nazareo Nazareo = L  
(*cum Iesu Nazareno*)
751. 26,74 coepit dicere et iurare dicere unique  
(*coepit detestari et iurare*)
752. 26,74 statim gallus cantauit statim VL *b r<sup>1</sup>*  
(*et continuo gallus cantauit*)
753. 26,75 fleuit amare fleuit DE Ep F  
(*plorauit amare*) I(?)JK(L)M M  
MTr QRTVWX\*Z
754. 27,1 (consilium) fecerunt = BLO\*QR  
(*c. inierunt*)



755. 27,3	quia dampnatus est ( <i>quod damnatus esset</i> )	quia BCD Ep LQRT dampn- DEθRW est BCDLRX*
756. 27,6	in corban ( <i>in corbanan</i> )	= D Ep LR*; curban Q
757. 27,7	(consilio...) accepto ( <i>consilio ...inito</i> )	= VL <i>a b d fff<sup>2</sup> h q</i>
758. 27,7	in sepultura ( <i>in sepulturam</i> )	= HK MTr
759. 27,8	Ach(h interl)eldemac ( <i>Acheldemach</i> )	aceldemac T
760. 27,13	(dicit) ei ( <i>d. illi</i> )	ei R
761. 27,13	dicunt ( <i>dicant</i> ) <sup>ORTVWZ</sup>	= BCE Ep <sup>ms</sup> θKL MTr
762. 27,14	illi ullum uerbum ( <i>ei ad ummul uerbum</i> )	illi VL <i>q</i> om. ad T; VL, except q
763. 27,14	uehementer ( <i>uehementer</i> )	= D 'R
764. 27,15	sollempnem ( <i>sollemnem</i> )	= DθLRW
765. 27,16	Barabbas qui propter homicidium missus fuerat in carcerem. Congregatis ( <i>Barabbas. Congregatis</i> )	+ qui p.h.m.f.i.c. H <sup>ms</sup> θW (ex Lk 18,19)
766. 27,17	autem (illis) ( <i>ergo illis</i> )	= R
767. 27,19	(propter) illum ( <i>propter eum</i> )	= ER*; per illum L
768. 27,20	principes (...sacerdotum) ( <i>princeps ... sac.</i> )	= Vg W/W; BDE Ep LQRTWZ, etc.
769. 27,20	(persuaserunt) populo ( <i>per. populis</i> )	= E*R
770. 27,20	Barabbam ( <i>Barabban</i> )	-bam VL <i>ff<sup>2</sup> h</i>
771. 27,20	perdirent ( <i>perderent</i> )	-dirent unique
772. 27,21	quem uultis de duobus dimitti ( <i>quem uultis uobis de d. dim.</i> )	om. uobis VL L
773. 27,24	Pylatus ( <i>Pilatus</i> )	= CDR

774. 27,27 in praeturio -tur- unique  
(*in praetorio*)
775. 27,28 clamidem = E Ep <sup>1</sup>FH\* MTr TVWY  
(*clamidem*)
- 27,29-46 collated by B. Fischer
776. 27,29 capud = BRT  
(*caput*)
777. 27,29 arundinem = θJLORTW  
(*harundinem*)
778. 27,29 in dexteram eius -am DθJKLQR  
(*in dextera eius*)
779. 27,29 aue = DθJK MTr RVW  
(*haue*)
780. 27,30 acciperunt arundinem acciperunt DE Ep LO\*  
(*acceperunt harund.*) arund- Ep θJKLORTW
781. 27,30 capud = BERWY  
(*caput*)
782. 27,30 clamidem = BE Ep FOR<sup>c</sup>  
(*clamidem*)
783. 27,31 induerunt uestimentis eius om. eum E  
(*induerunt eum uest. eius*)
784. 27,32 inuenerunt hominem + uenientem obuam  
Cyreneum uenientem (obiam X<sup>2</sup>) sibi, B  
obuam Ep <sup>mg</sup>ILO\* <sup>sax</sup>RX\*, <sup>zyc</sup>Z  
uenientem in obuam illis E; uenientem  
sibi nomine Symonem hunc in obiam sibi Q  
angarazauerunt ut tolleret Symonem, CDEJWX\*;  
(*inuenerunt hominem* angarizauerunt DE  
*Cyreneum* Ep <sup>1</sup>LQR; angarisau- E; -  
*nomine Simonem hunc* garaz- unique  
*angariauerunt*)
785. 27,34 (cum felle) mixto = J  
(*cum f. mixtum*)
786. 27,35 diuiserunt sibi uestimenta = BQX  
(*diuiserunt uestimenta*)
787. 27,35 et (puncta above and  
below) sorte VL f  
sorte mittentes  
(*sortem mittentes*)

788. 27,35 (mittentes) ut inpletur quod dictum est per profetam dicentem diuiserunt sibi uestimenta (mea interl.) et super uestem meam miserunt sortem. Et sedentes (*mittentes. Et sedentes*) = (with minor variants, in W/W, in ABE Ep<sup>ms</sup> H<sup>c</sup> 0KMT<sup>r</sup> O\*QWXYZ
789. 27,37 capud (*caput*) = BR
790. 27,40 (dicentes) ua qui distruebas templum Dei et in triduo illud reaedificabas (*dicentes qui destruit templum et in triduo illud reaedificat*) ua BD Ep<sup>ms</sup> ILO<sup>c</sup>QR distruebas...reaedificabas Ep<sup>ms</sup> LQRX\*; VL MSS
791. 27,40 (si filius Dei es) et discende (*si filius Dei es discende*) + et VL a b c d b
792. 27,41 inludentes eum cum scribis (*inl. cum scribis*) + eum E; VL c f ff<sup>2</sup> b q r<sup>2</sup>
793. 27,41 cum scribis et fariseis (*cum scribis et senioribus*) Pharisaeis 0, VL a b ff<sup>2</sup> q
794. 27,42 discendat (*descendat*) = D Ep LO<sup>c</sup>R
795. 27,42 et credimus (*et credemus*) credimus Vg W/W
796. 27,43 credat in Deo (*confidet in Deo*) credat unique
797. 27,44 qui crucifixi erant (*qui fixi erant*) crucifixi Vg W/W
798. 27,46 lama zabathani (*lema sabacthani*) = W; lamasabatha L
799. 27,46 Deus Deus meus (*Deus meus Deus meus*) om. Deus 1° JQX\*
800. 27,46 quare me dereliquisti (*ut quid dereliquisti me*) quare ERT > me d. EJLO<sup>s</sup>RT
801. 27,47 illic stantes dicebant (*illic stantes et audientes dicebant*) om. et aud. VL q
802. 27,48 spungiam (*spongiam*) = O\*T; spongeam Ep L

803. 27,48 arundini = Ep 0JLORW  
(*harundini*)
804. 27,49 an uenit uenit VL *a d f ff<sup>2</sup> q r<sup>1</sup>*  
(*an ueniat*)
805. 27,51 petrae excisae sunt excisae unique  
(*petra scissae sunt*)
806. 27,53 (surrexerunt)/ (new line) exeuntes om. et Z\*; VL *aur*  
(*sur. et exeuntes*)
807. 27,53 multis apparuerunt > m.a. LR  
(*apparuerunt multis*)
808. 27,55 a longe uidentes + uidentes LR  
(*quae secutae*)  
(*a longe quae*)
809. 27,55 secutae fuerant = CDEQRWX  
(*secutae erant*)
810. 27,55 a Gallilea Gall- unique  
(*a Galilaea*)
811. 27,56 (Maria) Magdalanæ Magdalenæ, BCDE Ep F0K  
MTr  
et Maria Iacobi et Ioseph O <sup>s</sup>VZ; -anae unique  
et mater filiorum Zebedei om. mater 1°, R  
(*Magdalene et Maria Iacobi*  
*et Ioseph mater et mater filiorum Zeb.*)
812. 27,58 Pylatum = CDR  
(*Pilatum*)
813. 27,58 pet/(margin)it petit ABDE Ep FH\*J  
(= petiit?; or petit?) MTr OQRYZ\*  
(*petiit*)
814. 27,58 Pylatus = CDER  
(*Pilatus*)
815. 27,58 in sindone munda in s. Vg W/W  
(*sindone munda*)
816. 27,60 hostium hos- CD Ep ILOT  
(*ostium*)
817. 27,61 Magdalena -ena LR  
(*Magdalene*)
818. 27,62 Pylatum = CDER  
(*Pilatum*)
819. 27,63 post tertiam diem = ELQR  
(*post tres dies*)
820. 27,61 iobe io- unique  
(*iube*)

821. 27,64 saepulchrum                    saep- E  
       (*sep-*)
822. 27,64 (peior) priori                = BD Ep H<sup>1</sup> θJLO<sup>g1</sup>  
       (*peior priore*)
823. 27,65 Pylatus                    = EDR  
       (*Pilatus*)
824. 27,66 monierunt                mon- unique  
       (*munierunt*)
825. 28,1 luciscit                    luciscit unique  
       (*lucescit*)                    luciescit R
826. 28,1 Magdalena                -ena R CatCelt  
       (*Magdalene*)
827. 28,1 saepulchrum                saep- CE  
       (*sepulchrum*)
828. 28,2 descendit                disc- D Ep LQR  
       (*descendit*)
829. 28,3 fulgor                    -or CDE Ep H\*IJLQR  
       (*fulgur*)
830. 28,3 uestimenta                -ta DE Ep HKL MTr  
     RTVX\*Z  
       (*uestimentum*)
831. 28,6 uenite et uidete            + et CDEFHθKL MTr  
     QRTWX  
       (*uenite uidete*)
832. 28,7 Gallileam                Gall- unique  
       (*Galilaeam*)
833. 28,7 ecce dixi uobis                dixi CEILR\*T<sup>c</sup>, and VL  
       (*ecce praedixi uobis*)
834. 28,8 gaudio magno                    > BCDEEp θJKLMTr  
     OQRTVWXXZ  
       (*magno gaudio*)
835. 28,9 auete                    = DθJK MTr RV  
       (*hauete*)
836. 28,10 Gallileam                Gall- unique  
       (*Galilaeam*)
837. 28,12 paecuniam                paec- E  
       (*pecuniam*)
838. 28,15 paecunia                paecuniam E  
       (*pecunia*)
839. 28,15 edocti                    edocti Q; VL *e q*  
       (*docti*)
840. 28,15 deuulgatum                deuu- BDE Ep OR  
       (*diuulgatum*)

841.	28,11	Gallileam ( <i>Galilaeam</i> )	Gall- unique
842.	28,19	euntes ergo nunc (interl.) docete ( <i>euntes ergo dicete</i> )	+ nunc DELQR Columbanus, euntes nunc
843.	28,19	babtizantes eas ( <i>baptizantes eos</i> )	babtisz- unique eas DR
844.	28,19	fili ( <i>fili</i> )	fili EFLY

## APPENDIX

CODEX AMB 16 I SUP. : IRISH, ITALIAN AND VETUS LATINA AFFILIATIONS  
IN SELECTED PASSAGES

I give here a collation of the texts (136 in all) of the four pericopes of Matthew's Gospel examined by Bonifatius Fischer in *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert. I. Varianten zu Matthäus*, i.e. Mat 2,19 - 4,17; 8,2 - 9,6; 16,9 - 17,17 and finally 26,39-58; 27,29-46. In this collation I give the full evidence from the J (Italy) and H (Ireland, Wales, Scotland) group of texts. I also add Vetus Latina texts from Fischer's collation and occasionally evidence from other groups (e.g. B[retagne]) and evidence from the Apparatus of Wordsworth and White's critical edition of the Gospels.

*Abbreviations as indicated above.*

- |    |      |                                   |   |
|----|------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. | 2,21 | accipit<br>( <i>accepit</i> )     | ELQR Hs;<br>B. Fischer 11023h:<br>Xl* J <sup>i</sup> Hfihwsrqicbxz*<br>= L*QR |
| 2. | 2,22 | Archilaus<br>( <i>Archelaus</i> ) | B. Fischer, nil   |

- |     |      |   |   |
|-----|------|---|---|
| 3.  | 2,22 | illuc (ire)<br>( <i>illo ire</i> )  | B. Fischer Xql*o*<br>Jfw <sup>2</sup> gix <sup>2</sup> ;<br>Hflhws*rmqdicbxyz<br>= CDLR   |
| 4.  | 2,23 | adinpleretur<br>( <i>adimpleretur</i> )   | B. Fischer nil<br>= CEL*RZ*   |
| 5.  | 3,1  | Iohannis<br>( <i>Iohannes</i> )   | B. Fischer nil<br>= DLR   |
| 6.  | 3,3  | profetam<br>( <i>prophetam</i> )  | B. Fischer nil<br>= DEQR  |
| 7.  | 3,4  | Iohannis<br>( <i>Iohannes</i> )   | B. Fischer 11084v Xuo Ji<br>Hfhwsrqdicby  |
| 8.  | 3,4  | locusta<br>( <i>locustae</i> )  | locusta HZ*<br>B. Fischer 11099z Xca ?lo<br>Jgz*iu Hflsmdx<br>(locustae Jrfwjz*yqxdblvetk;<br>Hhwrqicbyz)                                       |
| 9.  | 3,5  | exiebant hieru/<br>solimitae<br>( <i>exiebat ad eum</i><br><i>Hierosolyma</i> ) | exiebant<br>B. Fischer Xbuq Jgyi Hi*x<br>Btwebr <sup>2</sup> lm*x <sup>2</sup> cf<br>Hierusolomitae, B. Fischer<br>11104f Ji Gf Zw<br>= DELQRTW |
| 10. | 3,5  | Iudea<br>( <i>Iudaea</i> )  |   |
| 11. | 3,5  | Iordanen ad eum<br>( <i>Iordanen</i> )  | > ad eum, unique; Fischer<br>11102f   |
| 12. | 3,7  | Phariseorum<br>( <i>Phariseorum</i> )   | = D   |
| 13. | 3,7  | Saduceorum<br>( <i>Sadducaeorum</i> )   | = RW  |
| 14. | 3,7  | ab ira uentura<br><br>( <i>a futura ira</i> )                                   | B. Fischer 11129g, 11130h:<br>Xcau Jgi Hfs (VL a c f)<br>> a uentura ira W  |
| 15. | 3,9  | inter (uos)<br>( <i>intra uos</i> )   | B. Fischer 11136h: Xa Ji<br>Hrmic   |
| 16. | 3,9  | potens est Deus<br>( <i>potest Deus</i> )                                       | potens est B. Fischer<br>11144w: Xcabuql* Jgix*vet<br>Hzm (potest<br>Jrfwzyqx <sup>2</sup> dbluk;<br>Hflhwsrmqdicbxyz <sup>1</sup> )            |
| 17. | 3,10 | possita est<br>( <i>posita est</i> )  | DELQR   |

18. 3,10 excidetur et ...  
mittetur  
(*exciditur et ...mittitur*)  
-etur ...-etur B. Fischer  
1160v: Xcabql  
*Jw<sup>2</sup>gz<sup>2</sup>yix<sup>2</sup>bvet*  
Hflhwsmqdicbxyz;  
B[retagne) MSS
19. 3,11 ego autem  
(*ego quidem*)  
autem unique; B. Fischer  
11162u
20. 3,11 baptiszo  
(*baptizo*)  
= E
21. 3,11 baptiszabit  
(*baptizabit*)  
-isza- unique
22. 3,12 triticum suum  
in horreum suum  
(*triticum suum in horreum*)  
B. Fischer 11184j: *Ji* Sm\*  
Ta<sup>2</sup> Ob<sup>2</sup> Vi\* Zk  
trit. in horreum suum Xo  
*Jwz\*ykx\*bl* Hcz Bba\*Imos\*  
in horreo suo VL *b*
23. 3,13 baptiszaretur  
(*baptizaretur*)  
= E
24. 3,14 Iohannis  
(*Iohannes*)  
= DEE\*L\*R
25. 3,14 baptisari  
(*baptizari*)  
= E\*
26. 3,15 implere  
(*implere*)  
= CDLQ
27. 3,16 dimisit eum baptisari  
confestim ascendit  
(*dimisit eum. Baptizatus  
autem confestim ascendit*)  
d. eum. bap. *Ji* unique et  
et confestim (for autem  
con.) *Ji* unique (B. Fischer  
11227t)  
confestim et CatCelt
28. 3,16 super eum (se interl.  
above eum)  
(*super se*)  
super eum VL *d f*  
B. Fischer 11240h: Xd  
*Jgi\** Hs Yw\*
29. 4,2 esuriit  
(*esuriit*)  
B. Fischer 11264h: Xl *Ji*  
Hfhy
30. 4,4 in solo pane  
(*in pane solo*)  
Fischer 11282e: Xa *Jix<sup>2</sup>e*.  
Most  
J and H MSS have Vg  
reading = WX<sup>c</sup>; VL *a aur*
31. 4,4 uiuit  
(*uiuet*)  
= Vg W/W; many J, H and  
Vg MSS



32. 4,5 adsumpsit  
(*adsumit*) -sit Fischer 11291w; several J(18), H(15), B(28) Vg and VL MSS
33. 4,6 ut manibus  
(MS Amb possibly also  
ut inanibus)  
(*et in manibus*) ut B. Fischer 11307g:  
Xkcbuho  
*Jg ?yi Hldxyz*<sup>2</sup>  
om. in Hm\*
34. 4,6 (ut...) tollant  
(*et...tollent*) B. Fischer 11309g: Xcabuho  
*Jgyi Hdyz*
35. 4,7 rursum ait illi Iesus  
scriptum est  
(*ait illi Iesus rursum s.est*) >rur. ait unique, Fischer  
11315u
36. 4,8 adsumpsit illum diabolus  
(*adsumit eum diab.*) adsumpsit Fischer 11324w:  
Xkcabuho  
*Jrnwgyzyikxblvnetk*  
Hflhwsmqdicbxyz; many  
MSS of B and other groups  
assumpsit DK MTr VWY\*  
assumsit XZ<sup>2</sup> (adsumit Xlz  
*Jfmd* Nay\*r Eb Sc Gd\*)  
illum Fischer 11325k: Xkl\*  
*Ji*
37. 4,9 procedens (= procidens)  
(*cadens*) Fischer 11337g: procidens  
Xcabuh *Jgjiq*<sup>2x</sup> Hs  
(precedens Xau *Jfix*<sup>2</sup> Hs)
38. 4,10 uade (retro)  
satanas (space;  
after uade; erasure?  
what erased not clear in  
microfilm)  
(*uade Satanas*) Fischer 11342g: vade  
retro satanas Xca?uo  
*Jwz\*i\*qxb*  
Hflhwsmqdicbz Be Ge
39. 4,13 Iohannis  
(*Iohannes*) = DE Ep R
40. 4,13 (Caph.) maritimum  
(*c. maritimam*) Fischer 11369c: *Ji* Hs
41. 4,14 ut inpleretur  
(*ut adimpleretur*) impl- Fischer 11373w:  
Xkabhlo *Jrnfwiox*<sup>2</sup> *dbl*  
Hfqcx<sup>2</sup>yz = C Ep\* Q;adimp-  
some J, many H and very  
many B MSS
42. 4,14 profetam  
(*prophetam*) others = D Ep LOQR; and many

43. 4,13,15 Neptalin  
(*Nephtalim*) unique; nepta Hd  
Nepthalin Jz  
Neptalim very  
many H MSS; Ep (Ge), and  
others
44. 4,16 (in regione) umbrae  
(*in reg. et umbra mortis*) umbrae, Fischer 11393w:  
Xbh *Jiq<sup>2</sup>uk*; many  
B[retagne] but no H MSS
45. 8,5 quidam centurio  
(*centurio*) + quidam Fischer 12036g:  
Xkcabuhq *Ji* Hlsmqdi
46. 8,6 (eum) dicens  
(*eum et dicens*) om. et, Fischer 12039c: *Jix\**  
Ea\* Hf Zm\* Pi\*
47. 8,6 in domu  
(*in domo*) Fischer 12044v: *Ji* Hhrmqb
48. 8,7 ego ueniens et  
(*ego ueniam et*) ueniens et unique, Fischer  
12052t; ueniens Xcah
49. 8,9 ego homo sub  
(*ego homo sum sub*) om. sum, Fischer 12069f:  
*Ji\**  
Hl Uz\*
50. 8,9 sub potestate constitutus  
(*sub potestate habens sub*  
*me*) Fischer 12071i:  
Xkcabuhq *Jwyiq<sup>2</sup>k<sup>2</sup>*  
Hhsmqdi bzx
51. 8,9 sermio  
(*seruo meo*) sermio error for seruo meo?  
Fischer 12077v: sermo meo  
Ok\*; ser<vo meo> *Jn*
52. 8,11 Isac  
(*Isaac*) = Ep LR CatCelt
53. 8,12 regni huius  
(*regni*) Fischer 12102g: Xcbuh *Jwgi*  
Hflhwsrqdibxyz
54. 8,12 erit  
(*ibi erit*) Fischer 12106h: ubi *Ji* Hrbz  
Pi\*; CatCelt
55. 8,13 in illa hora  
(*in hora illa*) >in illa h. Fischer 12119w;  
several VL, J and H MSS
56. 8,16 (ei)ciebat uer(bo)  
spiritus  
(*eiciebat spiritus uerbo*) >uer. sp. et omn.  
unique; Fischer 12140k:  
uerbo spir.inmundos  
Hr Btk\*c; Bk<sup>2</sup>
57. 8,17 accipit  
(*accepit*) Fischer 12153h: Xk *Jio\**  
Hflhwsrmqiby; Ge (Ep)
58. 8,18 circa se  
(*circum se*) Fischer 12162h: Xuh *Jiq*  
Hlhwsrmdib

59. 8,20 (uolucres caeli)  
nidos ubi requiescant.  
Filius)  
*(Vg, u.c. tabernacula.  
Filius)*  
nidos ubi requiescant Fischer  
12185j: Xcabuhqo Ji; VL;  
nidos ubi requiescunt,  
Hwq, Be( = E)  
nidos tabernacula Hd
60. 8,20 capud  
*(caput)*  
= LQRW
61. 8,23 in nauiculam ( = Vg W/W)  
*(in nauicula)*  
-am, Fischer  
12209w: Xca Jzioxdvbuatk  
Hfdbyz; several B and other  
MSS
62. 8,25 et accesserunt discipuli  
eius et sus. eum  
*(et accenserunt et  
suscitauerunt eum)*  
+ dis. eius, Fischer  
1226g: Xb Ji Hm  
Pg Lb\*?  
ad eum disc. eius et susc.  
eum Hfwdibxz
63. 8,27 homines autem illi  
*(porro homines)*  
hom. aut. illi, Fischer  
12241h: Xlo Ji Hi and some  
other MSS; illi aut. h. Many  
VL MSS; Hw
64. 8,29 et exclamauerunt  
*(et ecce clamauerunt)*  
(om. ecce). Fischer  
12263g: Xcabuhl Jgibl\* Hm  
Ea ( = aur) and some other  
MSS; exclamauerunt  
Xdca?uql Jgibl<sup>2</sup> Hlmsmdi
65. 8,33 fugierunt  
*(fugerunt)*  
Fischer 12300h: Xbuo Jji  
Hwds
66. 8,34 ecce ciuitas  
*(ecce tota ciuitas)*  
om. tota; Fischer 12309i:  
Ji Hs Na\*
67. 9,5 tibi peccata tua  
*(tibi peccata)*  
+ tua, Fischer 12355w:  
Xcauhqlo Jgyix\*  
Hfhwsmqdi?b Be; Ep<sup>ms</sup>
68. 9,6 surge et tolle  
grabatum tuum  
*(surge tolle lectum tuum)*  
+ et; Fischer 12366g:  
Xkdaho  
Jid Hflhwsrqdibz Be  
grab(b)atum, Fischer  
12367h: Xah Ji Hmyz Ge  
( = Ep)

69. 16,9 panum in quinque (mil.) + in Fischer 13007b (who  
(*panum quinque mil.*) reads here *Ji* and Btec<sup>2</sup>: in  
quinque hominum, om.  
milia); in quinque milia  
hom. *Jgyq<sup>2</sup>o<sup>2</sup>u*, Hfhz Ep  
and other MSS
70. 16,10 panum et (*sic MS.*) Fischer 13013i (who reads  
quattuor m. here *Ji* and Bn: et quattuor  
(*panum quattuor mil.*) hominum, om. milia); et  
quattuor mil. hom.  
*Jz<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>oxbetk* Hlhws<sup>2</sup>qibxyz,  
and many other MSS et  
quattuor milia hominum  
Hlhws<sup>2</sup>qibxyz, and many  
other MSS
71. 16,13 interrogavit (mg. ba = -avit, Fischer 13036h:  
(*interrogabat*) *Jgi\* Hmi*
72. 16,13 quem me homines dicunt quem me Fischer  
esse filium hominis 13039z: Xedabfql  
(*quem dicunt homines esse Js<sup>2</sup>fwmgz\*yiqo<sup>2</sup>x\*dbl*  
*Filium hominis*) Hflhws\*rmixy Be\*  
homines dicunt esse,  
Fischer 13040b, Xeabrq  
*Ji\* Hg Ee Be*
73. 16,14 de profetis de, Fischer 13047g: Xd  
(*ex prophetis*) *Ji\* Ee\**; Btpl] ?c; Pg
74. 16,19 dabo tibi > Fischer 13081i: XaqJiYm  
(*tibi dabo*)
75. 16,20 praecipit Fischer 13095c: *Jio*  
(*praecepit*) Hflhws\*rmqb Ge  
(precipit Hl)
76. 16,20 ipse esset Christus om. Iesus, Fischer  
(*ipse esset Iesus Christus*) 13101g: Xeabfo *Jnyio\**  
Hrgyz
77. 16,21 oportet eum oportet, Fischer 13106z:  
(*oporteret eum*) Xdcabfql *Jfwmgz\*yiqx\*lu*  
Hflhw]s]rmgqibxy Be
78. 16,23 Satanas Fischer 13131w:  
(*Satana*) *Jfwyiqx\*blvetk*  
Hflhwsrmgqibxyz Be etc.,  
Satana, many J group MSS

79. 16,23 scandalum mihi es  
(*scandalum es mihi*)      >Fischer 13132c,u: Xe  
Jgi<sup>2</sup>q<sup>2</sup>; scan. mihi est Ji\*
80. 16,23 sed quae hominum  
(*sed ea quae hominum*)      om. ea, Fischer 13137h  
(see also 13136h)  
Xdabf<sup>2</sup>qo Jw\*gi Hhgyz (cf.  
13136h Hmg):
81. 62.16,24 abneget se ipsum sibi  
(*semetipsum*)      se ipsum ipsi,  
Fischer 13142c: Xr?q Ji  
Hlmqgb se ipsum Fischer  
13143h: Xdo Jwql<sup>2</sup>  
Hhrgwsriyz Be  
= Ep L
82. 16,26 commotationem  
(*commutationem*)
83. 17,2 coram eis  
(*ante eos*)      coram eis, Fischer 13192g: Ji  
Ggf Pn Cf Fi  
coram illis Xdo; cor. ipsi  
Xe  
= T
84. 17,3 Elias  
(*Helias*)
85. 17,4 faciamus trea tabernacula  
(*fac. hic tria tab.*)      om. hic, Fischer 13212z:  
Jwjz\*il Er Hr\* Be R\*;  
trea, KLR\*V
86. 17,4 Moysi  
(*mosi*)      Fischer 12114w: Jrgovuetk  
Hfhwrmgqixyz, Be and  
other MSS
87. 17,6 caeciderunt  
(*ceciderunt*)      caecider. C
88. 17,7 dixitque eis nolite timere  
(*dixitque eis surgite et  
nol. tim.*)      om. surgite et,  
unique, Fischer  
13235u
89. 17,9 discendentibus  
(*desc-*)      = Ep FLR
90. 17,9 praecipit  
(*praecepit*)      Fischer 13243h: Xaf\* Ji<sup>2</sup>  
Hflhwsgqiby; Be (E) Ge  
(Ep)
91. 17,9 pr. Iesus nemini  
(*pr. Ies. dicens nemini*)      om. dicens Fischer  
13245b: Ji\* Hg ( = r<sup>2</sup>) Bl\*  
Ks
92. 17,10 quod Eliam oportet  
(*quod Heliam oporteat*)      oportet Fischer 13257w  
Xedcabfqlo  
Jr\*wgjz\*yiq\*detk =  
Hflhwsmgqibxyz<sup>m</sup>, Be (E)

93. 17,12 quod Elias (iam uenit)  
(*quia Helias iam u.*) quod, Fischer 13264g:  
Xabf Ji Hfg Be
94. 17,13 Babtista  
(*baptista*) Babiats, Fischer 13275v:  
Hl; Bab Hfw
95. 17,14 miserere filio meo  
(*miserere filii mei*) filio meo, Fischer  
13286w: Xecanbflo  
*Jfwmgz<sup>2</sup>yiqo<sup>2</sup>x\*duetk* Ee  
Hflhwsrgqix
96. 26,39 procedit (in faciem)  
(*procidit in fac.*) Fischer 14003h: Xo  
*Jwjiyos\** Ge  
Hflhwsmqdie\*abx\*y Be etc.
97. 26,39 sed sicut tu uis  
(*sed sicut tu*) + uis, Fischer 14015z:  
Xcabfrh *Jw<sup>2</sup>yioxb<sup>2</sup>* Be Ep<sup>mg</sup>  
Hflhwsmqdiabz
98. 26,40 ad discipulos suos  
(*ad discipulos*) + suos, Fischer 14017z:  
Xdcabfhqlo *Jfw<sup>2</sup>agiyioxb<sup>2</sup>*  
Hflhwsmqdieabx Ge (Ep)  
*Jw<sup>2</sup>t* (DE Ep KL RV)  
(prumtus LZ<sup>3</sup>)
99. 26,41 prumtus  
(*promptus*) (prumtus LZ<sup>3</sup>)
100. 6,42 orauit eundem  
(*orauit dicens*) + eun. ser. Fischer 14033i:  
only Ji Kr (= Mark 14,39)
101. 26,42 (si non) possibile est  
transire calicem nisi illum  
bibam  
(*si non potest hic calix  
transire nisi bibam illum*) pos. est t. c.  
unique, Fischer  
14036u  
> il. bib. Fischer  
14038h: Xdabfhq Ed  
(Durrow)  
*Jgi* Hfrqde
102. 26,45 tradetur  
(*traditur*) Vg W/W; Fischer  
14061w: Xdacf<sup>2</sup>rql<sup>2</sup>o  
*Jwmagzyiqoxdblvuetk* Ed Be  
Hflhwsmngqdieabxyz
103. 26,47 et fustibus missi  
(*et fustibus a prin.*) missi a, Fischer  
14075w: Xcabfrhql  
*Jwagzyiqoxdblvuetk*  
Ed Be Ge  
Hflwrmngqdieabxyz
104. 26,48 ipse est (est interl.)  
(*ipse est*) om. est unique  
*Ji\**, Fischer 14085t
105. 26,49 aue rabbi  
(*haue rabbi*) aue, Fischer 14091w: Xco  
*Jiuuet* Hflhsm<sup>2</sup>ngqibxz
106. 26,51 eximit  
(*exemit*) Fischer 14108h: *Jw\*i*  
Hr]day

107. 26,51 percussit... et  
amputauit  
(*percutiens...amputauit*) Fischer 14110z: Xdcabfrhq  
Jwgziqx\*?lk Hhrmqexz
108. 26,52 acciperint  
(*acceperint*) Fischer 14120v: Jyiqo\*u\*e  
Ed Ge Be.  
Hlhsm<sup>2</sup>ndie\*bxy
109. 26,53 potas me modo  
non posse rogare  
(*putas quia non possum  
rogare*) p. me m. n. pos. unique  
Fischer 14124i
110. 26,55 conpraehendere  
(*conprehendere*) conprae- E Ep<sup>ms</sup> Ja θ MTr
111. 26,57 Caifan  
(*Caiaphan*) B. Fischer  
14159w: Xbrp Ji Ge  
Hlhwsnmngqieabxyz)
112. 27,29 capud  
(*caput*) = BRT
113. 27,29 arundinem  
(*harundinem*) = θJLORTW
114. 27,29 in dexteram eius  
(*in dextera eius*) -am Fischer 14180h:  
Xbf\*r?ho Jf\*gi Ed Ge  
Hflhwsmngqd<sup>2</sup>iebxz
115. 27,29 aue  
(*haue*) Fischer 14185w: Xclo  
Jivuet Ed  
Hsrnmngqdabxz
116. 27,30 acciperunt arundinem  
(*acceperunt harund.*) acciperunt Fischer  
14188v: Jyo Ed  
Hlhwsnmng%qdabyz  
Be Ge  
arund- Ep θJKLORTW
117. 27,30 capud  
(*caput*) = BERWY
118. 27,30 clamidem  
(*clamydem*) = BE Ep FOR<sup>c</sup> (et  
multi)
119. 27,31 induerunt uestimentis eius  
(*induerunt eum uest. eius*) om. eum,  
Fischer 14198b:  
Ji Hw Bekx\*v Uz\* Oe  
Ze Co Iz\*

120. 27,32 inuenerunt hominem + uenientem obuam  
Cyreneum uenientem sibi nomine simonem  
obuam sibi nomine (*vel sim.*), Fischer  
Symonem hunc 14205z: Xcifar?h  
angarazauerunt ut tolleretur *Jwziqo*<sup>2</sup>x\*. <sup>3</sup>d<sup>2</sup>blvt  
(*inuenerunt hominem* Hlhwsrmngqicxz Be  
*Cyreneum nomine Simonem* Ge<sup>2</sup>  
*hunc angariauerunt*) Symonem Fischer  
14208i: *Jriyx*\*<sup>1</sup>t Hd Be  
angarazau- unique,  
Fischer 14209t;  
angarizauerunt Nr Ear Be  
Ge<sup>2</sup>  
Hflhwrmngqdie\*abxyz\*
121. 27,34 (cum felle) mixto Fischer 14218i: *Jji*  
(*cum f. mixtum*) Sdm Gb\*t Th\* Fgq Ld\*
122. 27,35 diuiserunt sibi uestimenta † sibi, Fischer  
(*diuiserunt uestimenta*) 14226h: Xdcabhl *Jyix*? Ebc  
Hqie]xyz
123. 27,35 et (puncta above and sorte Fischer  
below) 14229 *Ji* (no H)  
sorte mittentes  
(*sortem mittentes*)
124. 27,35 (mittentes) ut inpler- add. with minor  
etur quod dictum est per variants, Fischer  
profetam dicentem 14230w: Xabrhq;  
diuiserunt *Jwziqo*\*xd<sup>2</sup>blvu\* Be  
sibi uestimenta (mea interl.) Hsm\*<sup>g</sup>qex  
et super uestem meam Ep<sup>mg</sup>  
miserunt  
sortem. Et sedentes  
(*mittentes. Et sedentes*)
125. 27,37 capud = BR  
(*caput*)
126. 27,40 (dicentes) ua qui + ua Fischer 14259v:  
distruebas templum Dei et Xdcabfrhql  
in triduo illud reaedicabas *Jrfwyio*<sup>2</sup>xd<sup>2</sup>bvu\* Ee  
(*dicentes qui destruit* Hflhwrmngqdie\*by Ge<sup>2</sup>  
*templum* (= Ep<sup>mg</sup>)  
*et in triduo illud reaedicat*) distruebas, Fischer  
14261h Xbho *Ji* Ee  
Hlhwsrm]qix Bt<sup>1</sup> el\*  
reaedicabas, Fischer



127. 27,40 (si filius Dei es) et  
discende  
(*si filius Dei es discende*) 14265h: Xbho Ji Ee  
Hlhwsrm\*gi Bt<sup>1e</sup> Ep<sup>mg</sup>  
+ et, Fischer 14267h  
(+ t): Xdcabrh Ji Ee Hg  
(Hb, om. si) Bek\*
128. 27,41 inludentes eum cum scribis  
(*inl. cum scribis*) + eum, Fischer  
14276h: Xcr?hgo Jgiq  
Hfm<sup>2</sup>gqia Be  
pharisaeis. Fischer
129. 27,41 cum scribis et fariseis  
(*cum scribis et senioribus*) 14279g: Xdcabfrhq Ji Ee  
Hgx  
= D Ep LO<sup>c</sup>R (*et  
multi*; Fischer 14287v)
130. 27,42 discendat  
(*descendat*) credimus Vg W/W;  
Fischer 14289w:  
Xcabfrhqlo  
Jrwjzyiqoxdblvuetk
131. 27,42 et credimus  
(*et credemus*) Hflwsrgexyz\* Ge  
credat unique;  
Fischer 12493r
132. 27,43 credat in Deo  
(*confidet in Deo*) crucifixi Vg W/W;  
Fischer 14302w: Xcabfho  
Jw<sup>2</sup>mgjz<sup>2</sup>iobvuetk
133. 27,44 qui crucifixi erant  
(*qui fixi erant*) Hhm<sup>q</sup>dieabxyz Be  
lama, Fischer  
14316w: Xdbfh Jyix<sup>2</sup>  
Ed Hlwsrmdeabyz  
zabathani, Fischer  
14317h: Ji Ee Hm\* Uv<sup>2</sup> Zy\*  
Fy<sup>2</sup>
134. 27,46 lama zabathani  
(*lema sabacthani*) om. Deus 1°, Fischer  
14219s: Xhqlo  
Js\*ji\*x\* Ev Hwsm\*q
135. 27,46 Deus Deus meus  
(*Deus meus Deus meus*) quare. Fischer  
14320h: Jv Hrgq Be (also  
Stu Wdes Gk Vh<sup>2</sup> Qb)  
>med. Fischer 14321s: Xdcab-  
fhqlo  
Jswgo<sup>2</sup>x\*vt  
Hlhwsrmgqdieabxyz Be
136. 27,46 quare me dereliquisti  
(*ut quid dereliquisti me*)

# MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 49 Reviewed:

## A New Description and a Table of Textual Parallels with the *Liber questionum in euangeliis*\*

by

Jean RITTMUELLER

(Memphis, Tennessee)

The description of Vat. Reg. Lat. 49 (Vat.) that follows is the result of my effort to identify its textual affiliations with the *Liber questionum in euangeliis* (*LQE*), an eighth-century Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew, first described by Bernhard Bischoff in his "Katalog der hiberno-lateinischen und der irisch beeinflussten lateinischen Literatur bis zum Anfang des IX. Jahrhunderts" (1954, 1966, 1976). Research connected with my doctoral dissertation (Rittmueller 1982, 1983, 1984ab) and with my current editing of *LQE* had already demonstrated a close relationship between certain Vat. texts and *LQE*, but defining its exact nature became necessary as I began to consider whether and how to use the Vat. texts to emend parallel sections of *LQE*. Was *LQE* the source of the related Vat. texts, or was an unidentified *LQE*-type text circulating that would explain notable differences, e.g., sentence-length lemmata and explanations, additional glossing, and brief homiletic comments interspersed in the exegesis?

My analysis of the affiliations, discussed under the item number in the CONTENTS section, has convinced me that *LQE* itself, and not an additional *LQE*-type text, was the source of parallel Vat. sections and that genre considerations determined the way *LQE* was adapted. Three of the Vat. texts (nos. 2, 3, 5) are mirror-

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image exegetical extracts from *LQE* (excepting the occasional scribal error). The lemmata are frequently brief, and the accompanying exegesis often so compressed as to be obscure. A fourth (no. 1) is a commentary based on a number of exegetical sources, with the extracts from *LQE* being drawn largely verbatim and having, therefore, the character of the three other exegetical extracts. Nine others (nos. 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, 25, 27, 38), framed as homilies, have a homiletic title (nos. 7, 16, 18, 25), and/or a full introductory lesson (no. 13, 16), and/or an *exordium* mentioning the author, church festival, or subject (no. 7, 16, 18, 27, 38), and/or a closing *peroratio* (no. 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, 38). The homiletic genre of these nine texts is, I believe, the reason why their basic *LQE* exegesis has been amplified. Full-sentence lemmata and explanations--rather than one- or two-word lemmata and exegesis frequently limited to a single word, phrase, or clause--these reflect the homiletical rather than the strictly exegetical character of these nine Vat. texts and, presumably, the author's desire for increased intelligibility. Occasionally, short homiletic sentences are also injected into the exegesis (see examples at nos. 13 and 38). Five further texts (nos. 11, 12, 15, 44, 45) have parallels that seem to be drawn from a source common to Vat. and *LQE*; these are described under their item number.

Using the Vat. texts to emend the *LQE* MSS (and *vice versa*) is possible now that their relationship has been established. I believe that for the texts listed *supra* we can safely assume a direct dependence of Vat. on some *LQE* MS, rather than on a hypothetical *LQE*-type text. Vat. did not use any of the extant *LQE* MSS, for they share no common scribal errors. Vat. can be used to emend the *LQE* MSS when the ultimate patristic source is known or where words and lines in *LQE* necessary for intelligibility have been omitted through scribal error. Using the Bede Paulus edition of Radbert's commentary on Matthew, whose apparatus cites *LQE* from the ninth-century Fleury MS, Orléans, B.M. 65 (62), is useful as a control. Sometimes Radbert's reading agrees with Vat. rather than with the Orl. *LQE*; in such a case I may adopt the Vat. reading as the *LQE* reading (see no. 25 below). Other differences in Vat. may be due to author preference or to the amplified nature of the homiletic text; here one must take care not to emend the *LQE* text unnecessarily in one's desire for increased clarity.

Concerning the MS description, Wilmart's original item number (in parentheses) follows my revised item number. To Wilmart's 1937 description of Vat., I have added line numbers, canons, longer incipits and explicits, affiliations with the *LQE* text found in the Orléans MS, and secondary bibliography. Concerning the *LQE* affiliations, sections that are an exact match (except for scribal error and orthographical differences) or clearly have their origin in *LQE* are marked with an equal sign; sections marked with *cfr* were drawn independently from a common source. In the section of *LQE* affiliations for nos. 12-15, I also note the correspondences with Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (s. XI, Bury), which J. E. Cross first listed more generally in his partial edition of this MS, a version of the homiliary of St.-Père de Chartres, described by Henri Barré (1962 p 17-25). The primary sources listed in the bibliography attached to many of the items are chiefly from the descriptions of Wilmart, Vian, Cross, and McNamara, who should be consulted for detailed references. I have added only a few additional source references. The abbreviations of patristic sources are found in the sigla in the Paulus edition of Radbert's *Expositio in Matheo libri XII*.

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SHELF MARK: Vatican, Reginensis Latinus 49, numbered ff. 1-54, but f. 5 is lacking (the folio numbered 5 is the lower half of the folio numbered 6).

NUMBER OF FOLIOS: 54 ff. (the lower half of f. 6 is numbered f. 5, so there are really 53 ff.); folio sequence is (*pace* Wilmart 1937 p 112): ff. 1-2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 8-23, 32-47, 24-31, 48-54.

DIMENSIONS (*pace* Wilmart 1937 p 112): Folio measurement (and inner measure): 220 x 185 mm. (c. 183 x c. 160 mm.).

COLUMNS PER PAGE: 2 columns per page.

LINES PER COLUMN: 40 lines per column.

MEMBRANE AND CURRENT CONDITION: Parchment is thick, according to Wilmart (1937 p 117). Many folia are composed of two halves skillfully bound together (ff. 4, 6, 12, 15, 19, 22, 26, 29, 41, 46, 50, 53). Some have been torn (ff. 1, 4, 6, 53, 54); others have large blots (ff. 9v-10, 17v-18). The top margin has also been trimmed (ff. 1, 6, 30, 33, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 50). This assessment modifies Wilmart (1937 p 117), who states that only ff. 30, 33, 38, 43, 44 have been trimmed.

**QUIRES:** According to Wilmar (1937 p 117), five of the seven quires are quaternions (ff. 1-2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 8-9; ff. 10-17; ff. 32-39; ff. 40-47; ff. 24-31), the third is a ternion (ff. 18-23), and the last (ff. 48-54) has six folia, with one added (f. 49). The last folio of each quire is signed in the middle margin: f. 9v (.i.), f. 17v (.ii.), f. 23v (.iii.), f. 39v (.iiii.), f. 47v (.v.), f. 31v (.vi.), f. 48r (.vii.).

**DECORATION:** Of the 54 texts, 21 have headings. The headings are written in mixed uncial and rustic capitals (ff. 7vb, 9va, 18va, 20va, 32va, 37rb, 39ra, 42va, 43vb, 47ra, 24ra, 25va, 27va, 29ra, 30ra, 30va, 53ra) or in scribal minuscule (ff. 13rb, 16va, 17rb, 52vb). More frequently, a majuscule letter begins the first word of a new text and sometimes a new section within the text. The majuscule initials were added after the texts were transcribed; a small version of any initial still missing has been entered to the left of the blank space (ff. 40vb, 42va, 43vb, 45va, 47ra, 47va, 24ra, 25ra, 25va, 27va, 29ra, 30ra, 30va, 50va, 51ra, 52ra, 52va, 52vb, 53ra).

**PUNCTUATION:** Variations of (.,) distinguish major divisions of text, i.e., the lection from commentary; one text from another; the historical interpretation from the spiritual interpretation; less frequently a lemma plus exegesis from one following within a division: (.,) (...), (...), (...), (...).

--Variants of (.,) separate a lection from commentary: (.,) (...), (...).

--For a period-type pause closing a sentence within a lection, a single point predominates; a double point *ad libellam* (..) occurs frequently; a double point *ad perpendiculam* (:) is much less common; (.,) is infrequent within the lection itself, but sometimes separates the lection from the commentary.

-- The comma-type pause is represented by single point.

-- Within a division of exegesis (e.g., historical) an alternative interpretation of a lemma is sometimes set off by a variant of (.,).

-- Within a division of exegesis the period-type pause following a lemma plus commentary is usually (..) or (.), less frequently (:) or a variation of (.,).

**MAJOR TEXTUAL DIVISION MARKINGS:** McNamara (1990a p 292-293) describes a number of practices that facilitate

distinguishing the end of one entry from the beginning of another: (1) the occasional heading (ff. 9va, 13rb, 16va, 17rb, 18va, 20va, 30ra, 53ra); (2) "other introductory material", such as the Eusebian Canon number of the pericope chosen for comment, and sometimes "accompanied by the number of the chapter in question" (ff. 7vb, 14ra [canons added in margin], 20va, 24ra, 25va, 27va, 29ra, 30ra, 30va, 37rb, 39ra, 42va, 43vb, 47ra); (3) a short or lengthy passage of Scripture introducing commentary (ff. 1ra, 3va, 8va, 9ra, 10va, 25ra, 35vb, 40va, 40vb, 45rb, 45va, 47va, 51ra, 52vb); (4) formal endings (ff. 10va [*fini*], 11va [*fini amen*], 16ra [*per infinita secula seculorum amen*, which separates this item from the moral interpretation of the lection that follows], 16va [*in secula seculorum. amen*], 17rb [*in secula seculorum amen*], 47ra [*in saecula saeculorum amen*], 47va [*in saecula saeculorum amen*], 51ra [*in saecula saeculorum amen*]); (4) subject matter, always introduced by a majuscule initial (ff. 11va, 18va, 20ra, 20rb-va, 49vb-50rb. McNamara (1990a p 293) notes that the collections on various subjects found on f. 20ra-va (6 items) and ff. 49vb-50rb (4 items) are "both preceded by sections with formulaic ending(s)". The punctuation described *supra* and reproduced in the *explicit* of each item in the description is also a division marker.

#### CONTENTS AND *LQE* AFFILIATIONS:

1 (1). No heading <Matth. 4, 1-11: The Temptation> (ff. 1r-2v, 4r-4v, 3r-3va9).

*Inc.*: Tunc i(esu)s ductus est in desertu(m) a spi(ritu) et r(e)l(iqua). usque ministrabant ei. Tunc i(esu)s. heret confestim et ascendit. r(e)l(iqua). H(aec) baptizato d(o)m(in)o confestim facta. math(eus) et mar(cus) designant.

*Expl.*: In catenis (est) o(mn)is anima et carcere q(uae) retinet(ur) i(n) delictis de q(u)ib(us) d(icitu)r. Funes peccator(um) circ(um)plexi s(un)t me.,

Three-line majuscule T introduces lection.

Attribution to "Ag(ustinus)" on f. 3r (3 times).

*LQE* affiliations:

<historialiter>:

Matth. 4, 1: Vat. 1ra3, 9-26 (Tunc — reliqua. Ductus — conceditur)  
= Orl. 51, 8-18; cfr AM-Lc, HI-Mt, GR-Ev;

Matth. 4, 1-2: Vat. 1ra40-1rb13 (Ut temptaretur — in deserto) = Orl. 51, 18-52, 3; cfr HI-Mt, GR-Ev;  
 Matth. 4, 2: Vat. 1rb18-23 (XL — damnantur) = Orl. 52, 3-5;  
 Matth. 4, 2-3: Vat. 1rb30-1va14 (Esuriit — facit) = Orl. 53, 1-16; cfr HI-Mt, GR-Ev;  
 Matth. 4, 4: Vat. 1va35-1vb2 (Respondens — minamur) = Orl. 53, 16-21; cfr GR-Ev;  
 Matth. 4, 3-4: Vat. 1vb8-21 (Siue ideo — in omni uerbo) = Orl. 53, 21-54, 5 (Siue ideo — cor reliqua); cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 4-6: Vat. 1vb22-2ra11 (Simulque — duceret) = Orl. 54, 5-23 (Simul — duceret); cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 6: Vat. 2ra15-16 (Hic notandum — ualet) = Orl. 54, 23-24; cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 6: Vat. 2ra19-40 (Similiter — fuerit) = Orl. 54, 24-55, 13; cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 8: Vat. 2rb3-6 (Iterum — cadant) = Orl. 55, 13-15 (Iterum — caderent); cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 8: Vat. 2rb16-19 (Omnia regna — momento) = Orl. 55, 16-17 (Omnia regna — uisus sit);  
 Matth. 4, 9-10: Vat. 2rb28-2va7 (Hac uice — Dominus) = Orl. 55, 18-56, 8; cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 4, 11: Vat. 2va27-32 (Reliquit — ministrant) = Orl. 56, 8-12; cfr HI-Mt, GR-Ev;  
 Quaeritur cur sub isto numero ieiunium agitur: Vat. 2va32-2vb21 (Quaeritur — ieiunauit) = Orl. 52, 6-24; cfr GR-Ev;  
 Matth. 5, 23-24: Vat. 4vb1-20 (ut si offeres — motibus animae) = Orl. 77, 10-23 (Si obtuleris — motibus); cfr AG-s dni.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 322-324; AG attribution belongs to CAE-s 199 (McNamara p 324); use of *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and *LQE* (McNamara p 323-24), HI-Mt, GR-Ev 6, AG-s dni.

The generally verbatim extracts from *LQE* comprise half of the first part of Vat.'s exegesis of this extremely dense commentary. Vat. and *LQE* also share similar versions of an extract from AG-s dni. Since another extract of this version survives in the late eighth-century *LQE* Fulda fragment, enough MS witnesses may now exist to clarify Vat.'s position in the *LQE* stemma.

2 (2). No heading <Matth. 19, 16-30: The Rich Young Man> (ff. 3va10-3vb, 7ra-7rb15).

*Inc.*: Et ecce un(us) accedens .i. corpore n(on) m(en)te i(n)t(er)rogat adolescens et diues et s(upe)rb(us).

*Expl.*: S(i)u(e) (autem) i(n)t(er) duos populos (inter) iuda(m) et madian (inter) iuda(m) et paulu(m) accipitur.,

Space for heading between preceding and current text. Two-line majuscule **ET** introduces first verse of lection.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 3va10-3vb40, 7ra1-7rb15 (entire) (Et ecce — accipitur) = Orl. 188, 3-191, 4.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 327 (use of *LQE*); use of HI-Mt, AG-Ev.

This exegetical excerpt has as its sole direct source a better *LQE* text than exists in the extant MSS. The Vat. and Orl. *LQE* texts are verbatim except for a number of scribal errors in Orl., e.g., omission of the object of a preposition, omission of necessary prepositions, line omissions, word omissions, incorrect rendering of a HI-Mt interpretation. That Vat. is an exegetical rather than a homiletical work may explain why the compiler retained *LQE*'s abbreviated lemmata and explanations.

3 (3). No heading <Matth. 21, 33-44: Parable of the Wicked Tenants> (f. 7rb16-7vb21).

*Inc.*: Aliam parabolam audite a loco ubi ait accesser(un)t ad eu(m) p(r)incipes sacerdotu(m). r(e)l(iqua). A matheo s(i)n(e) ulla c(uiu)sq(ue) rei (ue)l persone (inter)positione sermo (con)textit(ur)..

*Expl.*: recti ueniens i(n) morte aliis implentes mandata. te(m)p(us). etas humana.,

Four-line majuscule A and Caroline miniscule (*Aliam — ubi*) introduces text.

Marginal attribution to "Hir(onimus)" on f. 7vb.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 7rb16-7vb21 (entire) (*Aliam — aetas humana*) = Orl. 204, 3-206, 9.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 327 (use of *LQE*); use of HI-Mt, AG-Ev, GR-Ev 38.

*LQE* is again the sole verbatim source for this Vat. exegetical extract, whose text is not quite as good as that of no. 2. Here, Vat. has words missing in *LQE*, but *LQE* also supplies words missing in Vat.



4 (4). **Matheus. CCX.** <Matth. 20, 1-16: Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard> (ff. 7vb22-bot, 6r-6v, 8r-8va23).

*Inc.*: Simile est regnu(m) caeloru(m) hom(in)i patri familias. usq(ue) pauci uero electi. Regnu(m) celoru(m) patri familias. simile dicitur. qui ad excolendam uinea(m) sua(m) op(er)arios conducit.

*Expl.*: Qua i(n)repensand(um) e(st). q(ua)n(tu)m s(upe)ma co(m)passio ualeat q(ua)n(tu)m nos o(mn)ipotendi d(e)o misericordia(m) facere iungit...

Canon heading is in mixed uncial and rustic capitals. Three-line majuscule S introduces lection.

Marginal attribution to "G(re)g(orius)" on f. 8va.

*Bib.*: Source is GR-Ev 19.

5 (5). **No heading** <Matth. 20, 1-16: Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard> (ff. 8va24-9ra5).

*Inc.*: Simile est regnu(m) celoru(m). H(aec) parabola ex p(rae)cedentib(us) pendit .i. p(r)imi nouissimi. r(e)l(iqua).

*Expl.*: Estas iuuentutis et senectutis. O(mn)es acceper(un)t. ut diu(er)sus est labor ita et p(rae)mium

Three-line majuscule S introduces first verse of lection.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 8va23-9ra5 (entire) (Simile — praemium) = Orl. 191, 4-192, 18.

*LQE* is again the verbatim source for this Vat. text. Since Orl. *LQE* sometimes has a better reading than Vat., and *vice versa*, the texts can be used to emend each other, especially with regard to omissions. In certain instances the original *LQE* reading is difficult to determine since either Orl. or Vat. offers a credible choice.

6 (6). **No heading** <Ps. 1, 1-6> (f. 9ra6-9va17).

*Inc.*: Beatus uir cur tacuit de muliere. Nu(m)q(u)id extores s(un)t mulieres de bono.

*Expl.*: sep(ar)ant [ab eo qui est] semper manens...

Three-line majuscule B introduces lection.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 305-09.

7 (7). In[cipit um]elia de oratio(ne) dom(in)ica <Matth. 6, 9-13> (ff. 9va18-10va30).

*Inc.*: D(omi)n(u)s [et saluato]r noster i(esu)s chr(istu)s f(or)mula(m) u(er)ba[que] et loq(u)ia et q(u)alitates i(n)timare cupiens UII his u(er)siculis.. tarditate(m) humani i(n)ge[ni]i co(m)munit(er) i(m)buit d(i)c(en)s. sic (er)go uos orabitis...

*Expl.*: Na(m) q(u)i p(er)sereuau(er)it us(que) i(n) fine(m) hic salu(us) erit. finit.,

Heading on separate line is in mixed majuscule (rustic and uncial). Three-line majuscule **D** introduces homily. Smaller majuscule initials introducing each petition in the Lord's Prayer project into left margin.

*LQE* affiliations:

Matth. 6, 9-13: Vat. 10va13-28 (Per paternitatem — per liberationem nostram) = Orl. 91, 14-23 (Per paternitatem — non negamus).

One section in Vat., joining the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer to the Seven Beatitudes (Matth. 5, 3-11), has its origin in *LQE*'s sixth explanation of Lord's Prayer. Vat. omits the lemmata but provides more complete versions of the supporting Bible verses. A significant variation in the section of text concerned with the beatitude of the meek discloses the Vat. compiler's reworking of his *LQE* MS (the *LQE* Orl. text in Vat. is in bold face):

Orl. 91, 16-23: UENIAT REGNUM. Per aduentum regni eius luctus noster abstergitur: "Beati enim qui lugent". rl. FIAT UOLUNTAS. Perficiente uoluntatem eius pacificamus bella discordiae nostrae: "Beati enim pacifici". rl ... NE NOS INDUCAS. Per hoc {quod} non dimittimur in temptationes; persecutionem sustinemus: "Beati enim qui persequuntur". rl. LIBERA NOS. Per liberationem nostram non <Deum> negamus, sed mites efficimur: "Beati enim mites". rl.

Vat. 10va17-29: Per aduentum regni eius luctus noster astringitur, ut: "Beati qui lugent nunc". rl. Et fera praecordia nostra mansuescimus, ut est: "Beati mittes". rl. Per aduenientem uoluntatem eius pacificantur bella discordiae nostrae, ut: "Beati pacifici" ... Per <hoc> non dimittendos in temptationem. Persecutiones sustinemus et non negamus, ut: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur." Per liberationem nostram nobis adhere Deo bonum est et ponere in Domino Deo spem nostram.

The basic *LQE* exposition has one beatitude per petition. *LQE* and Vat. have already joined UENIAT REGNUM to those who

mourn, but Vat. has also joined it to the meek, adding a sentence about taming wild, besieged hearts that is similar to the interpretation of the following petition, FIAT UOLUNTAS, which both, however, join to the peacemakers. Hence, at the petition LIBERA NOS (Matth. 6, 13), to which *LQE* joins the beatitude of the meek, Vat. offers no appropriate beatitude. He has also applied the clause *non negamus* to the persecutions suffered by those who resist temptation (NE NOS INDUCAS), whereas *LQE* applies it to those who, having been delivered from evil (LIBERA NOS), do not deny God but are made meek. In place of *non negamus* Vat. has substituted a longer explanation: It is good to adhere to God and to put our hope in him.

**8 (7). No heading <Matth. 6, 9-13: Homily on the Lord's Prayer> (ff. 10va31-11va9).**

*Inc.*: P(ate)r n(oste)r: p(at)rem dicendo se filios c(on)fitent(ur) s(an)c(t)i: q(u)i orat. i(n) se q(uo)q(ue) ipso uelit habitare q(uae) i(n)uocat.

*Expl.*: s(i)n(e) i(n)t(er)missione orat. qui oratione(m) dominica(m) assidue decantat., finit am(en).,

Five-line majuscule **P** with **R** inside **P**'s bowl introduces first lemma of Lord's Prayer.

*LQE* affiliations: The Roman numeral in parentheses refers to the number of the *LQE* explanation to the Lord's Prayer to which the passage belongs. *LQE* offers fourteen different explanations; Vat. offers seven:

**Pater noster:**

Vat. 10va31 (I) (Patrem — confitentur) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 88, 15 (II);

Vat. 10va33-35 (I) (Quo munere — coheredes) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 88, 1-2 (I) (inuitat — simus);

Vat. 10va35-10vb10 (I) (non est — diceret Pater noster) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 89, 16-24 (III) (Hoc nomine — dicit Pater);

Vat. 10vb11-13 (I) (Numquam — seruientibus) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 89, 14-15 (III) (Numquam — uiuentibus);

**Qui es in celis:**

Vat. 10vb13-16 (I) (In sanctis — ibis) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 89, 26-90, 2 (III) (In sanctis — estis reliqua);

**Sanctificetur nomen tuum:**

Vat. 10vb16-17 (I) (Ita — sanctius) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 90, 2-4 (III) (Non sic — aliquid sanctius);

**Adueniat regnum tuum:**

Vat. 10vb21-23 (I) (Generaliter — desistat) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 88, 17-18 (II);

**Fiat uoluntas et panem nostrum cotidianum:**

Vat. 10vb26-30 (I) (Sicut — Da nobis hodie) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 90, 15-18 (III) (Ita — crastino);

Vat. 10vb35 (I) (Qui — creaturas) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 88, 22 (II) (quia — superexaltat);

**Libera nos a malo:**

cfr Vat. 11ra6-9 (I) (Si — bonum) and Orl. 89, 13 (III) with SED-car 2, 288-289 (63);

**Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra:**

Vat. 11ra29-31 (III) (Quoniam — peccati) = AG-s dni; cfr Orl. 90, 13-14 (III) (Unde — peccati);

**His orationibus VII VIII principalia uitia reuincuntur:**

Vat. 11rb1-10 (III) (His orationibus — depellit) = Orl. 93, 11-18 (X) (His septem orationibus — repellit);

**Has orationes Christus ipse impleuit:**

Vat. 11rb9-16 (V) (Has orationes — resurget) = Orl. 93, 18-23 (XI) (Item has orationes — resurget);

**Uidetur mihi septinarius numerus VII beatitudinibus et VII donis Spiritus sancti congruere:**

Vat. 11rb16-33 (VI) (Uidetur — facit) = AG-s dni and Orl. 91, 3-12 (V) (Item hae septem orationes — faciat).

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 324-27 (326-27 for use of *LQE*); use of HI-Mt, AG-s dni, SED-car.

Ten of the fourteen shared passages in Vat. and *LQE* are drawn directly from HI-Mt (3) and AG-s dni (7); an eleventh shares one line from SED-car 2, 288-289 (its immediate origin is more problematic). A twelfth seems to use both AG-s dni and *LQE*. Vat. has longer citations from AG-s dni and generally reproduces this work more faithfully than does *LQE*, which tends to paraphrase and shorten it, often to the point of obscurity.

The two sections shared only with *LQE*, and which appear consecutively in the *LQE* MSS, again demonstrate Vat.'s practice of presenting complete Bible verses and full-sentence explanations in place of *LQE*'s brief lemmata, explanations, and Bible verses. Vat. is not free of error, however. In the first excerpt (f. 11rb1-9) its enumeration of the principle vices defeated by the petitions of the Lord's Prayer omits the first petition and the first vice. In the second excerpt immediately following (f. 11rb9-16), a careless scribe has omitted numerous lemmata and Bible verses (*LQE* text in

bold face; supplied text [in carets] in Vat. is from *LQE* but is not in bold face):

Orl. 93, 18-23: Item has orationes Domino ipso impletas uidemus. PATER NOSTER. Christus ait: "Pater sancte". rl. SANCTIFICETUR. Christus ait: "Manifestaui nomen tuum". rl. REGNUM. Christus ait: "Regnum." UOLUNTAS TUA. Christus ait: "Non sicut ego uolo". rl. PANEM NOSTRUM. Christus ait: "Cibus meus est ut faciam". rl. SICUT DIMITTIMUS. Christus ait: "Pater ignosce illis". rl. NE NOS INDUCAS. Christus ait: "Si possibile est". rl. LIBERA NOS. Christus ait: "Filius hominis tercio die resurget."

Vat. 11rb9-16: Has orationes Christus ipse impleuit. <PATER NOSTER. Christus ait: "Pater sancte."> SANCTIFICETUR NOMEN TUUM. Ubi dicit Christus: "Nomen tuum manifestaui." REGNUM TUUM. Christus ait: <"Regnum." UOLUNTAS TUA. Christus ait: "Non sicut ego uolo". rl. PANEM NOSTRUM. Christus ait:> "Cibus meus est ut faciam uoluntatem patris mei." DIMISSIMUS. Christus dicit: "Pater ignosce illis nesciunt". rl. NE NOS INDUCAS. Christus ait: "Si possibilis est, transeat a me calix iste." LIBERA NOS A MALO. Christus ait: "Filius hominis tertia die resurget."

9 (8). No heading <Order of Reading of the Canonical Scriptures in St. Peter's Church, Rome> (f. 11va10-28).

*Inc.*: Cantatur omnis canonis scriptura ab initio anni. us(que) ad fine(m).. Et sic e(st) ordo canonis decantandi i(n) ecl(esi)a s(an)c(t)i petri

*Expl.*: T(r)actat(us) u(er)o s(an)c(t)i hieronimi et a(m)brosii et agus(tini) et g(re)g(orii) p(ro)ut ordo poposcerit leguntur...

Four-line majuscule C plus Caroline minuscule (*Cantatur — in-  
itio*) introduces text.

*Bib.*: M. Gerbert, *Monumenta ueteris liturgiae Alemannicae*, 2 (Typis San-Blasianis, 1779) p 181, mentioned in Wilmart 1937 p 113, and Vian 1981-82 p 354 n 29.

10 (9). No heading <f. 11va29-11vb5>.

*Inc.*: VII causis flagellant(ur) homines. I. causa p(ro) sua ut te(m)ptat(us) e(st) iob. II. ne peccet.

*Expl.*: Plaga tua pessima e(st) et ut plaga inimici p(er)cussi te. et indurabo cor faraonis..., (cfr Ex. 4, 21 ff).

Small initial capital U introduces text.

Marginal attribution to "G(re)g(orius)" on f. 11va.

11 (10). No heading <Matth. 4, 23-25 and 5, 1-12: Preaching in Galilee and the Sermon on the Mount> (ff. 11vb6-13rb34).

*Inc.*: Et circumibat i(esu)s totam galileam. usq(ue) copiosa est in caelis., Sic p(er)secuti s(un)t p(ro)ph(et)as q(u)i fuerunt ante uos. Beati pau(peres). beat(us) (est) q(u)i h(ab)e)t o(mn)ia bona. q(uae) uult et n(ih)i l uult male..

*Expl.*: Q(ua) a p(r)incipio o(mn)is creature has .VIII beatitudines efficit e(ss)e se(m)p(er)...

Three-line majuscule E and Caroline minuscule (*Et — galileam*) introduces lection. Two-line majuscule B on new line begins commentary on the Beatitudes.

Marginal attribution to "Hir(onimus)" on f. 12vb.

*LQE* affiliations:

Matth. 5, 3: Vat. 11vb15-17 (Beati qui — diuites sunt) = Orl. 62, 23-63, 1 (Beati sunt — diuites sunt);

Matth. 5, 4: Vat. 12rb7-8 (Beati mittes — minoribus) = Orl. 63, 5-6 (Beati mites — maioribus);

Matth. 5, 4: Vat. 12rb11-14 (Non terram — Domini) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 63, 7-8 (Terram — uidere reliqua);

Matth. 5, 5 (on the nature of tears): cfr Vat. 12va11-12 (Trina — ignis) and Orl. 63, 17-19 (Quattuor — inmunditiam);

Matth. 5, 5: Vat. 12va18-20 (Luctus — penitentiam) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 63, 11-12 (Hic — planxit);

Matth. 5, 6: cfr Vat. 12va24-28 (Beati qui esuriunt — potantur) and Orl. 65, 6-10 (Beati qui esuriunt — uirtutibus);

Matth. 5, 8: Vat. 12vb27-30 (Beati mundo corde — pollutum) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 64, 6-7;

Matth. 5, 9: cfr Vat. 12vb39-13ra2 (Beati pacifici triplici — homines) and Orl. 64, 10-11 (Beati pacifici tria — hominem);

Matth. 5, 12: cfr Vat. 13rb1-2 (Gaudete — anima) and Orl. 71, 22-23 (Gaudete — corpore);

Matth. 5, 3-9: cfr Vat. 13rb8-24 (Beati pauperes ... Filius — pacem meam do uobis reliqua) and Orl. 66, 3-9 (Beati pauperes — pax nostra).

Vat. has used HI-Mt directly for three passages. The other Vat. and *LQE* parallels, which are short and scattered non-consecutively throughout this long commentary, may be from a common source, such as Gregory or Augustine, who are mentioned in the commentary. The pattern of parallels in Vat. does not suggest direct use of *LQE*.

12 (11). **Omelia i(n) dominica die palmarum...**, <Matth. 20, 17-19, 29-34: The Third Prediction of the Passion and the Healing of the Two Blind Men> (ff. 13rb35-14ra2).

*Inc.*: D(omi)n(u)s p(er) p(ro)feta(m) p(rae)dicatoribus loq(uitu)r. d(i)c(en)s. Ap(er)i os tuu(m) et ego adi(m)plebo illud: .i. sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)o et diuinis eloq(u)iis s(an)c(t)ar(um) script(ur)ar(um) i(m)plet d(eu)s ora p(rae)dicantiu(m) de se.

*Expl.*: s(ed) cēlestia dona q(uae) se(m)p(er) manent i(n) cēlo.,

The heading is in scribal minuscule on a separate line. Four-line majuscule **D** introduces the text. Two-line majuscule initials introduce the lemmata for Matth. 20, 17 (f. 13va13) and Matth. 20, 30 (f. 13va40), which begin on separate lines.

Marginal attribution to "G(re)g(orius)" on f. 13vb.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 13ra1-14ra2 (entire) (Dominus per profetam — quae semper manent in caelo) = Pembroke, no. 26, 53r-54v8.

Matth. 20, 30: Vat. 13vb7-8 (Turba — cogitationes) = Pembroke, no. 26, 53v26-27; cfr Orl. 196, 22 (Turbis — impredientibus).

Matth. 20, 34: Vat. 13vb22-24 (Praestat artifex — donat misericordia) and Pembroke, no. 26, 54r12-14 = HI-Mt: cfr Orl. 195, 17-18 (Prestat — tollebat).

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 311; use of HI-Mt and GR-Ev 1 and 7 (Cross 1987 p 28-29).

Vat. and Pembroke no. 26 are identical. The two correspondences with *LQE* are purely coincidental, one a common use of HI-Mt, the other a definition of the crowd as "bad thoughts", probably from a common source.

13 (11). **No heading but canons added in margin indicate new text.** <Matth. 21, 1-17: Palm Sunday and Jesus Cleansing the Temple> (ff. 14ra3-16ra9).

*Inc.*: [Entire pericope] Et c(um) appropinq(u)assent hierosolimis et uenissent bethfage... ibiq(ue) mansit. [Commentary] Cu(m) appropinq(u)assent. heret. eg(re)dientib(us) illis ab iericho.. Misit .II.os .i. nu(mer)us apt(us) perfect(us)q(ue).

*Expl.*: ut i(n) dext(er)a d(e)i p(at)ris (con)stituti ibi se(m)p(er) fulgeam(us). si saluator ait. fulgeb(un)t i(us)ti si sol i(n) regno p(at)ris eor(um). se(m)p(er)q(ue) letemur et

(con)regnem(us) c(um) illo i(n) p(er)petua uita p(er) i(n) finita  
s(e)c(u)la seculor(um) amen.,.,

Majuscule E introduces the pericope. Majuscule C introduces the historical interpretation (f. 14rb1) and the spiritual interpretation (f. 15ra25).

*LQE* affiliations:

⟨**Historialiter**⟩:

Matth. 21, 1-3: Vat. 14rb1-9 (Cum appropinquassent — et terrae)  
= Orl. 196, 22-29; cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 5: Vat. 14rb11-25 (Filiae Sion — ducta est) = Orl. 197,  
2-14 (Filiae sion — filium asinae); cfr HI-Mt, AG-Ev;

Matth. 21, 6-10: Vat. 14rb27-14va3 (Euntes — ordinatione regis) =  
Orl. 197, 20-198, 2 (Euntes — admiratione); cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 11-12: Vat. 14va10-27 (A Nazareth — susciperent) =  
Orl. 198, 3-15; cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 13: Vat. 14va32-33 (Et hic — tuae comedit me) = Orl.  
198, 18 (Hic — tuae reliqua); cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 13: Vat. 14va33-14vb39 (Hironimus dicit — interficerent  
eum) = Pembroke, no. 27, 56v21-57v12;

Matth. 21, 14-16: Vat. 14vb40-15ra14 (Et accesserunt — turba  
clamabat) = Orl. 198, 18-26 (Caeci et claudi — simul clamant); cfr  
HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 17: Vat. 15ra15-19 (Hoc intellegendum — eius fuerant)  
= Orl. 200, 21-25 (In hoc intellegendum — eius erant); cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 17: Vat. 15ra19-24 (Ibique — saluus erit) = Pembroke,  
no. 27, 57v25-58r3;

**Spiritualiter**:

Matth. 21, 1: Vat. 15ra25-28 (Spiritualiter cum appropinquassent —  
confitentur) = Orl. 198, 26-28;

Matth. 21, 1: Vat. 15ra29-32 (Ad montem Oliueti — Christus:  
replaces *LQE* interpretation?) = Pembroke, no. 26, 54v19-22 (Mons  
Oliueti — Christus); cfr Orl. 198, 28-199, 1 (A monte — solamen  
habetur) and HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 1: Vat. 15ra32-33 (Misit — legibus) = Orl 199, 1 (Mittit  
— Paulum)

Matth. 21, 1-2: Vat. 15rb2-4 (Ite — doctrinae) = Orl. 199, 1-2 (In  
castellum — resistentem);

Matth. 21, 1-2: Vat. 15rb4-6 (Siue ad Hierusalem — repugnabat:  
alternative interpretation for Matth. 21, 1), 8-10 (Asinam — gen-  
tilem: first interpretation for Matth. 21, 2) = Pembroke, no. 26,  
54v22-26 (Castellum — gentilium);

Matth. 21, 2: Vat. 15rb10-11 (Pullum ... Qui instabilis) = Orl. 199,  
2-3.200,10 (Asinam — lasciuus erat); cfr HI-Mt;

Matth. 21, 2: Vat. 15rb13-16 (Soluite — ad Christum: replaces *LQE*  
interpretation?) = Pembroke, no. 26, 54v27-55r3;



- Matth. 21, 3: Vat. 15rb18-19 (Dicite — in caelo) = Orl. 199, 4-5 (Dominus — in caelo);
- Matth. 21, 5: Vat. 15rb21-26 (Dicite — rugiens) = Orl. 199, 5-7 (Filia — rugiens reliqua);
- Matth. 21, 5: cfr Vat. 15va2-3 (Istius populi frenum — misericordia) and Orl. 199, 8 (cuius frena — timor);
- Matth. 21, 7: Vat. 15va9-11 (Uestimenta — hominum; replaces *LQE* interpretation?) = Pembroke, no. 26, 55r6-8;
- Matth. 21, 8: Vat. 15va11-14 (Strauerunt — absidunt) = Orl. 199, 11-13;
- Matth. 21, 8: Vat. 15va14-24 (Iterum — significant: alternative interpretation, with some paraphrasing and additional phrases) = Pembroke, no. 26, 55r8-16 (Plurima autem — significant);
- Matth. 21, 9: Vat. 15va25-30 (Turba praecedens — interpretatur: replaces *LQE* interpretation?) = Pembroke, no. 26, 55r20-27;
- Matth. 21, 9: Vat. 15va29-34 (Osanna ... Nos — altis<simis>) = Orl. 199, 18-21;
- Matth. 21, 9: Vat. 15va34-37 (Siue Deus — in terra: alternative interpretation) = Pembroke, no. 26, 55r27-55v1 (id est Deus — in terra);
- Matth. 21, 10-13: Vat. 15va37-vb20 (Et cum — lucra) = Orl. 199, 21-200, 3 (Cum — sectantur);
- Matth. 21, 13: Vat. 15vb16-16ra9 (Domus mea ... Uos — latronum. Illud — amen) = Pembroke, no. 26, 55v24-56r26.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 311, 314-15, 327; Cross 1987 p 28-29.

Nos. 13 and 14 present the historical (no. 13), spiritual (no. 13), and moral (no. 14) interpretations of this pericope. Vat., ff. 14ra3-16ra9, presents the historical and spiritual interpretations, closing with: *per infinita secula seculorum amen*..., Immediately following on the same line, *moraliter* introduces the moral interpretation (no. 14), beginning on the next line.

Pembroke homily no. 27, with which no. 13 shares two verbatim passages in the historical interpretation, takes as its lesson Matth. 21, 13-17 (Jesus cleansing the temple and his stay in Bethany afterward). It presents a historical interpretation of this pericope. Each of the two verbatim passages that Vat. shares with it succeeds exegesis from *LQE*. The first parallel with Pembroke (at Matth. 21, 13) is an extended prose passage discussing which of Jesus's miracles is the greatest. The second parallel explains a lemma (IBI MANSIT) in Matth. 21, 17 not covered in *LQE*.

Pembroke homily no. 26 offers a spiritual interpretation of its lesson (Matth. 21, 1-13). Eight of its passages are found verbatim

or nearly so in Vat. Vat. three times specifically presents the spiritual exegesis found verbatim in Pembroke as an alternative interpretation to exegesis from *LQE*. Four times Vat. appears to replace *LQE* interpretation with material from a Pembroke-type source. Vat. ends its spiritual interpretation at the place where Pembroke ends its homily, and with the same homiletic close. It then, on the same line, immediately begins with the moral interpretation of the pericope (no. 14).

The character of the correspondences between Vat. and *LQE* again results, I believe, from the different genres to which each belongs. Vat. closely follows *LQE*'s historical and spiritual exegesis but often provides full-sentence lemmata and explanations in place of the briefer *LQE* text. Vat. may also expand on this basic outline for a given lemma with an additional explanation, as in the historical interpretation of Matth. 21, 3:

Orl. 196, 28-29: DOMINUS. Consuetudo honore nominis et uere quod <Dominus> caeli et terrae.

Vat. 14rb8-11: DICITE QUIA DOMINUS .i. consuetudo honore nominis est et uere quia Dominus caeli et terrae, id est .i. Ac si diceret: Quis creaturas eius a creatore tenere poterit?

Although the shared Vat.-*LQE* passages are not mirror images as they are in the straight exegetical extracts, *LQE* exegesis is the basis for the shared correlations listed above.

14 (12). No heading. <Matth. 21, 1-17: Palm Sunday and Jesus Cleansing the Temple> (f. 16ra9-16va12).

*Inc.*: mora(liter)..., <on same line as *expl.* of preceding text with no break.> Duo dis(cipuli) .i. doctores c(um) fide et op(er)e: castel(lum) .i. h(om)o munit(us) uitii et (contra)ri(us) d(e)o..

*Expl.*: In ista die nimis letand(um). de q(u)a d(i)ct(u)m (est). h(aec) (est) dies q(uam) fecit d(omi)n(u)s. r(e)l(iqua). b(ene)d(i)c(tu)s q(u)i uenit i(n) nomine d(omi)ni saluare q(uod) p(er)ierat. ipsi gloria et i(m)p(er)iu(m) i(n) s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um). am(en)..

Two-line majuscule **D** introduces lemma and commentary.

*LQE* affiliations:

Matth. 21, 1-3.5: Vat. 16ra9-15, 26-27 (Moraliter — uitii. Filiae — Dei est) = Orl. 200, 8-12 (Spiritualiter — Dei est);

Matth. 21, 15-16: Vat. 16rb10-17 (Uidentes — uoce magna) = Pembroke, no. 27, 56v2-10;

Matth. 21, 17: Vat. 16rb26-36 (Iesus — iudicii) = Pembroke, no. 27, 57v12-24;

Homiletic *peroratio*: Vat. 16rb37-16va4 (Hoc quoque — in uobis) = Pembroke, no. 27, 58r3-12.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 311-12; Cross 1987 p 29.

In this moral continuation of the preceding homily, *LQE* plays only a small (though verbatim) part in the opening verses.

15 (13). *Omelia i(n) cena d(omi)ni* <Ioh. 13,4-15> (ff. 16va12-17rb8).

*Inc.*: Oportet h(oc) scire et i(n)telligere fr(atr)es ka(rissi)mi. quod h(aec) dies .i. U feria i(n) q(u)a cēna d(omi)ni ab apostolis p(r)idie q(uam) pat(er)et(ur) s(ecundum) (con)suetudin(em) legis p(rae)parata (est).

*Expl.*: Si (enim) q(u)i neophitis exe(m)plu(m) male (con)u(er)sationis ostendit(ur). et p(ro) se et p(ro) illis i(n) die iudicii. Redit(urus) (est) ration(em). ita q(u)ic(um)q(ue) illos ad bonu(m) op(us) et u(er)b(um) a(m)mon(er)e et op(er)ib(us) s(an)c(t)is uolu(er)it p(ro)uocare duplicia in eternum p(rae)mia merebitur. a d(omi)no i(es)u remunerante p(er)cip(er)e q(u)i c(um) p(at)re et sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o uiuit et regnat i(n) s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) am(en)...

Heading immediately follows the *explicit* of the preceding homily. Two-line majuscule O on next line introduces sermon.

*LQE* Affiliations:

Vat. 16va12-17ra39 (entire) (Oportet — seculorum amen) = Pembroke, no. 29, 63v1-65v2 (with minimal differences);

cfr Vat. 16vb15 (Ego homo, tu uero Deus) and Orl. 105, 17-18.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 312; use of AG-Ioh and CAE-s 202 (Cross 1987 p 30).

16 (14). *De cena domini .i. de capitulo UI.o* <heading in margin> <Matth. 26, 20-30> (ff. 17rb9-18va1).

*Inc.*: [Complete pericope] Uespere (autem) s(an)c(t)o discu(m)bebat ... i(n) monte(m) oliueti... .i. edent paup(er)es usq(ue) seculi., [Commentary] S(an)c(tu)s mathe(us) h(oc) u(er)bu(m) narrat de f(a)c(t)o mirabili. q(uod) i(n) hac die fecit i(esu)s offerens corp(us) et sanguin(em) s(i)u(e) i(n) pan(em) et uinu(m).

*Expl.*: ut sint splendiores septies sole et coheredes chr(ist)o i(n) regno celi absq(ue) ullo fine i(n) secula seculor(um) am(en)..

Majuscule **UESPERE** of decreasing size introduces the lection. Two-line majuscule **S** introduces the commentary on the next line. Text has no other majuscule initials.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 17rb34-18rb8 (Uespere — notitia habetur) = Orl. 242, 6-246, 8 (In uespere — notitia habetur).

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 35-38 (edition); Rittmueller 1982, 1983, 1984a, 1984b ch 5 and 6; McNamara 1987; McNamara 1990a p 312, 314, 327 (use of *LQE*); use of HI-Mt, PS-ANAT, AG-Ev, IS-dif, IS-ety.

The strictly exegetical section of this homily is taken from *LQE*'s spiritual interpretation of the pericope. The homiletical nature of the whole text (of which this extract is a part) is probably responsible here, as with other homiletical texts in Vat., for the one and two sentence-length lemmata, with full-sentence explanations, as opposed to the phrase-type lemmata and explanations generally found in *LQE*.

17 (15). No heading. <Two precepts from a penitential about death without sacrifice and about a suffocated child> (f. 18va1-10).

*Inc.*: Si mortuus sit aliq(u)is s(i)n(e) sacrificio magnu(m) crimen (est).

*Expl.*: et ueniat (con)fessionem a(ut) iudicio cui dign(us) fuerit.,

Only the subject matter indicates that a new text begins here. It follows the *explicit* of the preceding homily on the same line.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 312.

18 (16). Hoc ad sollemnitatem paschae conuenit <Gen. 1, 1-26> (ff. 18va11-20ra16).

*Inc.*: Haec (autem) lectio q(uam) s(an)c(t)a ecl(esi)a ad s(an)c(t)ificatio(nem) h(uius) noctis (con)stituit.,

*Expl.*: Ubi dabunt(ur) p(rae)mia se(m)pit(er)na. s(an)c(t)is et(er)nis c(um) eterno d(e)o in secula seculorum amen.,

Heading in rustic capitals. Two-line majuscule **H** introduces homily.

*LQE* affiliations:

Ten kinds of baptism: Vat. 18va30-18vb5 (Primum enim — purgabitur) = Orl. 48, 19-49, 3 (Cum in mundi — baptizantur); Why baptism consists of water and fire: Vat. 18vb16-25 (Cur — purgantur) = Orl. 49, 18-24 (Quaeritur cur — purgantur).

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 39-44 (edition); McNamara 1990a p 309-10, 312, 315; use of *Liber de gradibus caeli* attrib. to Gregory the Great (McNamara p 329).

Although these are not mirror-image extracts from *LQE*, a scribal rewriting or misreading in Vat. suggests direct use of *LQE* in the enumeration of the ten kinds of baptism (*LQE* in bold face):

Orl. 48, 21-49, 1: Cum filii Israhel per mare rubrum Faraone demerso per Moysen saluati sunt. Cum idem sanguine uitulae et cinere eius et aqua aspergentur. Cum idem ab Iesu filio Nun per Iordanen adducti sunt. Cum Iudaei a Baptista Iohanne per peccatorum confessionem tincti sunt.

Vat. 18va34-40: III genus babtismi: Cum filii Israhel per mare rubrum Faraone demerso per Moysen saluati sunt. IIII genus babtismi: Cum item filii Israhel sanguine uituli et cinere eius et aqua spargerentur. U. genus babtismi: Cum iterum filii Israhel ab Ihesu filio Nun per Iordanen ducti. UI. genus babtismi: Cum Iudei ab Iohanne baptista per peccatorum confessionem in Iordane tincti sunt.

*LQE* and Vat. agree that *filii Israhel* were the recipients of the third kind of baptism. For the fourth kind of baptism, *LQE* replaces *filii Israhel* with *idem.*; Vat., however, may have misread *idem* as *item* and then added *filii Israhel*. For the fifth kind of baptism, for *LQE idem*, Vat. substitutes *iterum filii Israhel*. Whether misreadings of *LQE idem* or the homilist's attempt to clarify the subject of each type of baptism, the Vat. substitutions are alterations to the basic the *LQE* list.

19 (17a). No heading. <A passage which seems to be an excerpt> (f. 20ra17-20rb8).

*Inc.*: U. i(n)ferni s(un)t. I. dolor. II. senect(us). III. mors. IIII. sepulcr(um). U. pena.

*Expl.*: ideo plus omnibus diligendus est deus., ¶ Initial majuscule U introduces the text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 44-45 (edition).

20 (17b). No heading. <Excerpt from Caesarius attrib. to Augustine concerning Matth. 25, 34-35> (f. 20rb9-29).

*Inc.*: Ag(ustinus) <in margin>. Faciat un(us)q(u)isq(ue). q(uod) p(rae)ualet. excepto uictu rationabili et uestim(en)to.

*Expl.*: da d(omi)ne q(ua) dedi misericordia(m). p(rae)sta q(ua) misericordia(m) feci. ego i(m)pleui q(uod) i(us)isti. tu redde q(uod) promisisti...

Majusculæ F introduces the text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 45-46 (edition); source is CAE-s 158, according to Wilmart p 45.

21 (17c). No heading. <Concerning Jesus Christ> (f. 20rb30-35).

*Inc.*: Rex regu(m). et d(omi)n(u)s dominantiu(m). <profeta> p(ro)fetar(um).

*Expl.*: unigenit(us) p(at)ri suo primogenitus marię uirginis. creator o(mn)ium elim(en)tor(um)...

Two-line majusculæ R introduces the text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 46 (edition).

22 (17d). No heading. <About Matthew the evangelist> (f. 20rb36-20va9).

*Inc.*: Math(eus) euang(elista) narrauit mistica h(aec) u(er)ba. Ipse (est) .IIII. uir q(u)i enuntiauit euang(elium) chr(ist)i i(n) t(er)ra..

*Expl.*: Ipse math(eus) donis d(e)i plen(us) discipulus i(es)u chr(ist)i narrauit h(aec) u(er)ba de resur(rectione) i(es)u chr(ist)i..

Two-line majusculæ M introduces the text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 46 (edition).

23 (17e). No heading. <Of the seven things not found in this world> (f. 20va10-15).

*Inc.*: III. s(un)t. q(uae) h(om)o i(n) h(oc) mundo h(abe)re n(on) pot(est) si rex fuisset toti(us) mundi. Uita sine morte.

*Expl.*: Et h(aec) o(mni)a i(n)ueniunt(ur). i(n) regno celorum)..

Small majusculæ U introduces text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 46 (edition); use of PS-BED-Col (Wilmart p 46).

24 (17f). No heading. <Of language and its causes> (f. 20va15-17).

*Inc.*: IIII. causis lingua data (est) ho(min)i.

*Expl.*: et interrogaret quod nesciret...

Capital IIII introduces text, which immediately follows the *explicit* of the preceding text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 46 (edition); McNamara 1990a p 312.

25 (18). CCCLIII. In nom(in)e d(e)i summi am(en) <Matth. 28, 1-15: The Empty Tomb> (ff. 20va18-23vb2).

*Inc.*: Uesp(er)e (autem) sabbati. usque in hodiernu(m) diem., Uesp(er)e (autem) sabbati. heret alt(er)a dies (ue)l illi abeuntes., Est eti(am) uesp(er) uesp(er)e uesp(er)u(m) uesp(er)a.,

*Expl.*: Et sapientia diuina mittet i(n) hierusale(m) celeste(m). ibi adorabim(us) et uidebim(us) eum sine fastidio. et s(i)n(e) fine...

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial letters. Three-line majuscule U introduces lection on next line. Other smaller majuscule initials appear throughout text.

Marginal attributions to "Ag(ustinus)" on ff. 20vb, 21vb (x 2); "A(m)b(rosius)" on f. 21ra (x 2), 21vb; "Hir(onimus)" on ff. 20va, 21rb (x 2), 21vb, 22rb; "Man(ch[i]anus)" on ff. 20vb22, 21va35, 22rb28; "Sedo(lius)" on f. 20vb.

*LQE* affiliations:

<historialiter>:

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20va20-21 (Uespere — abeuntes) = Orl. 265, 18-19 (Uespere — reliqua -- sets context);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20va32-33 (Uespere — uesperescente nocte) = Orl. 265, 26-27 (Aliter: Uespere — uenerunt);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20va34-36 (Uespera dicitur — a resurrectione Christi) = Orl. 265, 27-29 (quia ab exordio mundi — diem);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20va38-20vb7 (Nam sic est in euangelio Greco — lucescit in prima sabbati) = Orl. 266, 8-16 (In euangelio uero Greco — lucescit in prima);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20vb18-20, 22-23 (dominica — per Christum. Et altera — mater Domini) = Orl. 266, 16-18 (In prima — Domini);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 20vb31-33 (Uidere — aromata) = Orl. 266, 18-20 (Uidere ... causa — aromata);

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. 21rb14-18 (Quod diuersa — longius = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 265, 19-20 (Quod — officium);

Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 21rb25-27 (Magnus — patuerunt) = Orl. 266, 20-22 (Terrae motus — concuteret);  
 Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 21rb31-39 (Angelus — terra commota) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 266, 24-26 (Descendit — motatur);  
 Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 21va11-13 (Et accedens — lapidem) = Orl. 266, 26-28 (Reuoluit — reuoluit reliqua);  
 Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 21va19-26 (Et Christum — Marcus non declarat) = Orl. 266, 29-267, 2 (ut Dominum — demonstrat); cfr AG-Ev, AM-Lc;  
 Matth. 28, 3: Vat. 21vb6-9 (Erat autem — Marias fideles) = Orl. 267, 3-4 (Sicut — formidarent);  
 Matth. 28, 5: Vat. 21vb23-24 (Respondens — respondit) = Orl. 267, 5-6 (Respondens — torpentibus);  
 Matth. 28, 5: Vat. 21vb27-31 (Nolite — perfecerit) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 267, 6-8 (Nolite — perfecerit) and Vat. 22ra5 (Audite — perfecerit);  
 Matth. 28, 6: Vat. 21vb35-36 (Non est hic — custodiunt) = Orl. 267, 9 (Non est hic — sunt);  
 Matth. 28, 6: Vat. 22ra4-5 (Surrexit — resurget) = Orl. 267, 9-10 (Sicut — resurgeret);  
 Matth. 28, 6: Vat. 22ra6-9 (Uenite — eius) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 267, 10-11 (Uenite — sepulchro);  
 Matth. 28, 7: Vat. 22ra32-34 (Cito — nuntiatam) = Orl. 267, 11-13 (Cito — adnuntiabit);  
 Matth. 28, 7: Vat. 22rb10-16 (Ibi — uidebunt) = Orl. 267, 13-15 (Ibi — reliqua);  
 Matth. 28, 8: Vat. 22rb19-21 (Cum timore — surgentis) = Orl. 267, 15-16 (Cum — resurgentis); cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 28, 9: Vat. 22va3-5 (Tenuerunt ... uel pro — timere) = Orl. 267, 19-21 (Tenuerunt ... siue adorandi — timere); cfr HI-Mt;  
 Matth. 28, 10: Vat. 22va12-17 (In — apostolis) = Orl. 267, 22-25 (Ex — agnoscunt);  
 Matth. 28, 11: Vat. 22va27-31 (Ecce — resurrectionem) = Orl. 267, 25-27 (Quidam — resurrectione);  
 Matth. 28, 11: Vat. 22vb1-10 (Omnia — accepto) = Orl. 267, 27-30 (Omnia — mendacium);  
 Matth. 28, 13: Vat. 22vb16-23 (Et furati — Pilato) = Orl. 267, 29-268, 3 (Furati — Pilato);  
 Matth. 28, 15: Vat. 22vb39-40 (Usque — seculi) = Orl. 268, 4-5 (Usque — aeternum).

<spiritualiter>:

Matth. 28, 1: Vat. f. 22vb41-23ra5 (Uespere — passionem) = Orl. 268, 5-7;  
 Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 23ra8-9 (Uel terre motus — fidem) = Orl. 268, 7 (Terrae — fidem);



Matth. 28, 2: Vat. 23ra20-22 (*Accedens — honorificauit*) = Orl. 268, 8-9 (*Accedens — praedicatus est*);  
 Matth. 28, 2-4: Vat. 23ra27-32 (*Sicut fulgor — incredulos*) = Orl. 268, 10-13;  
 Matth. 28, 5: Vat. 23ra37 (*Quaeritis — creditis*) = Orl. 268, 13-14;  
 Matth. 28, 6-7: Vat. 23rb1-7 (*Uel uidete — paradisum*) = Orl. 268, 14-18; cfr GR-Ev;  
 Matth. 28, 10-13: Vat. 23rb18-23 (*Nolite — ad gentes*) = Orl. 268, 19-21.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 303, 312, 315-22, 327; use of GR-Ev 21 and of the writers listed in marginal glosses; use of Arculf, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, PS-HI-Ev Mc, *LQE*, and Manch[i]anus (McNamara p 318-22).

This text presents historical, spiritual, and moral interpretations of this pericope. It is notable for its three marginal attributions in the historical exegesis to a certain Man(ch[i]anus), none of which *LQE* reproduces. Vat. uses virtually all of the *LQE* historical and spiritual exegesis for this pericope, interweaving *LQE*'s brief interpretations into a larger web of exegesis from other sources.

Some of the *LQE* excerpts are verbatim, some nearly so. The following historical interpretation of Matth. 28, 1 in Orl. and Vat. has a parallel passage in RADB-Mt, which supports Vat.'s readings over those of Orl. (parallel readings in bold face):

Orl. 266, 16-17: IN PRIMA. Prima dies dicitur Dominica, quae meruit uidere Dominum **resurgere** et mundum nasci atque **serari** per Christum.

Radbert 12 (1412, 4719-4723): PRIMA igitur SABBATI dies Dominica nunc dicitur quae prima condita est in principio et prima meruit uidere Dominum **resurgentem**. Ipsa quidem prior mundo principium dedit ipsaque per Christum prior **reparari** promeruit.

Vat. 20vb18-20: Dominica dies dicitur, dum meruit uidere Dominum **resurgentem**, et mundum **reparari** per Christum.

While adopting the Radbert and Vat. reading of *reparari* for Orl. *serari* is a sound decision, the substitution of *resurgentem* for *resurgere* is more problematic since both are acceptable; *LQE resurgere* may be preferable, however, since it is part of a triad of infinitives.

Vat. has fleshed out other passages from Orl. It has slightly expanded the historical interpretation of Matth. 28, 13 (*LQE* in bold face):

Orl. 267, 29-268, 2: FURATI SUNT. Quod Iudaeis conuenit. Uere a quibus bis furatus est: siue in resurrectione siue in exitu ad gentes. Uide Christum bis furatum: primo a Ioseph, secundo in resurrectione.

Vat. 22vb16-20: ET FURATI SUNT. Hoc uere conuenit illis. Furatus enim ab eis dupliciter .i. in <re>surrectione uel in exitu ad gentes. Uide Christum bis furatum a Iudeis ad gentes: primo ab Ioseph in Egiptum, nunc secundo in resurrectione nobis.

McNamara (1990a p 318) believes that for the historical and spiritual texts "it is a fair assumption that here again the compiler of the *Catechesis* was using the *LQE* or a commentary almost identical to it". I agree completely with the first part of this statement, but I now believe we do not need to posit "a commentary almost identical" to *LQE*, except to emphasize that Vat. did not rely on any of the extant MSS for its texts and to propose that it may have used a different recension than survives in Orl. In general, we should consider that Vat. changes to the *LQE* text were made in order to render an exegetical text intelligible to a wider audience.

26 (20). No heading. <Homily about Christ's Resurrection> (ff. 23vb3-40 and 32ra1-32rb37).

*Inc.*: Hodie maled(i)c(ti)o peccati adē deposita (est) et discordia q(uae) (inter) d(eu)m et ho(min)es fu(er)it pacificata.

*Expl.*: Iudicat(ur) humanu(m) gen(us). reddens unicuique iuxta opera sua...

Two-line majuscule **H** introduces the text.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 312, 330-31 (the seven things prophesied of Christ).

27 (21 and 22). S(e)c(un)d(u)m ioh(annem) (in top margin in mixed script) <Ioh. 20, 26-31: Jesus Appears to Thomas> (ff. 32va1-35vb13).

*Inc.*: Post dies .UIII. Ite(ru)m erant discipuli usque in nom(in)e eius., Hoc e(st) factu(m) q(uod) narrat(ur) i(n) isto die i(n) ecl(esi)a d(e)i. i(n) q(u)adrangulato mundo.

*Expl.*: h(aec) s(un)t signa p(r)imi diei .i. tonitrua magna., r(e)l(iqua).,

F. 34vb top margin cut off together with some text. .

Heading in top margin in small, rustic and uncial letters. Five-line majuscule **P** introduces the lection. Smaller majuscule **H** introduces the commentary.

*LQE* affiliations:

Vat. 32vb7-30 (Quia X uicibus — in caelum) = Orl. 268, 27-269, 3 (Notandum quod X uicibus — in caelum); cfr AG-Ev.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 47-58 (edition); McNamara 1990a p 322 (does not mention brief *LQE* affiliation); use of Gospel according to the Hebrews (McNamara p 328).

The *LQE* account of Christ's appearances after the resurrection is a close rendering of AG-Ev. The Vat. text, which is based on the *LQE* list of appearances rather than on AG-Ev, has expanded *LQE* on the basis of a close reading of the Bible. Examine, for example, the account of Christ's first six appearances after the resurrection (*LQE* text is in bold face):

AG-Ev 3, 25, 83 (388, 21-389, 1): Inuenimus itaque apud quattuor euangelistas deciens commemoratum dominum uisum esse ab hominibus post resurrectionem: semel ad monumentum mulieribus, iterum eisdem regredientibus a monumento in itinere, tertio Petro, quarto duobus euntibus in castellum, quinto pluribus in Hierusalem ubi non erat Thomas, sexto ubi eum uidit Thomas.

Orl. 268, 27-30: Notandum quod .X. uicibus apostolis euangelia describunt Dominum apparuisse. Ad monumentum mulieribus .II. Eisdem egredientibus de monumento .III. Petro. IIII. Duobus in uia, id est Cleophe et Ammon. U. Multis in Hierusalem ubi non erat Thomas. UI. Ubi eum uidit Thomas.

Vat. 32vb7-21: Quia .X. uicibus apparuit Christus apostolis suis per .XL. dies a resurrectione usque ad ascensionem. Primo, Mariae Magdalenae quae flebat ad monumentum .II. Quando uenit obuiam mulieribus in uia euntibus ad annuntiandum resurrectionem apostolis .III. Petro et Iohanni euntibus ad probationem resurrectionis .IIII. Lucae et Cleopae non agnoscentibus quando fuit in comitatu illorum, et praedicauit legem illis donec "agnouerunt in fractione panis" (Luc. 24, 35) quando fuerunt in hospitio. U. Apostolis omnibus in Hierusalem in uespere pascae, ut Iohannes dicit: "Cum sero esset et fores essent clausae, uenit Iesus et dixit: 'Pax uobis'" (Ioh. 20, 19). Ubi non fuit Tomas. .UI. Ubi fuit Tomas. In hoc die pascae in domu clausa quia non uidit Tomas Christum post resurrectionem usque ad diem istum.

Vat. has added specificity to the kernel *LQE* text present in each item and has added supporting Bible verses. I believe these are homiletic features that have been added for increased intelligibility to an extremely abbreviated source list (eleven lines in AG-Ev; seven lines in *LQE*; twenty-five in Vat.).

28 (23). No heading. <A homily on Matth. 16, 24: On Discipleship> (ff. 35vb14-37rb20).

*Inc.*: Si q(u)is uult uenire po(st) me. r(e)l(iqua). I(esu)s Chr(istu)s unic(us) d(e)i f(i)l(iu)s g(e)n(er)i humano q(u)on-da(m) p(r)imi parentis noxa p(er)eunti.

*Expl.*: p(rae)mium q(uod) nec ocul(us) uidit. nec auris. r(e)l(iqua)... habebat i(n) unitate p(at)ris et filii et sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i i(n) s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lorum amen...

Two-line majuscule S introduces lection. No other majuscule initials in text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 59-65 (edition); use of an apocryphal book and GR-Iob (Wilmart p 62-65).

29 (24). H(oc) testi(monium) math(eus) capitulo .LXXXUI. lu(cas) (autem) .C. no(uem) canone .U. narrauerunt..., <Matth. 10, 16 and Luc. 10, 3> (ff. 37rb20-39rb22).

*Inc.*: Ecce ego mitto uos... et simplices sicut columbae. Christus d(i)x(it) h(un)c sermon(em) apos(tolis) s(ui)s q(ua)n(d)o misit eos in uniuersum orbem terrae ad p(rae)dication(em) sui no(min)is.

*Expl.*: Q(uam) pace(m) p(er) d(e)i mise(ricordiam) habitabim(us) p(er) i(esu)m chr(istu)m saluatore(m) n(ost)r(u)m. cui glo(ri)a i(n) s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) amen...

Heading in small mixed majuscule. Two-line majuscule E introduces pericope.

30 (25). Matheus hoc testimonium canone .U. capitulo .q. XL.IX. lucas uero .CL. <Homily on Matth. 6, 33 and Luc. 12, 31: On Swearing Falsely and on Seeking God's Kingdom First> (ff. 39rb22-40va5).

*Inc.*: Querite p(r)imu(m) regnu(m) die ... p(rae)stab(un)t(ur) uob(is).. Chr(istu)s d(i)x(it) h(un)c sermon(em) apos(tolis) s(ui)s. et o(mn)i habitatori e(c)cl(e)s(i)e us(que) ad fin(em) mundi.

*Expl.*: q(uam) gloria(m) possidebim(us) d(e)o donante. q(u)i c(um) p(at)re uiuit et reg(nat) i(n) s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um)...

Heading in small mixed majuscule. Three-line majuscule Q introduces lection.

31 (26). No heading. <Short comment on Apoc. 5, 13: All Creatures Praising the Lamb> (ff. 40va6-40vb13).

*Inc.*: Uidi i(n) dext(er)a ... uidi in dextera. h(oc) (est) i(n) chr(ist)o q(ua) ipse (est) dext(er)a dei.

*Expl.*: et p(er) illu(m) g(e)n(u)s humanu(m) renouatu(m) (est)...

Majuscule U introduces lemma.

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 330-31 (the seven things prophesied of Christ).

32 (27). No heading. <Homily on Luc. 13, 6-9: Parable of the Fig Tree> (ff. 40vb14-42va4).

*Inc.*: [Complete pericope] <D>icebat (autem) hanc similitudin(em) ... sin (autem) succides ea(m). [Commentary] Script(ur)e s(an)c(t)e u(er)ba aliq(ua)n(do) s(un)t plana et manifesta.

*Expl.*: (er)go du(m) te(m)p(us) habem(us) op(er)em(ur) bonu(m). q(u)i sic fecerit uiuet i(n) et(er)nu(m)...

The blank line that separates preceding text from this text may be a space for a heading. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule D introducing lection. Tiny d is written to left of the space.

33 (28). Math(eus) ca(none) .LXXII. mar(cus) .XXII. lu(cas) .XXX.IX. sic math(eus) h(oc) testimo(nium) narrat..., <Exposition on Matth. 9, 10-13: Jesus Eats with the Tax Collectors> (ff. 42va4-43vb24).

*Inc.*: [Complete pericope] <E>t f(a)c(tu)m (est) disc(um)bente eo i(n) domu ... s(ed) peccatores. [Commentary] .III. euangeliste h(oc) tes(timonium) narrant. math(eus). mar(cus). lu(cas). licet paruo defer(un)t i(n) s(upe)rficie..

*Expl.*: (con)sid(er)antes q(uod) pi(us) sit. nolite disp(er)are.. q(u)i sic fec(er)it uiuet in et(er)nu(m)....

Heading in small, predominantly rustic capitals. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule ET introducing lection. Tiny et is written to left of the space.

34 (29). H(oc) testi(monium) ioh(annis). capi(tulo) .CXX.UII. et .X. canone narrauit..., <Exposition on Ioh. 14, 1-2: Many Mansions in God's House> (ff. 43vb24-45rb21).

*Inc.*: <N>on t(ur)bet(ur) cor u(est)r(u)m credite i(n) domu p(at)ris mei multe s(un)t mansiones. Chr(istu)s h(un)c ser-

mon(em) ad (con)sulation(em) apos(tolo)r(um). paulisp(er)  
an(te) passion(em) sua(m) d(i)x(it)..

*Expl.*: sic et nos c(um) ipsis cantauim(us) hoc i(n) sæcula  
sæculor(um) amen...

Heading in small mixed rustic and (predominantly) uncial letters. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule N introducing lection. Tiny n is written to left of the space.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 65-71 (edition); use of AG-Ioh 77 (Wilmart p 68).

35 (30). No heading. <Short commentary on Apoc. 4, 5a: Vision of the Glory of God and the Lamb> (f. 45rb21-45va2).

*Inc.*: Et de throno exeunt fulgora et uoces et tonitrua .i. de  
ecl(esi)a i(n) mund(um) p(ro)cedit diuina narratio.

*Expl.*: Sic (enim) e(st) aliqu(a)n(do) et diuina narratio. aures  
penit(ra)t. cor i(n)t(us) (con)pungit. i(n)tellec(tus) (autem) n(on)  
subuertit..

Majuscule ET introduces the lection.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 71 n 8 (edition).

36 (31). No heading. <Homily on Ioh. 2, 1-11: Marriage at Cana> (ff. 45va3-47ra35).

*Inc.*: <I>n illis dieb(us) die t(er)tio ... uocat(us) e(st) (autem)  
ie(su)s. et r(e)l(iqua). S(an)c(tu)s ioh(annes) euangelista q(u)i  
fuit alu(m)n(us) d(omi)ni n(ost)ri i(es)u chr(ist)i hanc nar-  
ratio(nem) de mirabilib(us) narrat..

*Expl.*: c(um) eo habitauim(us) i(n) beatitudine regni cęlestis  
absq(ue) ullo fine i(n) sæc(u)la sæc(u)lor(um) amen....

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule I introducing lection. Tiny i is written to left of the space.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 72-79 (edition); use of Gospel according to the Hebrews for description of Magi (McNamara 1990a p 328).

37 (32). I. euang(elium) s(ecundum) lu(cam). De circ(um)ci-  
sione) i(n)cipit.. <Luc. 2, 21> (f. 47ra35-47va31).

*Inc.*: <Et> postq(uam) (con)su(m)mati s(un)t dies .iiii. ut  
circ(um)cide(re)t(ur) puer ... q(uam) i(n) ut(er)o  
(con)cip(er)et(ur).. hanc lectio(nem) s(an)c(tu)s lu(cas) narrat  
i(n) euang(elio) suo de circ(um)cisione d(omi)ni n(ost)ri i(es)u  
chr(ist)i..

*Expl.*: et nos i(n) regno celi s(i)n(e) ullo fine c(um) eo habitabim(us) i(n) sec(u)la sec(u)lor(um) am(en)...,

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule ET introducing pericope. Tiny et is written to left of the space.

38 (33). No heading. <Homily on Matth. 20, 29-34: The Two Blind Men of Jericho> (ff. 47va32-vb and 24ra-27).

*Inc.*: <Et> eg(re)dientib(us) illis ab hiericho secuta e(st) eu(m) t(ur)ba multa... Si(cut) s(an)c(tu)s math(eus) i(n) euangelio suo narrat. d(i)c(en)s.. et eg(re)diente eo ab iericho secuta e(st) eu(m) t(ur)ba multa.

*Expl.*: (inter) s(an)c(t)oſ et i(us)tos. (inter) ang(elos) et arch(angelos) et o(mn)es uirtutes celi. i(n) sec(u)la sec(u)lor(um) am(en)...

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule ET introducing lection. Tiny et is written in margin to left of space.

*LQE* affiliations:

<historialiter>: Matth. 20, 30-34: Vat. 47vb1-20 (Et ecce — animae affectibus) = Orl. 194, 30-195, 20 (Ecce duo — anime uirtutibus); cfr HI-Mt, AG-Ev;

<spiritualiter>: Matth. 20, 30: Vat. 47vb21-24ra1 (Christus — sequuntur Christum) = Orl. 195, 24-196, 6 (Egredientibus — Christum sequuntur); cfr AM-Lc, HI-Mt, HIL-Mt;

moraliter: Matth. 20, 30: Vat. 24ra1-2 (Moraliter hi duo — bonum) = Orl. 196, 15-16 (Moraliter — hominis);

Matth. 20, 30: Vat. 24ra6-7 (uiam — ambulat) = Orl. 196, 16-17 (Secus — habitans);

Matth. 20, 30-31: Vat. 24ra11-13 (Per — uitiorum) = Orl. 196, 17-18 (Clamauerunt — iniqui);

Matth. 20, 34.30: Vat. 24ra15.17-19 (Misericorditer indulgeat. Siue hi — futuris) = Orl. 196, 19-21 (Misertus — futura).

*Bib.*: McNamara 1990a p 314, 327 (use of *LQE*).

Vat. adopts *LQE* exegesis throughout, but its rendering is not verbatim. The homiletic nature of no. 38 again seems to be the reason for its full-sentence lemmata and exegesis and the fully-cited Bible verses. Compare historical exegesis of Matth. 20, 31-34, in which the final sentence is a homiletical addition (*LQE* text is in bold face):

Orl. 195, 11-20: TURBA INCREPABAT. Ne Iesus quasi molestiam sustineret. STETIT DOMINUS. Mira humilitas. Nouit enim quod

multae foueae multaeque rupes erant in Hiericho, ac lumen non habentes incedere non ualebant. UOCANT. Uocat Iesus. Turbae prohibere desinent. QUID UULTIS. Interrogat eos, ut confessione eorum salus propria procederet. TETIGIT OCULOS EORUM. Illi in domo, isti in uia sanati sunt. Prestat artifex quod natura non dederat aut donat misericordia quod debilitas tollebat (*recte sec.* HI-Mt: ... aut quod debilitas tollebat. Donat misericordia). SECUTI SUNT EUM. Qui ante contracti sedebant et clamare tantum nouerant, postea secuntur non tam corporis sensibus quam anime uirtutibus.

Vat 47vb10-21: TURBA AUTEM INCREPABAT EOS UT TACERENT .i. Ne Dominus quasi molestiam sustineret. AT ILLIS MAGIS CLAMABANT DICENTES: DOMINE MISERERE NOSTRI FILI DAUID. ET STETTIT IESUS. In hoc mira humilitas Domini uidetur. Et UOCAUIT EOS. Uocauit autem Iesus ut turba caecos prohib<er>e desinat. ET AIT: QUID UULTIS UT FACIAM UOBIS. Ideo autem interrogat eos, ut confessione errorum solus sequeretur. (The *LQE* text for the preceding clause makes more sense: ut confessione eorum salus propria procederet.) DICUNT ILLI: DOMINE UT APERIANTUR OCULI NOSTRI. ET MISERTUS EST ILLIS IESUS ET TETIGIT OCULOS EORUM. ET CONFESTIM UIDERUNT ET SECUTI SUNT EUM .i. non tam corpore quam animae affectibus (*LQE* and HI-Mt: uirtutibus). In hac historia misterium mirabile subauditur.

Although the *LQE* parallels in Vat. are not verbatim renderings, the kernel *LQE* interpretation is present in virtually every strictly exegetical remark in Vat. and is therefore useful in emending Vat, just as Vat. sometimes provides a better reading for *LQE*.

39 (34). Lu(cas) h(oc) testi(monium) capi(tulo) .CXXXII. a canone .X. cecinit..., <Homily on Luc. 11, 27-28: The Blessedness of Jesus's Mother> (ff. 24ra28-25ra5).

*Inc.*: <Et> f(a)c(tu)m est c(um) h(aec) i(esu)s d(ice)ret.. et r(e)l(iqua)... Uidens h(aec) mulier chr(istu)m (inter) t(ur)bas p(rae)dicante(m). amiransq(ue) ipsi(us) nobilitate(m).

*Expl.*: Q(uam) beatitudin(em) habitauim(us) p(rae)stante d(omi)no n(ost)ro i(esu) chr(ist)o. cui glo(ria) in sec(u)la sec(u)lor(um) amen....

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule ET introducing lection. Tiny et is written in margin to left of space.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 79-82 (edition); use of AG-uirg (Wilmart 1933 p 80) and APO-Cant (McNamara 1990a p 310-11).



40 (35). No heading. <Matth. 7, 12: The Golden Rule> (f. 25ra6-25va29).

*Inc.*: <O>mnia q(uae)c(um)q(ue) uultis ut faciant uob(is) ho(min)es bona et r(e)l(iqua). Si(cut) p(r)i(us) scripsi. us(que) q(u)o d(i)c(tu)m (est). et auditor bon(us) i(n)de p(ro)fert magna(m) messe(m) scientiae.

*Expl.*: p(er) q(uam) positis portum q(u)ietis i(n)t(r)are ciuitatem regis su(m)mi q(uae) pax no(min)at(ur) habitare....,

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule O introducing lection. Tiny o is written in margin to left of blank space.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 83-85 (edition).

41 (36). Math(eus) h(oc) testi(monium) capi(tulo) .CXL. et ca(none) .X. ., <Sermon on Matth. 13, 45-46: Parable of the Pearl> (ff. 25va29-27va11).

*Inc.*: <S>imile est regnum c(elo)rum homini negotiatori ... et emit ea(m)... Chr(istu)s h(un)c sermon(em) p(ri)mit(us) d(i)x(it). ac math(eus) po(st)ea scrip(sit).

*Expl.*: et sermon(em) diui<nu>m u(er)b(is) et op(er)ib(us) d(e)o donante nob(is) auxiliu(m) i(m)plea(mus): q(u)i sic f(e)c(e)rit uiuet in e(t)er(nu)m...,

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals immediately follows *explicit* of previous text. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule S introducing lection. Tiny s is written in margin to left of the blank space.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 85-93 (edition); use of GR-Ez 2, GR-Ev 3, IS-ety (Wilmart p 85, 86, 93).

42 (37). Matheus hoc testimonium canone .CC.X. et canone .X. narravit..., <Exposition on Matth. 21, 10-11: The Prophet Jesus from Galilee> (ff. 27va11-29ra23).

*Inc.*: <E>t cum i(n)t(r)asset i(esu)s hierosolima(m) ... a nazareth galile.. In illo die h(oc) f(a)ct(u)m (est) q(ua)n(do) c(um) multis circa se t(ur)b(is) i(esu)s ad hierusale(m) uenit.

*Expl.*: fugiente (autem) a nob(is) dolore et gemitu. letitia(m) habebim(us) i(n) s(ec)u(n)da s(ec)u(n)da amen...,

Heading immediately follows *explicit* of preceding text. Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals. Text begins on next line. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule ET introducing lection. Tiny et is written in margin to left of space.

43 (38). Math(eus) h(oc) testi(monium) capi(tulo) .C.XXVII: ca(none) .C.XXX.UII. et cano(ne) .U. uicina narratio(nem) narrant (*corr. e* narravit). Sic math(eus) narrat..., <Commentary on Matth. 12, 42: The Return of the Unclean Spirit> (ff. 29ra23-30ra7).

*Inc.*: <R>egina austri surget i(n) iudicio ... et ec(ce) pl(us)q(uam) salomon hic.. Chr(istu)s hanc narratio(nem) narravit p(ri)mit(us).. Math(eus) et lu(cas) (con)scripser(un)t po(st)ea..

*Expl.*: h(aec) s(un)t (autem) p(er)fectiora q(uae) nob(is) chr(istu)s ostendit... finit.,

Heading immediately follows *explicit* of preceding text. Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals. Text begins on following line. Two-line blank space is left for R introducing lection. Small r is written in margin to left of space.

Top margin plus three lines of f. 30rv cut out.

44 (39). Secund(um) math(eum). s(ecundu)m mar(cum) s(ecundum) lu(cam). In no(min)e d(e)i su(m)mi .CC.UI.CXVII CCXXXII..., <Homily on Matth. 21, 1-11: Palm Sunday> (f. 30ra7-30va1).

*Inc.*: <C>um app(ro)prinq(u)assent hierosolimis ... ad monte(m) oliueti..., Bethage (autem) dom(us) buccę s(i)u(e) maxillar(um) (inter)p(retatur).

*Expl.*: b(ene)d(i)c(tu)s q(u)i uenit i(n) no(min)e d(omi)ni saluare q(uod) p(er)ierat. Ipsa gloria et i(m)p(er)iu(m) i(n) sc(u)la sæc(u)lor(um) am(en)...

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals, immediately follows *explicit* of preceding text. Text begins on following line. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule C introducing lection. Tiny c is written in margin to left of space. Majuscule B introduces commentary.

*LQE* affiliations:

<spiritualiter>:

Matth. 21, 1: Vat. 30ra12 (Bethage — interpretatur) = HI-Mt; (Orl. 198, 26-28 = Vat. 15ra25-28);

Matth. 21, 1: Vat. 30ra13 (Ubi — requies) = HI-Mt; cfr Orl. 198, 28-29 (A monte — dolorum);

Matth. 21, 2: Vat. 30ra30 (Siue omnem — lasciuus) = HI-Mt; (Orl. 199, 2 = Vat. 15rb10-11);

Matth. 21, 4: cfr Vat. 30ra38-39 (Filia Sion Hierusalem significat) and Orl. 197, 2-3 (Filiae — Hierusalem = Vat. 14rb11-12);  
 Matth. 21, 5: cfr Vat. 30ra39-40 (Spiritualiter — aeclesiam significat) and Orl. 199, 5 (Filia — ecclesia est = Vat. 15rb21-22);  
 Matth. 21, 5: Vat. 30rb1 (Rex — alienigena) = Orl. 197, 4 (Tuus — alienigena) and Vat. 14rb13;  
 Matth. 21, 7: cfr Vat. 30rb12-15 (Uestimenta — intelliguntur) and Orl. 199, 9-11 (Uestimenta — diuersitas); cfr HI Mt;  
 Matth. 21, 7: cfr Vat. 30rb15-16, 18 (Plurimae — in uia ... et exempla — praebeant) and Orl. 200, 12-13 (Uestimenta — martyrium).

The scattered parallels do not indicate reliance of Vat. on *LQE*. Three of the eight originate in common use of HI-Mt. *LQE* does not seem to be the source for the others. Vat., ff. 14rb1-16va12 (nos. 13 and 14), shares more extensive, verbatim sections (in parentheses) with *LQE* than does this brief homily.

45 (40). .L. s(ecundum) lu(cam) in die na(talis) d(omi)ni...  
 <Homily on Luc. 2, 1-20: The Birth of Jesus and the Shepherds Glorifying Him> (ff. 30va2-31v and 48-49vb19).

*Inc.*: [Complete pericope] <F>(a)c(tu)m e(st)(autem) i(n) illis dieb(us) ... cirino no(min)e.. et r(e)l(iqua). F(a)c(tu)m (est)(autem) ... si(cut) d(omi)n(u)s ostendit illis.. [Commentary] S(an)c(tu)s lu(cas) narrat q(u)i (est) .IIII. scriptor euang(e)l(i)i h(oc) op(us) mirabile natiui(tatis) d(omi)ni n(ost)ri q(uod) f(a)c(tu)m (est) hodie.

*Expl.*: (Con)iugales q(uo)q(ue) rationales et u(er)aces et mundi n(on) diligentes et mund(um) n(on) diligentes. et o(mn)es s(an)c(t)i c(um) illo regnab(un)t in s(e)c(u)la s(e)c(u)lor(um) am(en)...

Heading in small, mixed rustic and uncial capitals on same line as *explicit* of preceding text. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule F introducing lection. Tiny f is written in margin to left of space. Large uncial A (f. 31ra32) introduces second interpretation of Luc. 2, 14 (GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO); majuscule S (f. 31va5) introduces Luc. 2, 15 (SICUT DOMINUS OSTENDIT NOBIS). The spiritual interpretation of this pericope opens with Cesar (Luc. 2, 1) with a majuscule C (f. 31va30). A two-line majuscule H (f. 49rb29) introduces the narrative commentary on the entire pericope. A second two-line majuscule H (f. 49va23) continues

the commentary with remarks on the things that are happening today and that will happen on the day of judgment.

Top margin and three lines of f. 30rv cut out of folio.

*LQE* affiliations:

⟨historialiter⟩:

Luc. 2, 3: cfr Vat. 30vb29-32 (Ne — celaretur) and Orl. 25, 3-5 (Ne per — diabolo); cfr HI-Mt;

Luc. 2, 7: cfr Vat. 31ra15-17 (Non ideo — uuluam) and Orl. 30, 22-24 (Primogenitum — uuluam); cfr HI-Mt;

Luc. 2, 4: cfr Vat. 31rb13-15 (In ciuitate — Christi) and Orl. 31, 12 (Natus — inuenitur);

⟨spiritualiter⟩:

Luc. 2, 1: cfr Vat. 31vb6-40/48ra1-5 (Sicut enim Abraham — coacti sunt) and Orl. 31, 3-11 (Hic sciendum — circumambit reliqua); cfr ORO-hist;

Luc. 2, 3: cfr Vat. 48rb6-7 (Pueri — coronantur) and Orl. 40, 12-13 (Pueri — martyres);

Luc. 2, 4: cfr Vat. 48rb32-33 (Per Bethlem — intelligitur) and Orl. 31, 13.34, 4 (In Betleem — panis.Bethleem — ecclesiam); cfr HI-Mt;

Luc. 2, 6: Vat. 48va7-9 (Primogenitus — creaturae) = Orl. 30, 30-31, 1-2 (Siue Christum — creature);

Luc. 2, 7: cfr Vat. 48va20-21 (Per diuersorium — aeclesia significat) and Orl. 37, 5 (Introitus — ecclesiae).

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 93-106 (edition); Cross 1973; Willard 1934 p 229-30; use of HI-Mt, HI-Dan, two ps-Augustinian sermons, AG-s 199, ORO-hist, GR-Ev 8, AM-Lc (Wilmart p 95, 97, 102, 103, 104, 105).

The few and scattered *LQE* parallels found in this long homily are taken, I believe, from a common source.

46 (41). <Concerning Behemoth, Iob. 40, 10> (f. 49vb20-39).

*Inc.*: Iob (s.l.) Ecce iob beemoth q(ue)m feci r(e)l(iqua). Beemo<th> i(n) dię partib(us) i(n)uenit(ur). C(uiu)s i(n)ormitas o(mn)ib(us) p(ro)fert(ur).

*Expl.*: De q(u)o d(icitu)r. ille babtizabit uos i(n) sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o et igni....,

Majuscule E introduces the text.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 107 (edition); use of GR-Iob (Wilmart p 107).

47 (42a). <Concerning the dwelling places of souls> (ff. 49vb40-50ra20).

*Inc.* : U. loca i(n) q(u)ib(us) fiunt anime us(que) ad die(m) iudicii.,

*Expl.* : et redimi poss(un)t q(u)i i(n) loco lucis et caliginis (con)sist(un)t. et i(n)certu(m) h(abe)t(ur) ubi habitant.,

Majuscule U introduces the text.

*Bib.* : Wilmart 1933 p 107 (edition).

48 (42b). <Concerning the virtues of alms> (f. 50ra21-50rb11).

*Inc.* : Elimosina <.i. heb(raic)e s.l.> d(e)imei op(us) la(tine).

*Expl.* : chr(istu)s d(ici)t. Uade ... habebis thesaur(um) i(n) celo...,

Majuscule E introduces the text.

*Bib.* : Wilmart 1933 p 108 (edition).

49 (42c). <Other opinions about alms> (f. 50rb12-16).

*Inc.* : Aliena n(on) i(m)molanda s(un)t d(e)o.

*Expl.* : s(ed) tuis i(us)tis laborib(us) minist(ra) paup(er)ib(us).

Two-line majuscule A introduces the text.

*Bib.* : Wilmart 1933 p 108 (edition).

50 (43). <Homily about the Second Coming of Christ, using Matth. 19, 16-30 as text> (ff. 50rb17-51ra12).

*Inc.* : [Complete pericope] Et ecce un(us) accedens ait illi ... nouissimi p(r)imi. [Commentary] P(r)im(us) aduent(us) i(n) hu(m)ilitate fuit et mansuetudine.

*Expl.* : Rogam(us) d(eu)m o(mn)ipo(tentem) ut meream(ur) possid(er)e illa(m) beatitudin(em) i(n) sęc(u)la sęc(u)lor(um) am(en)....,

Two-line majuscule ET introduces pericope. Blank line after Matth. 19, 29. Two-line blank space is left for majuscule M introducing Matth. 19, 30: <M>ulti (autem) er(un)t p(r)imi nouissimi et nouissimi p(r)imi. Tiny m is written in margin to left of space. Commentary follows on next line.

No. 2 (Vat., ff. 3va10-3vb, 7ra-7rb15) in this collection, which also comments on this pericope, draws exclusively on some MS of *LQE* for its exegesis. Although McNamara (1990a p 327) writes that *LQE* was used "in the homiletic treatment" of this text, I have not found any affiliations.

*Bib.*: Wilmart 1933 p 108-111 (edition); use of GR-Iob, a ps-Augustinian sermon, and PS-BED-Coll (Wilmart p 109, 111); McNamara 1990a p 327 (use of *LQE*).

51 (44). No heading. <Homily about fasting> (ff. 51ra13-52rb).

*Inc.*: <D>ebem(us)ieiunare i(n)h(oc)XLte(m)po(re)et orare.,

*Expl.*: Corpori (autem) si adiciat(ur) libidi us(que) p(rac)t(er) i(n)positu(m) i(n) debile uocabit(ur)....,

Three-line blank space is left for majuscule **D** introducing homily. Tiny **d** is written in margin to left of space. Two-line majuscule **P** (f. 51ra28) introduces section describing incidents in the Old and the New Testament that demonstrate the benefits of fasting. Two-line majuscule **ET** introduces section describing incidents in the Old and New Testament that demonstrate bad things that happen when gluttony occurs. Two-line blank space left for majuscule **S** (tiny **s** is written to left of blank space) introduces section reminding audience that Christ has told us not to worry about food or clothing.

52 (44). <D>e dieb(us) .UII. an(te) die(m) iudicii (f. 52va1-52vb28).

*Inc.*: P(r)imo die p(r)imu(m) signu(m) iudicii. Morm(ur) magni erit i(n) celo.

*Expl.*: Uidebim(us) rege(m) iuuen(em) et et(er)nu(m) et regni et(er)ni uidebim(us) p(at)rem et filiu(m) et sp(iri)t(u)m s(an)c(tu)m...,

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule **D** (tiny **d** is written to left of blank space) introducing heading, which is in same script as the text itself.

Wilmar joined this text to the preceding homily on fasting.

*Bib.*: Use of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* (McNamara 1990a p 329).

53 (45). No heading. <Concerning the blessedness of tears, based on Matth. 5, 4> (ff. 52vb29-53ra15).

*Inc.*: <B>eati q(u)i lugent n(un)c. b(ene) (autem) d(icitu)r q(ua)n(do) te(m)p(us) est penitentie.

*Expl.*: et p(rac)sentia saluatoris i(n) fut(ur)o. ut (est) illud. delebit d(eu)s o(mn)em lacrima(m) ab oculis eorum.,

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule **B** (tiny **b** is written to left of blank space) introducing lection.

54 (46). **De die domi<ni>co..**, (f. 53ra16-53rb).

*Inc.* : <D>ies do(m)inic(us) dies beat(us) q(u)a p(r)im(us) dies fuit.

*Expl.* : Et nos debem(us) p(rae)dicare ad o(mn)es ho(min)es ut uita(m) et(er)na(m) habeam(us) sine fine in secula seculorum Amen..., FINIT AMEN...,

Two-line blank space is left for majuscule **D** (tiny **d** is written to left of blank space) introducing homily.

*Bib.* : Wilmart 1933 p 111-12 (edition) and McNally 1973 p 178-79, 185-86 (edition); McNamara 1990a p 329. McNally concludes that the Vat. text belongs to Resc. III of *Dies Dominica*. McNamara and McNally discuss its relationship to the Irish *Epistil Ísu* and *Cáin Domhnaigh*.

55. According to Wilmart (1933 p 116-117), a second tenth-century hand added selections of antiphons, responses, and psalms, which were chosen for the Roman office of the three-day paschal festival from the nocturns of the fifth feria to the dominical lauds (ff. 53v-54r).

#### CONTEMPORARY, MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL MARGINALIA :

f. 1 (upper margin). Though the volume once belonged to Paul Petau, the Vatican number (49) is the only codex number found in the MS.

f. 1 (lower margin). "Exposit(i)o eua(n)gelior(um) et Marcus de significat(i)o<ne>dictionum."

"Marcus ... dictionum" refers to the work on ff. 53v-54 thought to be by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus. The inscription is in a thirteenth-century hand (Wilmar 1937 p 117).

f. 21rb29 (margin). Construe marks (:) above *summitas* and the marginal gloss .i. *guor/cher*, which is in the same hand as the manuscript. The entire sentence reads: "ita t(er)re mot(us) f(a)c(tu)s (est) .i. fracta (est) su(m)mitas i(n)ferni c(um) resurge(re)nt mortui..." Loth (1915-16 p 411-412) recorded the opinions of H. M. Bannister, *Paleografia musicale vaticana*, who first printed this gloss (as *quorcher*) and considered it to be Irish; and of W. M. Lindsay (*guorcher*), who believed it to be Breton. Loth himself explained *guorcher* as a non-extant Cornish word meaning 'couvercle (cover, lid)' and hence 'sommets (pinnacle)'. Fleuriot (1985 p 198) believed it to be Breton rather than Cor-

nish; Old Cornish would have had the form *\*worcher* rather than *guorcher*.

f. 32va12 (*s.l.*). The scribe has written *.i. trapen* over the words *pro capite*. The entire sentence is: "Ipse oblat(us) (est) s(upe)r altare crucis p(ro) capite p(ro)lis adae." Loth (1933 p 358) believed it to be Brittonic and to mean 'par dessus la tête (over the head)'. Fleuriot (1985 p 318) believed it to be a Breton phrase *tra pen*, meaning 'à cause de, en faveur de (for the sake of, in favor of)'.

f. 50ra21 (*s.l.*). The scribe has written *.i. heb(raic)e* over *elimosina*. The entire sentence is: "Elimosina dei mei opus la(tine)." McNamara (1990a p 299) records Ó Laoghaire's (1987 p 162) correction of Wilmart's reading on the basis of a passage from *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* XIII.2: "Elimosina hebraice, Dei mei opus latine intellegitur." Wilmart (Loth 1933 p 357) had taken this to be a gloss *he be(n)*, or less likely *he be(r)*, glossing: "Elimosina dei mei opus la(udat)" (Wilmart 1933a p 108.32). Loth had conjectured that the meaning was 'l'autre', since the scribe was offering another discussion of alms. Fleuriot (1985 p 207-208) concurred, offering further linguistic discussion.

f. 53. The scribe identifies himself: "Guilhelm scripsit hunc librum..., deo gratias."

f. 54r is partly blank, and f. 54v is almost completely blank. According to Wilmart (1937 p 117), a later hand from perhaps the tenth century has added a hexametre: "Insula portus erit cuius statione licebit."

An antiphon is written further down on the page, the first words of the responsory for the feast of St. Martin, with the ancient pneumas superimposed: "O beatum uirum cuius anima paradi[sum]."

Beneath is written: "Hic est mar[tinus]."

See H. M. Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina* ... [Lipsia, 1913] 34 n 118.

OMISSIONS AND CORRECTIONS IN TEXT (*pace* Wilmart 1937 p 117): The scribe himself has written many additions in the margins.

ORTHOGRAPHY: The orthography, taken from nos. 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 15, 17, 25, and 38, offers numerous ML spellings. Some



Hiberno-Latin spellings of the Class II and Class III types described by Herren (1982 p 432) also occur.

The list of ML orthographical features includes:

- (1) Examples of *babtism-* for *baptism-* predominate.
- (2) Vat. generally avoids the assibilated spelling *ci* for *ti* before a vowel, a sign of continental origin or transmission (Löfstedt 1965 p 107).
- (3) One example of *cx* for *x* exists: *subiunxcit*.
- (4) Some confusion of *de/di* exists: *diffiniens diliciarum discedisset dispexerant dispiciamus; defferi demittere desimilis*.
- (5) *F* is substituted for *ph*: *blasfemiam epifania lafeth profetis profetatum*, etc.
- (6) A few instances of lost *h* occur, but no instances of superfluous initial *h*: *coercens tesaures*.
- (7) Original *z* is spelled *s*: *Sacheus*.
- (8) Some singling of consonants occurs: *rediturus; consumatus; apareat aparuit; resurexero; dimisa praecet; atendit*.
- (9) Dissimilation of prefixes is rare: *adflixistis*.
- (10) Original *ae* becomes *e* and vice versa.
- (11) Original *ē* (or *ae* in one instance) is spelled *i*: *centinarius cimentarius* (< *caementarius*) *imbicillitas imbicillitate quadraginarius*.
- (12) Original *e* is spelled *i*: *praedestinatus reddire uehementius uiniatores*. Herren (1982 p 431) discounts Löfstedt's claim (1965 p 102) that this change is an especially HL feature.
- (13) Original *i* becomes *e*: *ancella sustenuit*.
- (14) Original *ū* is spelled *o*: *luxorium*.
- (15) Original *u* is spelled *o*: *absordum*.
- (16) *y* is spelled *i*: *abissum moises hipocrite misterium neophitis*.

Examples of HL orthography belong primarily to Herren's Class II and Class III spellings. Class II "pet" spellings (1982 p 430) in Vat. include: *cremen cremina creminum*. We should also probably include two others: *demedium*, a LL spelling to which scribes of manuscripts of Irish origin were distinctly partial (Bieler, 1975 p 30); and *monus* (for *munus*), a change similar to that found in HL "pet" spellings *motuus*, *motare*, *commonis*. The spelling of *za<b>ulo* (for *diabolo*) is also found in Celtic-Latin texts and is a feature of the Vulgate Celtic-Latin witnesses *Q R* (cf Mt

4, 5.8.11). Class III spellings include the "etymologically influenced" (Herren, 1982 p 432) *perigrino perigrinum perigrinis perigrinantium perigrinatio*.

I would include the doubling of *s* intervocalically in Class I, whose features can be explained through the influence of Old Irish scribal usage (Herren, 1982 p 432). Herren excludes this feature from Class I but admits that the Old Irish treatment of *s/ss* could have exerted a secondary influence (Herren 1982 p 431-432). Harvey believes duplication of intervocalic *s* is "a distinctively Celtic-Latin tendency" (*Database of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources* [Dublin, 1987] p 12). Both Löfstedt (1979 p 162/1965 p 102-103) and Bieler (1975 p 29, n. 2) had earlier accepted this as a feature of Celtic Latin. Vat. offers some instances of this doubling: *essurie essuriem essurienti lesserit nosscimus*. The doubling of other consonants is not considered to be a HL feature: *diffiniens*.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SUSPENSIONS: Assignment of a form to the list of primarily Celtic or universal usage is based on the discussions of each item in *Notae Latinae*, covering MSS from c. 700 to 850, and the *Supplement*, covering MSS dating between 850 and 1050. (The list *infra* is based on Vat., nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 25, 27, 29, 38, 44, 49.) The forms support the theory that the MS was written in an area under heavy Celtic (rather than simply Insular) influence from the tenth century onward. Forms common in Celtic MSS from the tenth century onward that are found in Vat. include:  $\bar{f}$  = *for*,  $\bar{u}$  = *usque*. The Continental form  $\bar{m}$  = *mur* in conjunction with the Insular symbol  $\bar{c}$  = *tur* is also found in three late Welsh MSS: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 153 (*post s. IX*), 199 (*post 1050*) and the Ricemarch Psalter (*post 1050*).

Support for Breton origin for this MS exists in a single abbreviation (occurring twice in the listed texts) not found in MSS from Ireland or Wales in either period:  $t \bar{p}re$  = *tempore*. Lindsay, in NL 389 [307] with supporting evidence from the *Supplement* p 48-49, writes: "In Ireland and Wales the word was not abbreviated." The abbreviation in question is found in two Anglo-Saxon MSS in: Boulogne 64 (*s. VIII*, from St. Bertin) and

Cotton Titus D XXVII (1012-1020, Newminster by Aelsinus for Aelfwinus); and in Breton MS Cotton Otho E XIII (s. X in.).

### Nomina Sacra: Standard forms.

**Primarily Celtic forms:** a $\bar{n}$  = ante; a $\bar{p}$  = apud;  $\bar{a}$  = aut;  $\mathcal{H}$  = autem predominates;  $\bar{b}$  = bene; ciu $\bar{i}$  = ciuitatem;  $\mathfrak{c}$  = con;  $\mathfrak{c}$  = contra (first form predominates);  $\mathfrak{c}^2$  = contra; c $\bar{s}$  = cuius;  $\bar{c}$  = cum; d $\bar{r}$ e d $\bar{r}$ ns d $\bar{c}$ m $\mathfrak{z}$  (1 x) d $\bar{c}$ s d $\bar{c}$ s (rare) d $\bar{c}$ i d $\bar{c}$ m d $\bar{c}$ am d $\bar{c}$ o d $\bar{c}$ is: dicere dicimus dicens dictus dicti dictum dictam dicto dictis;  $\mathfrak{e}$  = eius; ++ = enim;  $\bar{g}$  = ergo;  $\mathfrak{e}$  = est; et $\bar{i}$  = etiam; f $\bar{c}$ re f $\bar{c}$ s f $\bar{c}$ m f $\bar{c}$ a f $\bar{c}$ i f $\bar{c}$ is = facere factus factum (faciam x 1) facta facti factis; f $\bar{i}$ s f $\bar{i}$ o f $\bar{i}$ m f $\bar{i}$ or f $\bar{i}$ os f $\bar{i}$ a f $\bar{i}$ e = filius filio filium filiorum filios filia filiae; f $\bar{r}$  f $\bar{r}$ es f $\bar{r}$ ibus f $\bar{r}$ is = frater fratres fratribus fratris; h $\bar{r}$ e h $\bar{r}$  h $\bar{r}$ t h $\bar{r}$ s h $\bar{r}$ ti h $\bar{r}$ tes h $\bar{r}$ tibus = habere habet habent habens habenti habentes habentibus;  $\bar{h}$  h $\bar{t}$  h $\bar{c}$  = haec hoc hunc; h $\bar{o}$  h $\bar{o}$ em h $\bar{o}$ e h $\bar{o}$ es h $\bar{o}$ nibus = homo hominem homine homines; h $\bar{o}$ i $\bar{e}$ m h $\bar{o}$ i $\bar{u}$ m h $\bar{o}$ i $\bar{b}$ us = hominem hominum hominibus; h $\bar{s}$  = huius; .i. = id est; ig' = igitur; + = inter; l $\bar{q}$ r lo $\bar{q}$ r lo $\bar{q}$ i $\bar{m}$ i $\bar{n}$ i = loquitur loquimini; m $\bar{h}$  = mihi;  $\mathfrak{v}$  = nam; n $\bar{t}$  = nihil; n $\bar{i}$  = nisi; n $\bar{o}$  n $\bar{o}$ is n $\bar{o}$ e n $\bar{o}$ a n $\bar{o}$ ia = nomen nominis nomine nomina; n $\bar{o}$ at n $\bar{o}$ auit n $\bar{o}$ atiuo n $\bar{o}$  = nominat nominauit nominatiuo nominatiuum (capricious); n $\bar{u}$ s n $\bar{u}$ o = numerus numero (NL § 201 [157] writes that Irish scribes "as early as the time of St. Moling [+ 696] use n $\bar{u}$ s 'numerus,' n $\bar{u}$ i 'numeri,' n $\bar{u}$ o 'numero,' etc. and Welsh scribes have the same symbol. But not Anglosaxon, and apparently not Breton". *Supplement* notes use of this form in a post-850 Breton MS.); n $\bar{c}$  = nunc;  $\bar{o}$ is  $\bar{o}$ em  $\bar{o}$ e  $\bar{o}$ es  $\bar{o}$ a  $\bar{o}$ ia  $\bar{o}$ iu  $\bar{o}$ ium  $\bar{o}$ ibus  $\bar{o}$ ino = omnis omnem omne omnes omnia omnium omnibus omnino; p $\bar{r}$ is p $\bar{r}$ i p $\bar{r}$ em p $\bar{r}$ e p $\bar{r}$ es p $\bar{r}$ ibus = patris patri patrem patre patres patribus; p $\bar{r}$  p $\bar{r}$  (rare) = per; p $\bar{r}$  p $\bar{r}$  p $\bar{r}$ t = post (first form predominates); pot $\bar{e}$  pot $\bar{t}$  pot $\bar{t}$   $\mathfrak{p}$  = potest (*p $\bar{r}$*  occurs in MSS dated after 850 according to NL § 248 and *Supplement* p 31);  $\mathfrak{p}$  = pro;  $\mathfrak{p}$  a = propria;  $\mathfrak{p}$  = propter; q $\bar{r}$  = quaeritur;  $\mathfrak{q}$  = quam; q $\bar{n}$  (predominates) q $\bar{n}$ o = quando; q $\bar{s}$ i = quasi; q $\bar{}$  = que; q $\bar{}$  = quem; q $\bar{}$  = quia; q $\bar{}$  = quod; = q $\bar{m}$ o = quomodo; q $\bar{m}$  (predominates) = quoniam; q $\bar{q}$  = quoque; q $\bar{t}$  = quot; r $\bar{t}$  = reliqua; r $\bar{t}$  = rerum;  $\mathfrak{r}$   $\mathfrak{r}$ ° = secundum, secundo;  $\bar{s}$  = sed;  $\bar{s}$  = sicut (this form predominates over continental form); s $\bar{u}$  = siue;  $\bar{s}$ t = sunt;  $\bar{s}$ r = super (this form predominates over su $\bar{p}$ );

Forms not used solely by Celtic or Celtic-influenced scribes: aũ aũ aĩ = autem (rare); caṑ = caput; caĩ ca = carissimi; dĩ diĩ (rare) dñt dĩ dñr dĩ diĩ (rare) dēret dĩet dĩent diĩam = dicit dicitur dicunt dicuntur dixit diceret dicerent dictam; eĩ = eius; ē ēē = est esse; faĩ faĩ = facere facit; gñs gñis gña gñaliter = genus generis genera generaliter; gĩa = gloria; iĩ = idem; ĩ = in; kĩni = karissimi; mĩ = meus; ĩĩ = modo; no b = nobis; ñ = non; nĩ nĩ nĩo nĩm nĩae nĩas nĩis = noster nostri nostro nostrum nostrae nostras nostris; oĩs = omnes; p = per; p̃ p̃ = prae; pp p̃p p̃pĩ = propter (first form predominates); q̃ = quae; q̃ = qui; q̃d q̃d = quid (first form predominates); q̃s = quis; q̃ĩm = quoniam; scribē = scribere; s̃ci s̃co s̃cĩm s̃cĩa = saeculi saeculo saeculum saecula; s̃c̃ds = secundus; seq̃r = sequitur; siĩ = sicut; t̃p̃re = tempore; ũ = uero.

d- n- = -em; b̃ r̃ ũ = -er (ber- uer- found primarily in Celtic MSS); ċ ñ ř ř̃ = -um (-rum is Insular usage); b̃f r̃f s̃f = -unt (this Insular usage predominates over the following); f̃ = -unt (Continental usage); m̃ = -ur (Continental usage); -ṽ = -ur (Insular usage); b; l; n; s; t; = -us (Insular usage); i' g' m' n' t' = -us (Continental usage); Ṽ = m, n; đ = dum dus; f̃ = for (*Supplement* p 58 that this usage occurs "in Insular MSS., mainly Welsh and Irish ... apparently from about the year 900".); ġ = gre; m̃ = men; đ đ đ = qua qui quo (primarily Insular forms); Ċ Ċ Ċ Ċ Ċ = ra re ri ro ru (NL § 441 [355] and *Supplement* p 58 note use primarily by Celtic scribes, particularly in pri gra pra tra);

**Specialized suspensions:** anġ = angelus angeli angelos angelis; apoṣ: apostoli apostolorum apostolos apostolis; apost = apostolus apostolum apostolis; aṗs = apostolus; aṗli = apostoli; arch = archangelis; euangē euangē = euangelia euangelio; bab = baptismum baptismi baptista; babtī = baptismum; babtīs = bab-

tismi; diab = diabolus diaboli diabolo diabolum; diabō = diabolus diabolo; ecta = ecclesia; gñaliter = generaliter; ġce ġco = grece greco; ġġ = gregorius; ġ = gregorium; + p̄ + p̄taċ = interpretatur; + p̄tes: interpretes; p̄sbitos = presbiteros; p.e. = potest; signī = significat; sp̄itualiter = spiritualiter.

LIBRARY HISTORY OF MS: Wilmar (1937 p 117) indicates that this MS belonged to Paul Petau (1568-1614). Petau was the "French lawyer and antiquary", whose son Alexandre sold part of his father's collection, including Vat., to Queen Christina of Sweden. Her collection is now in the Vatican. Many of Petau's MSS came from St. Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury). (See F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), 337 and 341-342.) Could Vat. have been transcribed in a Breton monastery and later housed at Fleury?

DATE: s. X (Wilmar 1937 p 112); s. IX *ex-X* (*BCLL* § 974; de Vregille 1986 p xl; McNally 1973 p 178; Wilmar 1933 p 29); s. IX (Bischoff 1976 p 82 = 1966 p 216).

PLACE TRANSCRIBED: Brittany (*BCLL* § 974; Bischoff 1976 p 82 = 1966 p 216); "Breton, perhaps Welsh", but "the remarkable combination of Carolingian minuscule and insular abbreviations seems to confirm the probability of Breton origin" (McNally 1973 p 178). Wilmar, in correspondence with J. Loth (1933 p 357-358, 360) believed the paleography suggested "three possible points of origin": Cornwall or Wales; Brittany--his preference; Fleury-sur-Loire. He (1933 p 31) reaffirmed this preference in his edition of some of the Vat. texts. Later, however, he expressed (1937 p 117) some uncertainty about the place of transcription. He believed that paleographically the material, the compendia, the small pieces of parchment joined together into individual folia, all testified to insular work, but that the Caroline script alone could not establish whether Guilhelm the scribe lived in Cornwall or Wales ('in partibus Britannicarum insularum') or in some Armorican monastery not yet closed in the tenth century, perhaps a little earlier.

Support for Breton origin for the compilation, rather than the MS itself, comes from McNamara (1990a p 302-303), who describes a feature of Gospel manuscripts written in Brittany that

could well be an alteration to the basic Irish (*D R Q*) character of the Bible text. This is "the use of a liturgical *incipit* in pericope as if it were part of the biblical text, treating it as a lemma for comment. Thus for John 2, 1 we have: 'In illis diebus *DIE TERTIO*,' with later comment on the opening words [*in illis diebus*] added only for liturgical purposes". This feature, the late Caroline minuscule, and the combination of abbreviations and suspensions (particularly the combination of Continental  $\text{m̃} = \text{mur}$  with Insular  $\text{t} = \text{tur}$  and the use of *tpre* = *tempore*) *supra* support a tenth-century Breton origin for the MS.

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# Les Difficultés Financières de l'Abbaye d'Arrouaise à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle

par  
Benoît-Michel TOCK  
(Strasbourg)

Les somptueux héritages laissés par les établissements ecclésiastiques médiévaux, manuscrits, objets liturgiques, bâtiments ..., ne sauraient faire oublier que derrière l'apparente prospérité, derrière la richesse et la puissance enviées et décriées, se cachaient souvent bien des vicissitudes<sup>1</sup>. Cette problématique a été trop peu abordée<sup>2</sup>. On voudrait étudier ici un problème concret : celui qui s'est posé à l'abbaye d'Arrouaise à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand elle était confrontée à une situation financière des plus noires. Comment a-t-elle procédé pour se sortir de l'ornière, quelles étaient les règles canoniques à suivre, quelles traces documentaires reste-t-il de l'affaire ? Cette étude permettra de mettre en

<sup>1</sup> Songe-t-on assez que même Cluny, au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, se trouvait confrontée à de très graves problèmes de trésorerie ? Voir G. DUBY, *Le budget de l'abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155. Economie domaniale et économie monétaire*, dans *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 7 (1952) p. 155-171.

<sup>2</sup> Un exemple d'étude : W. BRAECKMAN, *De moeilijkheden van de Benediktijner abdijen in de late Middeleeuwen : de Sint-Pietersabdij te Gent (ca. 1150 - ca. 1281)*, dans *Handelingen der maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde te Gent*, 17 (1963), p. 37-103. Vues plus générales dans G. BIGWOOD, *Le régime juridique et économique du commerce de l'argent dans la Belgique du moyen âge*, Bruxelles, 2 vol. 1921-1922 (Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et sciences morales et politiques. Mémoires in -8°, 2e sér., t. 14), particulièrement t. 1, p. 145-152.

lumière un bel ensemble de textes et de mieux comprendre les problèmes des institutions régulières à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>3</sup>.

L'ABBAYE D'ARROUAISE ET SA DÉCADENCE ÉCONOMIQUE À LA FIN DU XII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE<sup>4</sup>

Comme beaucoup d'autres, l'abbaye d'Arrouaise naquit d'un ermitage. Un laïc, Roger, s'y retira, peu avant 1090, et fut bientôt rejoint par deux clercs, Heldémare et Conon. La sainteté de la vie de ces ermites et, après la mort tragique de Roger et Heldémare, le dynamisme de Conon<sup>5</sup>, transformèrent l'ermitage en institution cénobitique régulière. Après le départ de Conon, Arrouaise deviendra abbaye et, très vite, chef d'ordre, lorsque l'abbaye d'Hénin-Liétard adoptera les coutumes arrouaisiennes, en 1121 sans doute. Arrouaise connaîtra alors un développement rapide, avec l'entrée dans son ordre de nombreuses abbayes. Mais la situation financière restera toujours fragile. A la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et malgré plusieurs tentatives de remise en ordre, la succession rapide des abbés, les malheurs des temps, sans doute aussi une mauvaise gestion, amenèrent l'abbaye au bord de la banqueroute: le nouvel abbé élu en 1197, l'Anglais Robert, dut faire face à une dette de 5000 livres parisis, qu'il pouvait d'autant moins songer à rembourser à partir des seuls revenus de l'abbaye que ceux-ci étaient en bonne partie gagés. Il fallait donc vendre. Mais dans quelle mesure le droit canonique autorisait-il des aliénations de biens ecclésiastiques?

<sup>3</sup> Ce dossier est constitué par la *Continuatio* de l'abbé Robert à la *Fundatio monasterii Arroasiensis* de son prédécesseur Gautier (éd. MGH SS XV p. 1123-1125) et d'une vingtaine de chartes (voir annexe).

<sup>4</sup> L'histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ordre d'Arrouaise a été excellemment retracée par L. MILIS, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise. Son histoire et son organisation de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)*, 2 vol., Bruges, 1969 (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en de Wijsbegeerte, 147).

<sup>5</sup> Sur Conon, qui devait devenir cardinal, évêque de Préneste et légat pontifical, voir Ch. DEREINE, dans *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, t. 13, col. 461-471.

LES ALIÉNATIONS DE BIENS ECCLÉSIASTIQUES DANS LE DROIT CANONIQUE DE LA FIN DU XII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE<sup>6</sup>

Quelle était, à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'opinion des principaux canonistes quant à l'aliénation des biens d'Eglise? A quoi pouvaient donc s'estimer autorisés des ecclésiastiques confrontés, vers 1197, à un problème similaire<sup>7</sup>? Les décrétales se montrant très

<sup>6</sup> Il s'agit d'un problème peu étudié. A côté du trop bref survol historique de D. COULY, dans *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, t. 1, col. 403-415, on relèvera surtout E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Inalienability. A Note on Canonical Practice and the Coronation Oath in the Thirteenth Century*, dans *Speculum*, 29 (1954), p. 488-502, qui parle surtout de l'inaliénabilité de la Couronne, mais évoque incidemment celle des biens épiscopaux, et M. CHENEY, *Inalienability in mid-twelfth century England: enforcement and consequences*, dans St. KUTTNER et K. PENNINGTON (éd.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley, California, 28 July - 2 August 1980*, Vatican, 1985 (Monumenta Juris Canonici, C17), p. 467-468. Sur le plan laïc, on peut remarquer que le comte de Flandre interdit, en 1199, le prêt à intérêt. Voir W. PREVENIER, *Een economische maatregel van de Vlaamse graaf in 1199: het verbod der leningen tegen interest*, dans *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 78 (1965), p. 389-401, qui expose d'ailleurs le problème d'Arrouaise aux p. 396-397.

<sup>7</sup> Poser une telle question suppose qu'on postule une certaine connaissance juridique chez les principaux intervenants de l'affaire: l'abbé d'Arrouaise Robert et l'évêque d'Arras Pierre, ainsi que le supérieur de ce dernier, l'archevêque de Reims Guillaume. Du premier nous ne savons presque rien. Du second nous savons au moins qu'il fut consulté sur un point de droit par un juriste aussi éminent qu'Etienne de Tournai (J. DESILVE, *Les lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, Valenciennes-Paris, 1893, n° 211, p. 261-262) et qu'il nomma en 1193 un archidiacre, Raoul, suffisamment frotté de droit que pour posséder un *Corpus Juris Civilis* (estimant sans doute Arras assez riche en manuscrits de ce genre il donna ce *Corpus* à son abbaye d'origine, la cistercienne La Chassagne [Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9869, p. 225]). Quant au troisième, il est mieux connu (Voir sa notice dans le *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, t. 22, col. 857-9, par M. BUR). On a d'autre part connaissance d'un enseignement juridique à Reims: voir A. GOURON, *Une école ou des écoles? Sur les canonistes français (vers 1150 - 1210)*, dans St. KUTTNER et K. PENNINGTON (éd.), *Proceedings of the Sixth ...* (voir note 6), p. 223-240, spéc. p. 235-236, et ID., *Le rôle des maîtres français dans la Renaissance juridique du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1989, p. 198-207, spéc. p. 201. On peut ajouter que Guillaume engagea comme notaire Gautier de Châtillon lorsque celui-ci revint de Bologne après ses études juridiques (M.L. COLKER, *Galeri de Castellione Alexandreis*, Padoue, 1978, p. XIV). Pour autant, il n'est évidemment pas sûr qu'ils aient connu tous les textes cités ci-dessous.

discrètes sur le problème<sup>8</sup>, c'est surtout le Décret de Gratien, ainsi que ses principaux commentateurs, qui seront utilisés. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas question ici de mener une enquête exhaustive, mais de faire le point d'après quelques auteurs.

L'interdiction d'aliéner les biens ecclésiastiques est formulée dès l'exposé de la question II de la cause XII du Décret: *Quod res ecclesiae nullo modo distrahi possunt et distractae possideri, multis auctoritatibus probatur*. Plusieurs autorités alléguées vont dans ce sens: *Diaconi vel presbyteri in parrochia constituti de rebus ecclesiae sibi creditis nichil audeant commutare, vendere vel donare, quia res sacratae esse Deo noscuntur. Similiter et sacerdotes nichil de rebus ecclesiae sibi commissae (ut superius comprehensum est) alienare presumant*<sup>9</sup>. D'autres textes sont de portée plus limitée. L'un d'eux ne concerne que les biens achetés par un évêque pendant son épiscopat<sup>10</sup>, un autre lutte davantage contre les aliénations par crainte, complaisance ou dilapidation que contre les ventes nécessitées par les circonstances<sup>11</sup>, un dernier enfin, issu du droit romain, n'envisage que les biens donnés par l'empereur<sup>12</sup>. En outre, les textes cités par Gratien introduisent généralement des exceptions: une dette urgente<sup>13</sup>, le rachat de captifs<sup>14</sup>, l'affranchissement d'esclaves<sup>15</sup>, la vente de terres petites ou lointaines<sup>16</sup>, ou de biens qui pourraient être échangés contre d'autres plus pro-

<sup>8</sup> Il y a pourtant un titre (X, III, 13, *De rebus ecclesiae alienandis vel non*), mais qui n'apporte pas grand'chose de nouveau avant Innocent III.

<sup>9</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 35. Voir aussi les canon 36 et 37.

<sup>10</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 12.

<sup>11</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 18.

<sup>12</sup> C. X, q. II, c. 13, repris au Code, I, 2 (*De Sacrosanctis ecclesiis*) et aux Nov. 7 (*De non alienandis aut permutandis ecclesiasticis rebus*). Il est vrai que la première partie de ce texte est moins limitative.

<sup>13</sup> C. X, q. II, c. 2.

<sup>14</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 13. Mais il ne s'agit ici que des biens meubles: les revenus ne peuvent être lésés ni directement, ni indirectement: *Apostolicos et paternos canones renovans hec sancta et universalis synodus diffinivit, neminem prorsus episcopum vendere vel utcumque alienare cimelia et vasa sacrata, excepta causa olim ab antiquis canonibus ordinata, videlicet pro redemptione captivorum, sed nec tradere salaria ecclesiarum in emphiteotica pacta, nec alias rusticas possessiones venundare, ac per hoc ecclesiasticos redditus ledere* ... Il y a aussi les c. 14 et 15 de la C. XII, q. II.

<sup>15</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 68.

<sup>16</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 53.

fitables<sup>17</sup>, l'aide aux pauvres<sup>18</sup>. La nécessité, enfin, est considérée par plusieurs conciles, et par Gratien lui-même, comme une raison valable<sup>19</sup>.

Mais si, dans certains cas, les aliénations restent donc possibles, elles ne peuvent se faire que dans des conditions précises. Il faut demander le conseil des clercs<sup>20</sup>, ou obtenir l'accord soit du primat<sup>21</sup>, soit de deux ou trois évêques<sup>22</sup>. Le plus souvent les canons cités exigent l'accord de l'évêque<sup>23</sup>. Pour Gratien cependant, les aliénations de biens par un abbé, même avec l'accord de l'évêque, ne peuvent servir qu'à réunir les moyens nécessaires à la construction d'une église<sup>24</sup>.

Au total, et comme souvent, les autorités alléguées par Gratien ne concordent pas exactement et Gratien lui-même ne tranche pas vraiment. On retiendra essentiellement que les aliénations de biens ne sont pas autorisées; que des exceptions existent dans certains cas; que cependant elles ne peuvent être envisagées qu'avec l'accord de l'évêque.

Les canonistes tenteront de préciser et d'homogénéiser la doctrine canonique.

Le premier déjà, Paucapalea, estime utile de préciser clairement les cas auxquels il est possible de vendre des biens d'église: *Causa etiam necessitatis, veluti pro debito relevando, aut utilitatis, scilicet ut meliora prospiciant, veluti pro redemptione captivorum sive pro aedificatione monasterii, aut etiam pro remuneratione impensi obsequii cum consilio clericorum sive totius concilii*<sup>25</sup>. Il distin-

<sup>17</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 52.

<sup>18</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 70 et 71. Mais ici de nouveau, seuls les biens meubles, or, argent, pierres, peuvent être vendus.

<sup>19</sup> C. XVII, q. IV, c. 39, C. X, q. II, c. 1, et le *dictum post* le can. 49 de la C. XII, q. II.

<sup>20</sup> Gratien dans son *dictum post* le can. 49 de la C. XII, q. II.

<sup>21</sup> C. XVII, q. IV, c. 39.

<sup>22</sup> C. X, q. II, c. 1.

<sup>23</sup> C. XII, q. II, c. 41, C. XII, q. II, c. 51, C. XVII, q. IV, c. 40.

<sup>24</sup> C. XVII, q. IV, *dictum post* le can. 40: *Etiam si episcopo consentiente monasterii possessio ab abbate data fuerit, nullius momenti erit donatio, nisi forte in ecclesiae fabricam erigendam donatio processerit. Quo casu tantum ei donare licet, quantum ecclesiae parietes concludunt.*

<sup>25</sup> *Die Summa des Paucapalea über das Decretum Gratiani*, éd. J. F. VON SCHULTE, Giessen, 1890, p. 80.

gue donc deux principaux cas de figure : la *necessitas* et l'*utilitas*. La *necessitas* n'est expliquée que dans un seul cas : le rachat des dettes. L'*utilitas* recouvre trois cas : le rachat des captifs, la construction d'un monastère, la rémunération d'un service. Il est frappant de constater que dans ces trois cas Paucapalea reprend littéralement ou presque des extraits du Décret<sup>26</sup>. Il n'y a donc que pour l'extinction des dettes qu'il forge son propre vocabulaire, ce qui est d'ailleurs assez normal, puisque Gratien insistait très peu sur cet aspect. Paucapalea précise aussi que le conseil des clercs ou du concile est requis (*cum consilio clericorum sive totius concilii*).

Maître Roland, le futur pape Alexandre III, ne fait plus, lui, la différence entre *necessitas* et *utilitas*. Mais, dans son commentaire à la C. XII, q. II, il envisage globalement cinq cas : *Sunt certi casus sacris canonibus affixi, quibus res ecclesiasticae libere alienari valent, veluti pro redemptione captivorum, pro alimoniis pauperum, pro restitutione ecclesiarum, in remuneratione servientium ecclesiae, in manumissione famulorum ecclesiae*<sup>27</sup>. Abordant par la suite la C. XVII, q. IV, il mentionne à nouveaux cinq cas, pas tout à fait identiques : *pro restitutione ecclesiarum, pro alimoniis pauperum et clericorum sustentatione, pro redemptione captivorum, vel ut meliora prospiciant ecclesiae, veluti si res ipsa fuerit dampnosa ecclesiae*<sup>28</sup>. Au total, ce sont six possibilités qu'il ouvre : le rachat des prisonniers (*pro redemptione captivorum*), l'aumône aux pauvres (*pro alimoniis pauperum*), l'entretien des clercs et des serviteurs (on peut sans doute confondre la *remuneratio servientium ecclesiae* et la *clericorum sustentatio*), l'affranchissement des serfs (*manumissio famulorum ecclesiae*), l'amélioration des revenus de l'église (*ut meliora prospiciant ecclesiae*) et

<sup>26</sup> *Pro redemptione captivorum* se trouve à la C. XII, q. II, c. 13, 14, 15, 69, 70 et au *dictum post* C. XXIII, q. III, c. 1 ; *pro remuneratione impensi obsequii* à la C. XII, q. II, c. 65 ; *pro aedificatione monasterii*, sous une forme un peu différente, à la C. XII, q. II, c. 75 (*jure proprietatis res ecclesiae monasteriorum edificii tradere licet*). Le même phénomène se trouve déjà avec *ut meliora prospiciant*, qui figure déjà dans la C. XII, q. II, c. 49 et 52. Il est inutile de souligner la grande facilité offerte, pour des recherches de ce genre, par T. REUTER et G. SILAGI, *Wortkonkordanz zum Decretum Gratiani*, 5 vol., Munich, 1990 (MGH, Hilfsmittel, 10).

<sup>27</sup> *Die Summa magistri Rolandi nachmals Papsts Alexander III*, éd. F. THÄNER, Innsbruck, 1874, p. 26-27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

la *restitutio ecclesiarum*, qui désigne vraisemblablement la restauration d'une église désaffectée ou négligée. Il n'est donc pas question de dettes. Maître Roland ne précise pas non plus de quelle manière les aliénations doivent se faire.

Maître Rufin détaille son propos avec la précision qui lui est coutumière. Il distingue ainsi les aliénations effectuées à cause de la piété (aumône des pauvres, rachat des captifs, restauration des églises, accroissement des sépulchres, construction d'un monastère, autre église, affranchissement des serfs, aide aux clercs et aux pèlerins), de la nécessité (extinction d'une dette, rémunération due, ou toute autre nécessité), de l'utilité (vente pour pouvoir acheter un bien plus utile ou échange dans le même but), ou de l'inutilité (maisons et châteaux inutiles, terres et vignes petites, lointaines en inutilisables, biens lourdement imposés et serfs fugitifs). Il mentionne donc bien l'extinction des dettes. L'accord du primat ou du métropolitain est requis, du moins pour les biens épiscopaux. Pour les autres, l'accord du *clerus proprius* (évêque, chapitre cathédral sans doute) suffit<sup>29</sup>.

Etienne de Tournai ne précise pas les cas d'exception. Mais il ajoute un élément intéressant<sup>30</sup> : l'obligation d'aliéner d'abord les biens meubles, et parmi les biens meubles d'abord les biens non consacrés. Si les biens consacrés doivent être vendus, ils le seront si possible à des clercs, surtout s'ils ne peuvent être fondus<sup>31</sup>.

La *Summa Coloniensis* prévoit trois cas : la piété (le rachat des captifs), l'utilité (la recherche des biens plus profitables), la nécessité (le besoin d'argent, l'endettement). Elle aussi prône de commencer par les biens meubles : *Causa est pietatis, utilitatis, necessitatis, ut est redemptio captivorum, prospectus meliorum, urgens*

<sup>29</sup> Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum*, éd. H. SINGER, Paderborn, 1902, p. 322-325. L'extrait de plus important pour nous est : *In causa necessitatis aliquando est necessitas alienandi pro urgente debito, aliquando pro impenso obsequio, aliquando pro alio adventitie necessitatis articulo.*

<sup>30</sup> Qui figurait déjà dans C. X, q. II, c. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Stephanus Tornacensis, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, éd. J.F. VON SCHULTE, Giessen, 1891, p. 215 : *in alienatione autem ecclesiasticarum rerum haec adhibenda est discretio, ut prius mobilia alienentur quam immobilia ...*

*es alienum; et quia necessitas major lex est, ejus modum prosequamur. Si ergo religiose domui urgens debitum imminet temptandum est primum, si fieri potest, ut distractione mobilium satisfiat creditoribus, priusquam communium quam sacrorum vasorum distractione. Si vero deficient mobilia, tunc jurantibus qui assistunt loco venerabili coram rectore loci, quod aliunde solvi non possit, res immobilis pignori detur vel vendatur XX. dierum precedente subastione ...*<sup>32</sup>.

La *Summa* d'Huguccio demande, pour les aliénations de biens par des monastères, l'accord de l'évêque, de l'abbé et des moines, et insiste pour qu'on commence par les biens meubles: *Quatuor autem de causis res ecclesiastice possunt alienari, scilicet causa utilitatis, necessitatis, pietatis, incommoditatis ... Hoc autem ordine sunt alienande res ecclesie. Si ecclesia habet mobilia superflua, illa primo alienanda sunt, scilicet primo non sacra postea sacra ... Si autem ecclesia non habet mobilia superflua, tunc decurrendum est ad immobilia, nam sine mobilibus necessariis ecclesia non potest esse commode, scilicet sine immobilibus sic, et ideo potius sunt ista alienanda quam illa ... Sequitur de forma que servatur in alienatione rerum ecclesiasticarum ... In rebus monasterii debet adesse consensus episcopi et abbatis et omnium fratrum, aliter non tenet alienatio*<sup>33</sup>.

Malgré les contradictions et les hésitations, le droit canonique du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle s'accorde donc à autoriser les aliénations de biens en cas de dettes pressantes. *Jurisperitis et canonicas constitutiones scientibus liquido constat ecclesiasticas possessiones licite distrahi posse ubi causa utilitatis potioris seu necessitatis intervenit*, dit d'ailleurs dans une charte datée de 1183 l'évêque de Cambrai Roger<sup>34</sup>. Les derniers canonistes cités, Etienne de Tournai (1160-1170) et la *Summa Coloniensis* (1169-1170), insistent également pour que les biens meubles soient les premiers sacrifiés,

<sup>32</sup> *Summa* „*Elegantius in jure divino*” seu *Coloniensis*, éd. G. FRANSEN et St. KUTTNER, t. 3, Vatican, 1986 (*Monumenta Juris Canonici*, A1), p. 26-27 (*pars octava*, 63). La *Summa Coloniensis* s'inspire largement, dans ce passage, de la *Summa Rogerii* sur le Code.

<sup>33</sup> Ms. Cambrai, B.M., 612, fol. 207 v°, ad. C. XII q. II. Déjà ad C. X, q. II, fol. 187 r°, Huguccio disait: *quia nec res monasteriorum debent alienari sine consensu episcopi*.

<sup>34</sup> Copie Cambrai, B.M., ms. 1144, fol. 67r°-v°.



mais Huguccio rappelle qu'une église a plus besoin de biens meubles (calices, ciboires ..), du moins en petite quantité, que de biens immeubles. Qui doit autoriser ces aliénations? La question ne paraît pas capitale aux canonistes du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Des six que nous avons lus, seuls trois abordent ce problème. Encore deux le font-ils de manière très vague: Paucapalea demande le *consilium clericorum sive totius consilii*, Maître Rufin le *consensus et subscriptio priorum clericorum*, mais ils visent sans doute les aliénations effectuées par l'évêque. Huguccio est plus clair, qui réclame l'accord de l'évêque.

#### LA REMISE EN ORDRE FINANCIÈRE DE L'ABBÉ D'ARROUAISE

En acceptant la charge abbatiale, Robert se trouvait placé devant une situation grave: 5000 livres de dettes, presque toutes prêtées par des usuriers<sup>35</sup>. Les prédécesseurs de Robert avaient dû engager, en mort-gage<sup>36</sup>, huit *curtes*<sup>37</sup>, huit centres d'exploitation, et à des conditions très sévères, que Robert a reproduites dans sa *Continuatio*. Elles prescrivent que si les *curtes* (les champs ou la grange elle même) engagées subissaient des dégâts, que ce soit par une tempête, un incendie, une guerre ou le passage d'une armée, l'abbé d'Arrouaise devait rembourser aux prêteurs, en deux ans, le montant des dégâts. S'il ne pouvait rembourser en deux ans, les

<sup>35</sup> Quels étaient ces usuriers? Robert ne le précise pas, indiquant seulement qu'ils s'agissait de bourgeois. Cela n'étonne pas, s'agissant d'une région renommée dès cette époque pour l'abondance de l'usure. Voir en particulier pour Arras, une des principales places financières de l'époque, R. BERGER, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les chansons et dits artésiens*, Arras, 1981 (Mémoires de la Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 21), p. 105-108.

<sup>36</sup> Le mort-gage est le «contrat par lequel un débiteur se déposait temporairement d'un immeuble au profit du créancier. Celui-ci en avait la jouissance, en percevait les revenus ... sans que les fruits viennent en déduction du capital, jusqu'à ce que le débiteur paye le montant intégral de sa dette au créancier'' (Ph. GODDING, *Le droit privé dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux du 12<sup>e</sup> au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruxelles, 1987 (Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, in-4°, 2e sér., t. 14-1), par. 362, p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> Ce qui pour Arrouaise était énorme: l'abbaye ne possédait, au maximum, que 13 *curtes* (voir L. MILIS, *L'ordre des chanoines* [voir note 4], p. 117-120 et 128).

bourgeois prêteurs compteraient un intérêt d'un denier par marc. De même, si quelqu'un exigeait quelque chose des prêteurs, sans que ni eux ni leur famille en soit la cause, l'abbé devait rembourser dans un délai d'un mois la somme dépensée. S'il ne le faisait, des intérêts hebdomodaires d'un denier pour un marc auraient cours<sup>38</sup>: Le premier jour de son administration, précise Robert, les usuriers lui réclamèrent 800 livres en compensation des revenus de la *curtis* de Beaucamp, qu'ils n'avaient pu percevoir. Ces malheurs ne suffisant pas, Robert dut aussi affronter l'incendie de trois *curtes*, la guerre entre le roi Philippe Auguste et le comte de Flandre Baudouin IX, et une famine redoutable<sup>39</sup>.

La situation était donc catastrophique, et imposait de vendre des biens. Les biens meubles furent les premiers sacrifiés<sup>40</sup>: leur vente rapporta 2500 livres<sup>41</sup>, ce qui ne couvrait que la moitié de la dette. Il fallait donc songer à vendre des immeubles. Deux années furent nécessaires à Arrouaise pour vendre les quatre biens immeubles qui furent choisis.

<sup>38</sup> *Si communis tempestas aut commune incendium sive werra vel expeditio curtium segetes vel ipsas curtes vastaverit, dampna illata infra duos annos abbas solvere debebit; si autem non solverit, post duos annos singuli denarii pro singulis marcis pro dampno computatis burgensibus solventur. Item si quislibet a domibus predictis aliquid indebite exegerit vel violenter extorserit absque burgensium vel familie eorum causa vel culpa, abbas omnino adquietabit, dampna inde illata restaurabit, ea infra terminum unius mensis restituendo; et si terminum istum dampnorum ipsorum solutio transierit, quelibet marcha dampni apreciati duos denarios in septimana excrescit, et infra annum abbas et impensam et quod excreverit exsolvet* (Continuatio, p. 1124). Ni dans H. VAN WERVEKE, *Le mort-gage et son rôle économique en Flandre et en Lotharingie (aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, dans *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 8 (1929), p. 53-91, ni dans F. VERCAUTEREN, *Note sur l'origine et l'évolution du contrat de mort-gage en Lotharingie du XI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *Miscellanea L. Van der Essen*, t. 1, Bruxelles-Paris, 1947, p. 217-227, ni dans L. DUBAR, *Le mort-gage au monastère de Saint-Riquier*, dans *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 48 (1959-60), p. 36-62, il n'est fait mention de conditions aussi dures que celles-ci.

<sup>39</sup> Sur cette famine, voir H. VAN WERVEKE, *De middeleeuwse hongersnood*, Bruxelles, 1967 (Mededelingen van de koninklijke vlaamse Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, kl. der letteren, 29-3), *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> *Maxime cum res sue mobiles vendite fuissent vel in solutum date nec esset adhuc moles debitorum expurgata*: voir en annexe, l'acte n° 7.

<sup>41</sup> *De rebus vero nostris mobilibus nichilominus duo milia et 500 libras Parisienses faciens*: voir en annexe, l'acte n° 12.

Dès le mois de mars 1197, c'est-à-dire très peu de temps après son élection<sup>42</sup>, Robert vendait à l'abbaye de Cantimpré<sup>43</sup> tout l'essart de Beaucamp, ainsi que deux muidées de terre offerts par Jean de Marcoing et dix mencaudées achetées dans le même territoire, avec tous les revenus afférents à ces biens<sup>44</sup>. Il s'agissait là de terres situées dans la mouvance de la *curtis* de Beaucamp<sup>45</sup>, qui elle-même ne fut pas concernée par les ventes. On en trouve trace dans les chartes d'Arrouaise entre autres en 1157<sup>46</sup>, en 1175<sup>47</sup> et en 1179<sup>48</sup>. Il s'agit de biens assez proches d'Arrouaise

<sup>42</sup> On ne connaît pas précisément sa date d'élection. Mais elle se situe à la fin de l'année 1196 ou au début de 1197. En effet, Gautier précise, dans sa *Fundatio monasterii Arroasiensis*, que son prédécesseur mourut le 9 janvier 1180. Robert, dans sa *Continuatio*, poursuit : Gautier fut élu le 13 janvier de cette année, et mourut après treize années d'abbatit (en 1193 donc). Son successeur, Simon, démissionna après un an (en 1194 par conséquent). Ce fut alors le tour de Jean, qui démissionna moins de trois ans après son élection (en 1197). On alla chercher en vain un candidat à Semur, puis ce fut le tour de Robert. La première charte que donna celui-ci est datée du 15 mars 1196, qu'il faut sans aucun doute convertir en 1197 n. st., non seulement parce qu'on ne saurait sinon expliquer la succession des abbés, mais aussi parce qu'elle est insérée dans une charte de l'évêque d'Arras qui, à cette époque, utilisait le style de l'Annonciation (B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093-1203)*, Paris, 1991 (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série in-8°, 20), p. LIX-LX).

<sup>43</sup> Abbaye de chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin, dioc. de Cambrai. Voir H. PLATELLE dans *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, t. 2, col. 1463. L'abbaye attend toujours son historien.

<sup>44</sup> Voir en annexe, les actes n° 15 à 17.

<sup>45</sup> Dép. Nord, arr. Cambrai, cant. Marcoing, comm. Villers-Plouich.

<sup>46</sup> Charte de l'évêque de Cambrai Nicolas, copie Amiens, B.M., 1077, fol. 108v°-109v° : ... *medietatem de Baincamp quam pro filia sua conversa dedit eis Balduinus major de Wahircurt cum terragio ... alteram vero partem de Baincamp habent ad sartandum ex dono Ilbaldi majoris de Hunencurt eidem reddente terragium, et alteram ex dono Roberti pauperis de Goiseldurt similiter ad sartandum pro terragio ...*

<sup>47</sup> Charte de Hugues, châtelain de Cambrai, copie *ibid.*, fol. 110v° : *Baldunus villicus de Wahircurt et Robertus cognomine Pauper de Goiseldurt filiusque ejus Hilbertus, Helbodus quoque villicus de Hunecurt tradiderunt ecclesie de Arroasia in perpetuam elemosinam donatione legitima possessiones quas habebant in nemore de Baencamp. Robertus et Helbodus terragium tamen sibi retinuerunt, sed Balduinus totum simul concessit ...*

<sup>48</sup> Bulle d'Alexandre III du 1er mars, éd. J. RAMACKERS, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge*, 4 : Picardie, Göttingen, 1942 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, 27), n° 201, p. 344-347 : *apud Belcamp sartum de Baiencamp cum decima et*

(16 km à vol d'oiseau), mais détachés auprès d'une *curtis* pour laquelle ils étaient peut-être périphériques. A notre connaissance, Cantimpré ne possédait rien à Beaucamp avant 1197.

À une date non précisée au cours de l'année 1197, Arrouaise vendit à l'abbaye d'Anchin<sup>49</sup> neuf portions de terre entre Villers-lès-Cagnicourt et Cagnicourt, du côté du hameau aujourd'hui disparu de Duisemont<sup>50</sup>, et tous les droits qu'ils y possédaient<sup>51</sup>. Ici, le prix de la vente est indiqué: 82 marcs d'argent, au poids d'Arras<sup>52</sup>. Les terres en question, séparées d'Arrouaise par une vingtaine de kilomètres, sont entrées en plusieurs étapes dans le patrimoine d'Arrouaise: on en mentionne à partir de 1157<sup>53</sup>, et il est difficile, à travers le fouillis de donations portant sur quelques mencaudées<sup>54</sup>, de voir quand exactement ces biens sont

*medietate terragii, quod utique sartum vobis dedit Balduinus de Waiercurt et Eubaldus de Hunecort et major de Goisalcort, duas modiatas terre cum terragio et decima, quas modiatas dedit vobis Johannes de Marcong in elemosinam ...*

<sup>49</sup> Abbaye de bénédictins, dioc. d'Arras. Voir A. ESCALLIER, *L'abbaye d'Anchin, 1079-1792*, Lille, 1852.

<sup>50</sup> Villers-lès-Cagnicourt et Cagnicourt, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras, cant. Vitry-en-Artois. *Duisemont* est tout à fait inconnu.

<sup>51</sup> Voir en annexe, l'acte n° 18.

<sup>52</sup> Il est toujours difficile de convertir des monnaies. Sous Philippe Auguste, le marc de Troyes faisait 40 sous, ce qui donnerait ici la somme de 164 livres (F. DUMAS, *Le monnayage dans le royaume au temps de Philippe Auguste*, dans R.-H. BAUTIER (dir.), *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps des mutations. Actes du colloque international organisé par le C.N.R.S. (Paris, 29 septembre - 4 octobre 1980)*, Paris, 1982, p. 541-572, spéc. p. 544-545). En 1133, le marc d'Arras correspondait à 33 sous et 6 deniers, soit 1,66 livre, ce qui ferait ici un peu plus de 136 livres (Charte de l'évêque d'Arras Alvisé pour l'abbaye d'Eaucourt en 1133, éd. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...* [voir note 42], n° 57, p. 74).

<sup>53</sup> Charte de Nicolas, évêque de Cambrai, en 1157, copie Amiens, B.M., 1077, fol. 96r°-98v°: ... et IIIor < mancoldatas > inter Vilers et Cavennicurt cum terragio ex dono Roberti de Vilers et Emme sororis ejus. Charte de Simon d'Oisy de 1166, copie *ibid.*, fol. 100-102: Item IIIor mancoldatas emptas a Martino de Cauwennicurt, concedente uxore sua et filio Waltero et Warino patre uxoris que ... Item < terram > II mancoldatarum emptam a Bernardo de Cauwennicurt ... Item VI mancoldatas juxta Vilers quas Atso de Longasta dedit eis in concambium pro quadam terra ... Item IIII mancoldatas inter Vilers et Cauwennicurt, quas dedit eis Robertus de Vilers ...

<sup>54</sup> On sait quelles difficultés représente la conversion des mesures anciennes en mesures modernes. A titre indicatif, on notera que selon H. DOURSTHER, *Dictionnaire universel des poids et mesures anciens et modernes*, Bruxelles, 1840, p. 266, la mencaudée de Cambrai vaut un peu plus de 35 ares.

entrés en possession d'Arrouaise, et ce qu'ils représentaient pour elle. Ce qu'on sait par contre, c'est qu'Anchin possédait de longue date des biens à Cagnicourt. Dès 1098, l'évêque de Cambrai Manassès lui avait confirmé la possession de l'autel d'Inchy-en-Artois<sup>55</sup> et de sa dépendance Cagnicourt<sup>56</sup>. En 1105 l'autel de Cagnicourt était donné à Anchin par l'évêque de Cambrai Eudes<sup>57</sup>.

Un an plus tard, en avril 1198, Arrouaise vendait ses revenus à Gosnay<sup>58</sup> à l'abbaye de Maroeuil<sup>59</sup>. Le montant de la transaction n'était pas précisé, mais la formulation choisie pour désigner le bien incite à penser qu'il n'était pas considérable: *redditum nostrum quemcumque*<sup>60</sup>. Il n'est en tout cas pas fait état, dans le cartulaire d'Arrouaise, d'un revenu à Gosnay, mais bien d'alleux<sup>61</sup>. On a donc à nouveau affaire ici à des biens mal précisés, et peu importants. Ceux-ci en outre sont assez distants de l'abbaye: une bonne cinquantaine de kilomètres.

Mais le morceau de choix de cette vente fut une *curtis* entière, celle de Beaulieu. Cette vente fut si importante que Robert, dans sa *Continuatio*, ne voit plus qu'elle: *Alienavimus igitur Bellumlocum et cetera*<sup>62</sup>. Elle occupe d'ailleurs les deux tiers des chartes relatives aux ventes d'Arrouaise.

<sup>55</sup> Inchy-en-Artois, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras, cant. Marquion.

<sup>56</sup> Original Lille, Arch. dép. Nord, 1H34/381. Ed. Ch. DUVIVIER, *Recherches sur le Hainaut ancien (pagus Hainoensis) du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruxelles, 1865, n° LXXXIXbis, p. 477-9, et M. COURTOIS, *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées dans le département du Nord*, Nancy, 1981, p. 164-165.

<sup>57</sup> Orig. même dépôt, 1H35/386, éd. M. COURTOIS, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>58</sup> Dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Béthune, cant. Bruay-en-Artois.

<sup>59</sup> Abbaye de chanoines réguliers, membre de l'ordre d'Arrouaise, dioc. d'Arras. Voir P. BERTIN, *La chronique et les chartes de l'abbaye de Maroeuil de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin et de la congrégation d'Arrouaise au diocèse d'Arras*, Lille, 1959 (Publications du Centre régional d'études historiques, 3).

<sup>60</sup> Acte n° 19. Voir aussi en annexe l'acte n° 20: *redditum quemcumque habebant*.

<sup>61</sup> Acte de 1169, par lequel l'abbé d'Arrouaise cédait au clerc Robert de Fossa, sa vie durant, tous les alleux que l'abbaye possédait à Gosnay (copie Amiens, B.M., 1077, fol. 60r°-v°). En 1182, l'évêque d'Arras Frumaud ne mentionnait pas de telle clause: *item apud Gosnai alodia que Berta de Gaucin et Johannes frater ejus de Fossa, renunciaturi secula, jamdictis fratribus ab omni exactione libera tradiderunt, sicuti libere ipsi ea tenuerunt* (éd. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...* [voir note 42], n° 186, p. 210-212).

A dire vrai, Robert avait d'abord espéré n'en vendre qu'une partie : en mars 1197 (n. st.), peu de temps donc après son élection, il vendait à l'abbaye de Cercamp<sup>63</sup> *quicquid habebamus in territorio de Bogemaisons*<sup>64</sup>, Boquemaison<sup>65</sup> étant une dépendance de la *curtis* de Beaulieu. L'acte fut aussitôt confirmé par les évêques d'Arras Pierre et d'Amiens Thibaud<sup>66</sup>. Mais en février 1198 (n. st.), un peu moins d'un an plus tard, Robert dut accepter de vendre, toujours à Cercamp, la *curtis* de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances, tant en bois qu'en terre tant vestie que nue à Bouquemaison, Cercamp, Berchouflos et Vacquerie<sup>67</sup>. Beaulieu, c'était une *curtis* assez lointaine<sup>68</sup>. C'était aussi un bien figurant de longue date dans le patrimoine arrouaisien, puisqu'on en trouve la trace dans le chartrier à partir de 1139<sup>69</sup>. C'est enfin un bien qui fut l'objet, tout au long du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'incessantes querelles entre Cercamp et Arrouaise<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Ed. *MGH SS* XV, p. 1124, l. 40.

<sup>63</sup> Abbaye cistercienne du dioc. d'Amiens. A. DE CARDEVACQUE, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Cercamp, ordre de Cîteaux, au diocèse d'Amiens*, Amiens, 1878.

<sup>64</sup> Acte n° 1.

<sup>65</sup> Bouquemaison, dép. Somme, arr. Amiens, cant. Doullens.

<sup>66</sup> Actes n° 2 à 4.

<sup>67</sup> Vacquerie-le-Boucq, dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras, cant. Auxi-le-Château. Cercamp, mêmes dép., arr. et cant., comm. Frévent. Berchouflos, mêmes dép. et arr., cant. Pas-en-Artois, comm. Grincourt-lès-Pas. Selon M. GYSSELING, *Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland*, t. 1, s.l., 1960 (Bouwstoffen en studien voor de geschiedenis en de lexicografie van het Nederlands, 6), p. 122, Berchouflos serait l'ancien nom de Beaulieu. Cela paraît étonnant, puisque dans nos chartes les deux toponymes paraissent bien distincts.

<sup>68</sup> Elle était à une cinquantaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau d'Arrouaise, ce qui en faisait une des plus éloignées. Voir à ce sujet la carte très claire donnée par L. MILIS, *L'ordre des chanoines* (voir note 4), t. 2, carte n° 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Curtem de Berceuflos cum oratorio et cimiterio* ... (bulle d'Innocent II du 15 avril 1139, éd. J. RAMACKERS, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich* ... 4: Picardie, (voir note 48), n° 29, p. 111-113.

<sup>70</sup> On trouve la trace de ces querelles dans le chartrier de Cercamp : voir une bulle du 15 mars 1159 (n. st.) d'Adrien IV, éd. J. RAMACKERS, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich* ... 4: Picardie (voir note 48), Göttingen, 1942 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, 27), n° 88, p. 204-206, un accord entre les abbés d'Arrouaise et de Cercamp le 29 juin 1163 (Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H. Cercamp, carton 4, Cc), confirmé par l'évêque d'Arras (B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras* ... [voir note 42], n° 151 et 152, p. 169-170), un acte de l'abbé de Cîteaux Alexandre en 1777

Ces ventes successives permirent à l'abbé de réunir la somme de 2800 livres<sup>71</sup>. En y ajoutant les 2500 livres obtenues par la vente des biens meubles, l'abbé Robert put payer à ses créanciers, le 30 avril 1199, la somme de 4800 livres accompagnées de 46 muids de froment, mesure d'Arras. De cette façon, l'abbaye fut dégagée de ses dettes. Arroaise vendit donc des biens très différents, souvent un peu lointains, souvent un peu marginaux aussi. Comment les choisit-elle ? En fonction, sans doute, d'éléments qui nous échappent : menaces pesant sur leur propriété ou vif désir d'achat dans le chef de abbayes concernées par exemple.

#### COMMENT LES ALIÉNATIONS SE DÉROULAIENT-ELLES ?

On ne sait à vrai dire pas grand chose de la façon dont se déroulaient les aliénations. Le principal renseignement nous est donné par l'acte n° 6, qui indique que la *curtis* de Beaulieu fut exposée, en vente publique, durant 40 jours, pour pouvoir être vendue au plus offrant. 40 jours, c'est beaucoup, c'est même deux fois plus que ce que prescrivait le Code de Justinien et, en écho, le Décret de Gratien<sup>72</sup>.

Un point qui n'apparaît pas clairement à la lecture des documents est celui de la chronologie. Car les chartes mentionnent un paiement immédiat<sup>73</sup>, alors qu'il semble qu'Arroaise n'ait payé

(Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H. Cercamp, carton 4, Cz) et un acte des abbés de Longvillers et de Valloires, en 1177 également (même fonds, Cg).

<sup>71</sup> Acte n° 12.

<sup>72</sup> Gratien, C. X, q. II, c. 2: *Quo subsecuto, per viginti dies rem ecclesiae esse venalem sit publice notum, ut plus offerenti detur, precio modis omnibus pro debito dando*. On relèvera avec intérêt la formulation très semblable de l'acte n° 6 (*cum predicta curtis ante venditionem a nobis per XL dies venalis publice fuisset exposita, ut plus offerenti concederetur, abbas et monachi emptores predictae curtis nobis satisfecerunt de precio et ipsum in debita nostra duriora et usuras graviores ad voluntatem nostram fideliter exolverunt*). Certains mots sont les mêmes (on remarquera particulièrement la formule *plus offerens*, très rare au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle), mais surtout l'idée est identique.

<sup>73</sup> Acte n° 1: *precium inde susceptum*. Acte n° 6: *emptores predictae curtis nobis satisfecerunt de precio et ipsum in debita nostra duriora et usuras graviores ad voluntatem nostram fideliter exolverunt*. Acte n° 7: *Abbas autem et fratres*

ses créanciers qu'en avril 1199<sup>74</sup>. Comment expliquer cela ? Sans doute parce que les créanciers d'Arrouaise ne tinrent l'abbaye quitte, et donc ne lui restituèrent les *curtes* qu'ils avaient en gage, que lorsque toutes les dettes furent apurées. Ce n'est qu'alors que les acheteurs purent réellement entrer en possession de leurs nouveaux biens<sup>75</sup>.

#### LES RAISONS DE L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES VINGT CHARTES CONSERVÉES

Vingt chartes ont vu le jour à l'occasion des difficultés financières de l'abbaye d'Arrouaise à l'extrême fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cela fait beaucoup pour quatre dossiers de ventes de biens, d'autant qu'elles sont très inégalement réparties entre les différents acheteurs : elles sont au nombre d'une seule pour Anchin, deux pour Maroeuil, trois pour Cantimpré et treize pour Cercamp, une dernière concernant l'ensemble de l'affaire. Quelle est la raison d'être de ces chartes ? Pourquoi une telle disparité dans le nombre des chartes ? C'est à ces questions qu'on s'attachera à répondre ici.

L'abbaye d'Anchin n'a reçu qu'une charte, celle de l'abbé d'Arrouaise Robert (acte n° 18). Par rapport aux textes canoniques vus plus haut, par rapport aussi à la pratique telle qu'elle ressort des autres dossiers examinés ici, il manque donc une charte de l'évêque d'Arras, en tant qu'ordinaire de l'abbaye d'Arrouaise. A-t-elle disparu ou n'a-t-elle jamais existé ? La deuxième solution paraît la meilleure, dans la mesure où une telle charte n'est mentionnée nulle part<sup>76</sup>. Pourquoi alors n'y a-t-il pas eu de charte épiscopale ? On ne le sait.

*Caricampi precium predictae curtis ad persolvenda debita duriora et usuras graviores juxta voluntatem et beneplacitum abbatis et capituli de Aroasia fideliter tradiderunt.* Acte n° 14 : *pro certa summa pecunia versa in utilitatem domus Aroasie.* Acte n° 16 : *precium de eadem venditione susceptum.*

<sup>74</sup> Voir acte n° 12 et *Continuatio*, p. 1124, l. 42-44.

<sup>75</sup> G. BIGWOOD, *Le régime juridique* ... (voir note 2), ne mentionne rien de tel.

<sup>76</sup> Le chartrier d'Anchin a été conservé presque intact au dépôt des Arch. dép. Nord à Lille. Quelques actes dont les originaux ont disparu nous sont connus par des copies figurant dans la collection Moreau, à la Bibl. Nat. à Paris.



Deux chartes, émanant l'une de l'abbé d'Arrouaise, l'autre de l'évêque d'Arras, constituent le dossier de la vente à Maroeuil (actes n° 19 et 20), qui est donc en règle avec les exigences canoniques.

Dans le dossier de Cantimpré, on trouve trois chartes (actes n° 15, 16 et 17). À côté de l'abbé d'Arrouaise et de l'évêque d'Arras figure l'évêque de Cambrai. Cantimpré, comme Beaucamp, se situent dans le diocèse de Cambrai, ce qui explique l'existence d'une charte donnée par l'évêque de cette cité. Cependant, le consentement de l'ordinaire n'est requis ni pour l'achat d'un bien immobilier par une abbaye, ni pour le changement de propriétaire d'un bien appartenant à une abbaye mais n'étant pas de nature ecclésiastique<sup>77</sup>. La charte de l'évêque de Cambrai n'était donc pas nécessaire. Elle révèle sans doute la volonté de se doter d'une garantie supplémentaire. L'évêque lui-même, en justifiant l'existence de sa charte, montre bien qu'elle n'était pas indispensable<sup>78</sup>.

Treize chartes ont été nécessaires pour que s'accomplisse la vente de la *curtis* de Beaulieu à l'abbaye cistercienne de Cercamp. Les auteurs de chartes déjà répertoriés (abbé d'Arrouaise, évêque d'Arras, évêque ordinaire du bien vendu) donnent chacun plus d'une charte, et d'autres personnages, parmi lesquels on trouve même un laïc, instrumentent à leur tour. Ces deux phénomènes doivent être expliqués.

L'instrumentation par de nouveaux personnages s'explique sans doute par l'importance du bien vendu : il s'agit, rappelons-le, d'une *curtis* entière. Mieux valait donc s'entourer de beaucoup de

<sup>77</sup> Au contraire, lorsque le bien est de nature ecclésiastique (principalement les dîmes et les autels), le consentement de l'ordinaire est requis. Voir le canon 5 du concile de Melfi en 1089, éd. MANSI, *Concilia*, t. 20, col. 723. Voir aussi le canon 8 du concile de Latran I en 1123, éd. *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, Bâle, 1962, p. 167.

<sup>78</sup> „*Quoniam ipsa terra infra dicionis nostre terminos constituta probatur, nostrum super hoc sepius memorata ecclesia studuit postulare assensum*”. Dans un cas un peu similaire, l'évêque d'Arras Pierre, notifiant un accord intervenu, au sujet de droits paroissiaux, entre l'abbaye d'Anchin et le curé d'Estrée et de Bachant, deux paroisses du diocèse de Cambrai, déclarait donner sa charte „*non quod aliquid ad nostram pertineat jurisdictionem sed ut ad petitionem partium testimonium perhibeamus veritati*” (B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques* [voir note 42], n° 301, p. 321).

garanties. Dans ce cadre, l'archevêque de Reims s'imposait en tant que supérieur direct des évêques d'Arras et d'Amiens<sup>79</sup>. Quelques abbés de l'ordre d'Arrouaise interviennent aussi, pour éviter que l'abbé Robert ne soit contesté lors du chapitre général. Le chapitre cathédral d'Arras était moins utile, puisque l'évêque avait déjà marqué son accord. Mais après tout, certains textes canoniques ne prévoyaient-ils pas que l'évêque ne pouvait autoriser une aliénation de biens ecclésiastiques qu'avec l'accord de ses clercs, c'est-à-dire de son chapitre<sup>80</sup>? En outre, le chapitre d'Arras développait depuis quelques années une activité diplomatique en tant que juridiction diocésaine parallèle à celle de l'évêque<sup>81</sup>.

Quant au comte de Saint-Pol, son rôle n'est évidemment pas canonique. On pourrait penser qu'il intervient parce qu'il aurait certains droits sur Beaulieu. Il n'en est rien. Bien que Beaulieu ne fût qu'à une dizaine de kilomètres de leur ville, les comtes de Saint-Pol ne semblent pas avoir jamais possédé de droits sur les biens vendus par Arrouaise. Mais les comtes de Saint-Pol étaient les fondateurs et protecteurs traditionnels de Cercamp<sup>82</sup>. Par leur acte, ils donnent certes leur consentement à la vente (et on ne sait trop à quel titre ils le font), mais surtout ils donnent leur garantie à Cercamp: ils s'engagent d'ailleurs à défendre la vente<sup>83</sup>. On notera d'ailleurs que, outre celle du comte de Saint-Pol, seules deux chartes envisagent explicitement des mesures de garantie de la vente: l'abbé d'Arrouaise (acte n° 6) déclare avoir d'ores et déjà excommunié ceux qui violeraient l'acte, ce qui est notifié également par l'évêque d'Arras (acte n° 7). Mais ni l'évêque lui-même, ni son collègue amiénois, ni l'archevêque de Reims, ne procèdent eux aussi à l'excommunication.

<sup>79</sup> On se rappellera que certains textes canoniques souhaitaient l'accord de l'archevêque ou du primat (C. XVII, q. IV, c. 39; voir aussi la Somme de Rufin).

<sup>80</sup> J. GAUDEMET, *Evêques et chapitres (Législation et doctrine à l'âge classique)*, dans *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier*, Toulouse, 1979, p. 307-318, spéc. p. 308-311.

<sup>81</sup> Voir B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes promulguées par le chapitre cathédral d'Arras au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *Revue Mabillon*, nouv. sér., t. 2 (1991), p. 41-97.

<sup>82</sup> A. DE CARDEVACQUE, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Cercamp, ordre de Cîteaux, au diocèse d'Amiens*, Arras, 1878, p. 13-24 et *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> Voir en annexe, acte n° 14.

L'abbé de Cercamp donne lui aussi une charte, mais pour remettre à Arrouaise un revenu annuel qu'elle lui devait pour la *curtis* de Beaulieu (acte n° 5).

Mais pourquoi l'abbé d'Arrouaise et l'évêque d'Arras donnent-ils chacun trois chartes, pourquoi l'évêque d'Amiens en donne-t-il deux ? La première partie de l'explication de ce phénomène réside dans la première vente, celle qui ne touchait que Bouquemaison : elle fit l'objet de quatre chartes, une de l'abbé d'Arrouaise, deux de l'évêque d'Arras, une de celui d'Amiens. Pourquoi deux chartes de l'évêque d'Arras ? On ne le sait. La vraie vente, celle de Beaulieu, donna à nouveau lieu à une charte de chacun des évêques, et à deux chartes de l'abbé Robert. L'une de ces chartes fut donnée en 1197, lorsque la vente eut lieu, l'autre en 1199, lorsque Arrouaise liquida définitivement ses dettes<sup>84</sup>.

#### QUI A RÉDIGÉ LES CHARTES, QUI LES A MISES PAR ÉCRIT ?

La richesse du dossier diplomatique étudié ici ne peut qu'inciter à chercher ce qui peut rassembler les chartes au point de vue de leur élaboration. Les chartes des évêques et du chapitre cathédral d'Arras (n° 2, 3, 7, 8, 15, 20) ont été établies par la chancellerie épiscopale Arras<sup>85</sup>, de même que les actes n° 1, 6 et 16, délivrés par l'abbé d'Arrouaise<sup>86</sup>. L'évêque d'Amiens a sans doute fait faire ses chartes par sa chancellerie<sup>87</sup>, et l'archevêque de

<sup>84</sup> Voir *supra*, note 73.

<sup>85</sup> B.-M. TOCK, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle : le cas d'Arras*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991 (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales, 12), chap. 1.

<sup>86</sup> L'acte n° 1 a un protocole fort semblable à celui de l'acte n° 2, et son écriture est très proche de celle du type J de la chancellerie arrageoise, l'acte n° 6 est plus proche encore des produits de la chancellerie épiscopale, l'acte n° 16 reprend quelques formules de cette même chancellerie (*cum universo ejusdem loci capitulo, universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presentis scripti noticia pervenerit*).

<sup>87</sup> L'écriture de l'acte n° 4 est proche, quoiqu'un peu différente, pour les boucles des g par exemple, de celle d'un autre acte de l'évêque d'Amiens Thibaud (Charte pour l'abbaye Saint-Jean d'Amiens en 1197, orig. Amiens, Arch. dép. Somme, 1H8). Il en va de même pour celle de l'acte n° 11, qui en outre présente une graphie, *Aroaisia*, inconnue d'Arrouaise ou d'Arras. Dans le texte n° 11, on retrouve certains passages de l'acte n° 4 : *inspexerint* dans l'adresse, ou *constitutus coram nobis* dans l'exposé. Cet acte a donc sans doute été rédigé par la chancellerie épiscopale amiénoise.

Reims par la sienne<sup>88</sup>. Les actes n° 19, émanant de l'abbé d'Arrouaise, n° 10, donné par quatre abbés de l'ordre et n° 12, promulgué par le prieur et le couvent d'Arrouaise, ont sans doute été rédigés à Arrouaise. Ainsi la rédaction de l'acte n° 10 s'inspire-t-elle du texte d'autres actes: *caristiam temporis et guerrarum pestilentiam et supervenientium tempestatum insolentiam*. Il aurait donc été rédigé soit par l'abbaye d'Arrouaise, soit par celle de Cercamp. Comme son écriture se retrouve dans un autre acte du comte de Saint-Pol donné en 1199 pour Cercamp<sup>89</sup>, on penchera plutôt pour cette dernière hypothèse.

L'élaboration des chartes relatives aux ventes de biens immobiliers par Arrouaise a donc été fort éclatée: chaque évêque faisait établir ses chartes, semble-t-il, par sa propre chancellerie. Mais on relèvera qu'Arrouaise fait fréquemment appel aux services de la chancellerie épiscopale arrageoise.

#### CONCLUSION

Ce dossier a permis de voir que l'aliénation de biens, affaire plutôt mineure pour les canonistes, qui ne lui accordent en général guère d'attention, est ressentie comme quelque chose de beaucoup plus important par les ecclésiastiques concernés. Lorsque la situation est devenue tellement grave qu'elle nécessite la vente de biens importants, comme une *curtis* par exemple, on multiplie les chartes, et par là les garanties de toute sorte, n'hésitant pas alors à demander des actes non exigés par le droit canon: c'est le cas des chartes des évêques d'Amiens et de Cambrai, de l'archevêque de Reims, du chapitre d'Arras, du comte de Saint-Pol. Il aura aussi

<sup>88</sup> Voir entre autres les actes de Guillaume pour Saint-Denis de Reims, s.d. (Reims, Arch. dép. Marne, 1H41/1) et pour Saint-Rémi de Reims en 1195 (même dépôt, H559) et en 1196 (même dépôt, H919).

<sup>89</sup> Orig. Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp carton 4, Ed.

<sup>90</sup> Cet acte doit être de 1197 nouveau style, puisque c'est en 1197 seulement que Hugues est élu évêque de Cambrai (E. STRUBBE et L. VOET, *De chronologie van de middeleeuwen en de moderne tijden in de Nederlanden*, Anvers-Amsterdam, 1960, p. 264). Il ne peut être antérieur à l'acte de l'abbé Robert, qu'il mentionne.

permis de constater à quel point une institution pouvait être étranglée par l'endettement, dès la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Et à quel point l'opposition de l'Eglise à l'usure n'avait que des effets très limités, d'autant que celle-ci, comme cliente, en favorisait la pratique.

## ANNEXES

### A. BEAULIEU

#### 1

1197 (n. st.), mars

*Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, et toute l'abbaye notifient avoir vendu à l'abbaye de Cercamp tout ce qu'ils possédaient dans le territoire de Bouquemaison, et avoir reçu remise de la redevance qu'ils devaient à Cercamp.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 160 mm, largeur 230 mm, trois sceaux jadis pendant sur double queue de parchemin, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Ck.

B. Copie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans un cartulaire de Cercamp, mêmes dépôt et fonds, p. 37-38 (*sub data* 1186).

Ego Robertus, Dei patientia dictus abbas Arroasie, et ejusdem ecclesie conventus, omnibus ad quos presentium litterarum noticia pervenerit, salutem in Domino. Quoniam a memoria hominum etiam sollempniter acta facile elabuntur, subscripta presenti pagine in posterum servanda committimus. Vestre itaque universitati notum fieri volumus quod ecclesie beate Marie de *Cercamp* quicquid habebamus in territorio de *Bogemaïsons* communi assensu sub venditionis titulo in perpetuam concessimus possessionem, precium inde susceptum in maiorem et magis necessarium ecclesie nostre convertentes profectum. Sciendum etiam quod redditum quem eidem ecclesie super eodem territorio annuatim debebamus, ipsa nobis ecclesia remisit imperpetuum, salvo tamen redditu vel terragio participum. Hujus siquidem venditionis contractum, assensu et consilio Petri episcopi Atrebatensis, in cujus diocesi nostra consistit ecclesia, necnon et ipsius ecclesie capituli, sed et multorum prudentium virorum celebravimus. Quod ut posterum memorie artius inprimatur et ratum in perpetuum habeatur, sigillorum nostrorum karactere et subscriptorum testium appositione presentem paginam insignimus. Signum Roberti abbatis Aroasie. S. Danihelis abbatis de *Clerfai*. Signum Johannis quondam abbatis. S. Radulfi prioris de Margellis, Symonis prioris Belasie, Willelmi prioris de Domnio, Johannis cantoris, Odonis prepositi, Petri, Andree, Ingelranni sacerdotum et ceterorum de capitulo. Actum anno Incarnationis dominice M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> XC<sup>o</sup> sexto, mense martio.

2

1197 (25 mars - 1198, février)

*Pierre, évêque d'Arras, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp tout ce qu'elle possédait à Bouquemaison et qu'elle a reçu remise de la redevance qu'elle devait à Cercamp.*

A. Original perdu.

B. Copie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cercamp, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp non coté, p. 55-56.

a. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...*, n° 270, p. 293, d'après B.

3

1197 (25 mars - 1198, février)

*Pierre, évêque d'Arras, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp tout ce qu'elle possédait à Bouquemaison.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 130 mm, largeur 220 mm, sceau jadis pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cx.

a. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...*, n° 272, p. 295, d'après A.

4

1197 (25 mars - 1198 février)

*Thibaud, évêque d'Amiens, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp tout ce qu'elle possédait à Bouquemaison.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 90 mm, largeur 230 mm, sceau jadis pendant sur double queue de parchemin, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cy.

Th(eobaldus), Dei gratia Ambianens. episcopus, omnibus qui presentem paginam inspexerint, eternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod constitutus coram nobis Robertus abbas Arroasie recognovit se, de communi assensu et voluntate totius capituli sui, consilio

insuper et approbatione domini Atrebatensis sicut in ejusdem abbatis autentico continebatur, concessisse sub titulo venditionis ecclesie beate Marie Caricampi quicquid habebat in territorio de *Bogemaïsons* in perpetuum possidendum. Preterea census quem eadem ecclesia super territorio eodem debebat prefate ecclesie Caricampi eidem ecclesie Caricampi remisit in perpetuum. Hanc igitur commutationem ad petitionem prefati abbatis Arroasie ne aliqua super hoc emergat in posterum contentio litteris fecimus annotari et sigilli nostri munimine robarari. Hujus rei testes sunt Theobaldus prepositus Ambianensis, Robertus, Bod<inus> canonici Ambianenses, Geremarus decanus Abbatisville, Richerus abbas Sancti Richarii, Ebrardus et Ricardus presbyteri. Datum Ambianis per manum Manasseri cancellarii, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M° C° XC° septimo.

## 5

1197

*L'abbé et toute l'abbaye de Cercamp, notifient avoir remis à l'abbaye d'Arrouaise la redevance annuelle de huit setiers qu'elle leur devait annuellement.*

A. Original perdu (sur parchemin, de six poulces de large sur quatre poulces six lignes de haut, trouvé au dépôt des chartes de l'abbaye d'Arrouaise, diocèse d'Arras).

B. Copie du 20 juillet 1768 par dom Queinsert, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coll. Moreau, t. 98, fol. 157, d'après A.

Ego frater Hugo, nomine non merito dictus abbas Caricampi, totusque conventus ejusdem loci, universis tam presentibus quam futuris ad quorum noticiam presens scriptum pervenerit, eternam in Domino salutem. Sicut solvi jus postulat quod debetur, ita liber a debito solvere nil tenetur. Unde universitati vestre notificamus quod nos de communi assensu pro quodam contractu inter nos et ecclesiam Arroasie celebrato, octo sextarios quos eadem ecclesia nobis annuatim debebat eidem in perpetuum remisimus. Quod ut ratum videatur, sigilli nostri munimine et testium subsignatione decoratur. Testes Hugo prior, Ancelmus cellerarius, Gaufridus grangiarus. Actum anno Domini M° C° XC° septimo.



## 6

1198 (n. st.), février

*L'abbé Robert et toute l'abbaye d'Arrouaise, notifient avoir vendu à l'abbaye de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu, avec toutes ses dépendances à Bouquemaizon, Cercamp, Berchoflos et Vacquerie.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 270 mm à gauche, 258 mm à droite, largeur 280 mm en haut, 265 mm en bas, deux sceaux jadis pendant sur lacs de soie jaune, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cl.

B. Copie dans un vidimus d'avril 1223 d'Adam, évêque de Thérouanne, mêmes dépôt et fonds, Cn, d'après A. - C. Copie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cercamp, mêmes dépôt et fonds, p. 38-39.

Robertus, permissione divina abbas Aroasie, et universum ejusdem ecclesie capitulum, omnibus quibus litteras istas videre contigerit, salutem in Domino. Cum abbatia nostra de Aroasia gravissima sterilitate temporis et multis tempestatibus calamitosi guerrarum etiam infortuniis concurrentibus multo ere alieno esset oppressa et usuris voracibus ultra quam credi possit tota fere esset consumpta vel citissime consumenda, consilium habuimus cum Remensi archiepiscopo, domino Willemo, et cum venerabili patre nostro Petro Attrebatensi episcopo et ejusdem ecclesie capitulo, et etiam cum domino Theobaldo Ambianensi episcopo, quibus omnibus visum fuit melius esse et utilius ut pars rerum nostrarum immobilium venderetur, precio in debita nostra et usuras ipsorum debitorum exoluto, quam tota domus nostra in manus creditorum et usurariorum daretur et turpiter deperiret, maxime cum omnes res mobiles nostre vendite essent vel in solutum date nec esset adhuc moles debitorum expurgata, immo fortius et asperius de die in diem cresceret per usuras. Placuit igitur nobis et capitulo nostro et viris supradictis in tam urgente necessitate curtem de Bello Loco vendere abbati et monachis Caricampi cum omnibus appendiciis ejusdem curtis tam in nemore quam in terra plana tam vestita quam nuda in territorio de *Buguemaizon* et de *Cercamp* et de *Berchoflos* et de Vacaria, excepta tertia parte decime que personatui et prestragio altaris de Rebroviis in Vacarie territorio competeabat, et exceptis terragiis et decimis quas de alienis terris ante venditionem accipere solebamus. Facta igitur venditione a nobis sollempniter, cum predicta curtis ante venditionem a nobis per XLa dies venalis publice fuisset exposita ut plus offerenti concederetur, abbas et monachi emptores predictae curtis nobis satisfecerunt de precio et ipsum

in debita nostra duriora et usuras graviores ad voluntatem nostram fideliter exolverunt. Illud etiam omnibus volumus esse notum quod in capitulo nostro fratribus nostris presentibus, excommunicavimus omnes illos qui decetero venditioni predictae curtis contradicent et fratres Caricampi pro predicta curte vexabunt in aliquo, excommunicantes etiam omnes illos qui contradictores et vexatores suprascriptos in domo de Aroasia receptarent vel eis consilium darent vel quoquo modo eis in sua malicia consentirent. Innotescat etiam omnibus quod ad utilitatem non ad lesionem domus Aroasia venditionem hujusmodi fecimus et debitum quod urgebat gravissime absque rerum immobilium distractione alio modo vel consilio non potuimus relevare. Ut autem ista venditio rata et firma in perpetuum habeatur, sigilli nostri et capituli nostri munimine est confirmata, subscriptis quorundam nominibus qui predictae venditioni interfuerunt et consenserunt et jamdictam domum de Bello Loco cum prescriptis pertinentiis suis ecclesie Beate Marie Caricampi et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus tradiderunt libere et quiete et pacifice jure perpetuo possidendam. Signum Roberti abbatis, Ingeranni prioris, Johannis quondam abbatis, Johannis cantoris, Radulphi prioris de Margellis, Willelmi prioris de Domnio, Odonis magistri de *Gimbermont*, Symonis et Johannis sacerdotum, Odonis et Soiberti diaconorum, Rainoldi et Alardi subdiaconorum. Actum anno Domini M° C° LXXXX° VII°, mense februario.

## 7

1198 (n. st.), février

*Pierre, évêque d'Arras, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise, a vendu à celle de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 277 mm, largeur 261 mm, sceau jadis pendant sur lacs de soie jaune, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cm.

a. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...*, n° 268, p. 290-291, d'après A.

## 8

1198 (n. st.), février

*Amaury, prévôt, Jean, doyen, et tout le chapitre cathédral d'Arras, notifient que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise, a vendu à celle de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 125 mm, largeur 163 mm en haut, 170 mm en bas, sceau jadis pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cr.

a. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes promulguées par le chapitre ...*, n° 34, d'après A.

9

1198, février

*Guillaume, archevêque de Reims, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 205 mm à gauche, 218 à droite, largeur 290 mm, sceau jadis pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Ca.

Willelmus, Dei gratia Remensis archiepiscopus, sancte Romane ecclesie tituli sancte Sabine cardinalis, omnibus ad quos littere iste pervenerint, in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod dilectus filius Robertus abbas Sancti Nicholai in Aroasia coram nobis recognovit quod propter ecclesie sue necessitatem, de communi assensu sui conventus venderat fratribus de Carocampo curtem de Bello Loco cum omnibus appendiciis suis et hec vendicio eorundem abbatis et conventus de Arosia (sic) et venerabilium fratrum Th<eobaldi> Ambianensis, P<etri> Attrebatensis episcoporum fuit litteris patentibus confirmata. Nos igitur predictam vendicionem ratam habentes, eam sicut in sepedictorum abbatis et conventus et predictorum episcoporum continetur autenticis presentis scripti testimonio et sigilli nostri karactere confirmanus. Actum anno ab incarnatione Domini M° C° nonagesimo octavo, mense februario. Datum per manum Mathei cancellarii nostri.

10

1198

*Les abbés Baudouin de Hénin, Gautier de Maroeuil, Daniel de Clerfay et Pierre de Saint-Jean de Valenciennes, notifient que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp sa grange de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances, et confirment cette vente.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 195 mm, largeur 230 mm, quatre sceaux pendant sur double queue de parchemin (les deux premiers sont perdus; les troisième et quatrième représentent chacun un abbé mitré et tenant un livre; la légende du troisième est perdue; de la légende du quatrième on lit encore SIGILLUM ABBATIS S<AN>C<T>I IOH ... VALENCENIS). Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Co.

Baldevinus de *Henin*, Galterus de Mareolo, Daniel de *Clerfai* et Petrus Sancti Johannis de Valencinis dicti abbates, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentis scripti noticia pervenerit, salutem in vero salutari. Sciat indubitanter universitas vestra quod cum ecclesia Arroasię propter caritatem temporis et guerrarum pestilentiam in tantum esset ere alieno multipliciter et miserabiliter onerata, quod sine venditione suorum inmobiliū (*sic*) non possit utiliter expediri, de consilio vicinorum episcoporum Robertus abbas Arroasie de voluntate et assensu nostro et tocius conventus Arroasie grangiam suam de Bello Loco cum omni terra et nemore sub titulo perfecte venditionis pro certa summa pecunie versa in utilitate domus Arroasie tradidit et concessit ecclesię Caricampi in perpetuam possessionem. Nos autem eandem venditionem sicut a domino Theobaldo Ambianensi et domino Petro Attrebatensi episcopis litteris est patentibus confirmata, fideliter laudamus et communiter approbamus et ut ab utraque ecclesia indissolubiliter in perpetuum teneatur predictam curtem de Bello Loco cum omnibus appendiciis suis tam terre quam nemoris ecclesię Caricampi presentis scripti patrocinio confirmamus et sigillorum nostrorum attestacione roboramus libere et quiete jure perpetuo possidendam. Actum anno Incarnationis Domini millesimo centesimo nonogesimo (*sic*) octavo.

## 11

1199 (n. st.), janvier

*Thibaud, évêque d'Amiens, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 222 mm, largeur 200 mm, sceau en navette en cire verte pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Cn.

Theobaldus, Dei gratia Ambianens. episcopus, omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris qui presens scriptum inspexerint, eternam in Domino salutem. Ad publicam venire volumus noticiam quod, constitutus coram

nobis vir venerabilis R<obertus> abbas de Aroaisia, recognovit quod propter urgentissimam necessitatem domus sue curtem suam de Bello Loco de voluntate et assensu sui capituli vendiderat ecclesie Caricampi cum omnibus appenditiis suis tam in nemore quam in terra tam vestita quam nuda in territorio de *Bognemaison*, de *Berchoflos*, de *Cercamp* et de Vacaria, excepta tertia parte decime que personatui et prestragio altaris de Rebreviis in territorio Vacarie competebat et exceptis terragiis et decimis quas de alienis terris ante venditionem accipere solebat, habito etiam super hoc domini Attrebatensis necnon et capituli sui assensu et consilio et abbatum ordinis Aroaisie qui venditionem illam laudabant communiter et approbant. Nos autem predictam curtem cum omnibus appenditiis suis ab abbate Aroaisie in manu nostra resignatam, de assensu et consilio viri venerabilis Richardi decani et archidiaconorum nostrorum Theobaldi et Radulfi, necnon et tocius capituli Ambianensis ecclesie Caricampi quantum ad nos pertinebat salvo jure pontificali contulimus libere et pacifice jure perpetuo possidendam, et ut hoc ratum sit et stabile permaneat in futurum presens scriptum fecimus fieri et sigilli nostri munimine roborari. Hujus rei testes sunt Theobaldus prepositus, Ebrardus cantor, Bodinus, Balduinus de *Pas*, Ingeranus de *Croi*, Willemus de Pinchonio canonici Ambianenses, Osbertus abbas de Loco Dei, Matheus prior de Gardo, Erveus prior de Sancta Margareta, Germ. decanus Abbatisville, magister Johannes de Augo, magister Radulfus tunc officialis noster. Datum Ambianis per manum Manasseri cancellarii anno ab Incarnatione Domini M° C° XC° octavo, mense januario.

## 12

1199, 29 avril

*Le prieur Jean et l'abbaye d'Arrouaise notifient que leur abbé a vendu à l'abbaye de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances, et approuvent cette vente.*

A. Original perdu.

B. Copie contemporaine insérée dans la *Continuatio* de l'abbé Robert, Amiens, B.M., ms. 1077, fol. 8v°.

a. MGH SS, t. 15, p. 1124-1125, d'après B.

## 13

1199, avril

*Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, notifie avoir vendu à l'abbaye de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 140 mm, largeur 215 mm, deux sceaux pendant sur double queue de parchemin (le premier est perdu, le deuxième, en cire brune, représente un prélat assis, mitré, crossé et bénissant; de la légende on lit encore ARIDA GAMANTIA), Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Cercamp, carton 4, Ch.

B. Copie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cercamp, mêmes dépôt et fonds, p. 36.

R. abbas totusque Aroasie conventus, omnibus qui presens scriptum inspexerint vel audierint, eternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum ecclesia nostra, miserabili necessitate compulsa, unanimi fratrum consensu de virore prudentum consilio quicquid habebat apud Bellum Locum ecclesie Caricampi vendidisset et tradidisset, excepta tercia parte decime que personatui et prestagio altaris de Rebroyis in Vacarie territorio competeat et exceptis terragiis et decimis quas de alienis terris ante venditionem accipere solebamus, ad maiorem fratrum ecclesie Caricampi securitatem privilegiis omnibus que super possessionibus dicti Belli Loci vel earum appendiciis habebamus sollempniter renunciavimus et eisdem fratribus firmiter promisimus quod nunquam adversus ipsos quominus predicta omnia quiete et pacifice possiderent occasionem aliquam quereremus sed potius eis contra omnes secundum Deum consilium et auxilium preberemus. Ne ergo conventioni nostre aliquis velit vel possit imposterum contraire, presens scriptum hoc fecimus et sigillorum nostrorum munimine roborari. Actum anno Incarnationis M<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup> XC<sup>o</sup> nono, mense aprilis.

## 14

1199

*Hugues, comte de Saint-Pol, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp la curtis de Beaulieu avec toutes ses dépendances, et s'engage à défendre cette vente.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 205 mm, largeur 245 mm, sceau rond en cire verte pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge (représente un

chevalier vu de droite, casqué et armé d'une épée, avec comme légende: SIGILLUM HUGONIS COMITIS DE <SANCTO> PAULO; le contre-sceau représente un chevalier vu de gauche, armé d'une lance, avec comme légende: SECRETUM MEUM MICHI.

Ego Hugo, comes de Sancto Paulo, omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentis scripti noticia pervenerit, in Domino salutem. Tam presentium quam futurorum memorie volumus commendare quod, constitutus coram nobis apud *Lucen* vir venerabilis Robertus abbas Sancti Nicholai de Aroasia cum quibusdam canonicis suis, recognovit quod propter urgentissimam necessitatem domus sue que ob temporis caristiam, gerarum pestilentiam et supervenientium tempestatum insolentiam ultra modum ere alieno multipliciter et miserabiliter fuerat onerata, nec absque rerum suarum immobilium distraxione poterat utilius relevari, de consilio domini Willelmi Remensis archiepiscopi necnon et vicinorum episcoporum domini Petri Atrebatensis et domini Theobaldi Anbianensis (*sic*) et de communi assensu et voluntate tocius capituli sui et plurimorum abbatum ordinis Aroasie curtem suam de Bello Loco cum omnibus appendiciis ejusdem curtis tam in nemore quam in terra sub tytulo perfecte venditionis pro certa summa pecunie versa in utilitatem domus Aroasie tradiderat et concesserat ecclesie Caricampi libere et quiete et pacifice jure perpetuo possidendam. Omnibus igitur sit manifestum quod predictus abbas presentibus canonicis suis nos ibidem cum quanta potuit attentione rogavit quatinus prefate venditioni benigne consentiremus et curtem illam ecclesie Caricampi proprio scripto et sigillo confirmaremus et defenderemus et quitaremus siquis pro predicta curte tam de suis quam de alienis vellet in posterum jamdictam ecclesiam molestare vel ei in aliquo contraire. Nos autem sepredictam venditionem autentice factam et a jamdictis episcopis sollempniter confirmatam ratam habemus et fideliter approbamus, et ut indissolubilis permaneat infuturum ad majorem confirmationem hujus rei presentem fieri jussimus attestationem in litteris et sigilli nostri munimine roborari. Testes Robertus *Freteaus* senior et Robertus filius ejus junior, Gillebertus de Mauritania, Robertus de *Hersin*, Girolodus de Moncellis, magister Robertus canonicus Atrebatensis, Johannes *Violete*, Guarinus *Braibenchons*. Actum anno dominice Incarnationis millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono.

## B. BEAUCAMP

## 15

1197 (n. st.), 11 mars

*Pierre, évêque d'Arras, rappelle et confirme l'acte par lequel Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, vend la terre de Beaucamp à l'abbaye de Cantimpré.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 298 mm, largeur 270 mm, sceau en navette en cire brune pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Lille, Arch. dép. Nord, 37H57/311.

a. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques ...*, n° 262, p. 286-287, d'après A.

## 16

1197 (n. st.), 15 mars

*Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, notifie qu'il a vendu à l'abbaye de Cantimpré un essart situé à Beaucamp.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 240 mm, largeur 240 mm, sceau en navette en cire brune pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge (représente un abbé assis, mitré, croisé et bénissant, avec comme légende SIG-ILLUM... DA> GAMANTIA), Lille, Arch. dép. Nord, 37H57/312.

Ego Robertus, Dei gratia ecclesie Beati Nicholai de Aroasia dictus abbas, cum universo ejusdem loci capitulo, universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presentis scripti noticia pervenerit, in perpetuum. Ad confirmandam rerum gestarum memoriam nichil efficacius arbitramur quam ut contractuum qualitas litterarum impressa apicibus diutius in sua vivat et vigeat novitate. Unde notum facimus presentibus ac futuris quod ecclesie Beate Marie de Pratis totum sartum quod vocatur *Baencamp* cum duabus modiatis terre nobis a Johanne de *Marcoing* in elemosinam assignatis cum decem etiam mencoldatis quas in eodem acquisivimus territorio, cum universis etiam fructibus et proventibus qui ad nos in eisdem terris pertinebant cum assensu communi sub venditionis titulo in perpetuum concessimus possessionem precium de eadem venditione susceptum in majorem et magis necessarium ecclesie nostre convertentes profectum. Memorante siquidem venditionis contractum assentiente et approbante Petro Atrebatensi episcopo in cujus diocesi ecclesia nostra fundata con-



sistit celebravimus, Hugonis etiam electi Cameracensis cujus ditioni dicte terre situs adjacere dinoscitur et totius ejusdem ecclesie capituli assensu similiter impetrato. Ut autem alienatio nominata plenius innotescat et stabilitate plenaria roboretur, sigillum nostrum pagine presenti duximus imprimendum, adicientes testimonia subscriptorum. Signum Roberti abbatis, Johannis quondam abbatis, Radulfi prioris de Margellis, Symonis prioris Belasie, Willelmi prioris de Domnio, Johannis cantoris, Odonis prepositi, Petri, Andree, Ade, Ingelramni, Remfridi, Roberti, item Roberti, Johannis, item Johannis, Hunfridi, Lamberti, Walteri, Meneri, Balduini, item Balduini sacerdotum, Siberti, Odonis, Warini diaconorum, Renoldi, Alardi, Odonis, Albini, Nicholai. Actum anno dominice Incarnationis M° C° XC° sexto, idus martii.

## 17

1197 (n. st., 15 mars - 6 avril)<sup>90</sup>

*Hugues, élu de Cambrai, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Cercamp un essart à Beaucamp.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 220 mm, largeur 195 mm, sceau jadis pendant sur lacs de soie verte et rouge, Lille, Arch. dép. Nord, 37H57/310.

Hugo, Dei gratia Cameracensis electus, universis Christi fidelibus in perpetuum. Rationis evidentibus instruimur documentis ut contractus inter ecclesias honeste ac rationabiliter celebratos ex quibus ipsis ecclesiis manifeste utilitatis provenit incrementum, pio approbatos assensu, nostre auctoritatis patrocinio roboremus. Eapropter imprimere curamus memorie posterorum quod cum ecclesia Sancti Nicholai de Aroasia pro minuendis honoribus debitorum quibus graviter premebatur, totum sartum quod *Baiencamp* nuncupatur cum duabus modiatis terre eidem ecclesie a Johanne de *Marcoing* in elemosinam collatis, cum decem etiam mencaldatis terre quas ibidem dicta ecclesia aquisivit cum omni jure quod in eisdem terris obtinebat ecclesie Beate Marie de Pratis venditionis titulo intenderet assignare. Quoniam ipse terra infra dicionis nostre terminos constituta probatur, nostrum super hoc sepius memorata ecclesia studuit postulare assensum. Nos autem eandem petitionem honestati ac rationi in nullo contrariam perpendentes, nominati formam contractus sicut in prescripte ecclesie et etiam Petri venerabilis Atrebatensis episcopi cujus assensu hoc idem factum est plenius autenticis est expressa, favore benigno approbavimus, prefatam quoque terram in manus nostras a sepe dicta Sancti Nicholai ecclesia cum omni jure quod ad se pertinebat

libere resignatam ecclesie Beate Marie de Pratis elemosine nomine sub eadem contulimus libertate. Ne igitur pie approbatum a nobis contractum cum nec ab elemosine fructu vacuus habeatur effrenis aliquorum malicia in posterum irritare conetur sigilli nostri patrocínio et subscriptorum testimonio presentem paginam consignamus. Signum Roberti abbatis, Odonis prepositi, Johannis cantoris ecclesie Sancti Nicolai de Aroasia. Signum Stephani Remensis, Nicolai *Pikete* canonicorum Beate Marie Cameracensis. S. Michaelis clerici nostri. Actum anno dominice Incarnationis M° C° XC° VI°.

### C. CAGNICOURT

18

1197

*Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, et toute l'abbaye, notifient avoir vendu à l'abbaye d'Anchin neuf portions de terres situées près de Cagnicourt.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 175 mm, largeur 225 mm, deux sceaux en cire rouge pendant sur lacs de cuir (le premier, en navette, représente un abbé assis, crossé, mitré et bénissant, avec comme légende SIGILL<UM>.....>DE ARIDA GAMANTIA ; le deuxième, rond, montre un abbé debout, mitré, crossé et tenant un livre, avec comme légende SIGILLUM ABBA<TI>S ARROASIE), Lille, Arch. dép. Nord, 1H44/495.

In nomine Domini. Ego Robertus, Dei miseratione Arroasię abbas, et capituli nostri universitas omnibus Christi fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus in perpetuum. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod cum ecclesia nostra multis et innumeris debitis esset aggravata sapientum usi consilio quasdam terras nostras gratia domus nostre relevandę venditioni exposuimus unde et fratribus Aquicinensis ecclesię ex eisdem terris nostris novem portiones terre que jacent inter *Vileirs* et *Cawenicurt* et versus *Duisemont*, et quicquid in eis juris habebamus octoginta et duabus marcis argenti ad pondus Atrebatense vendidimus et eis hereditario jure concessimus libere et quiete in perpetuum possidendas. Ut igitur ecclesia Aquicinensis in posterum hujus terre gaudeat possessione ad majorem rei ipsius notitiam et confirmationem presentem paginam in capitulo nostro coram fratribus nostris legi fecimus et recitari et sygilli nostri appensione communiri et testium nomina qui interfuerunt subscribi. S. mei ipsius Roberti abbatis Arroasię. S. Arnulfi abbatis Calniaci. S. Petri abbatis de Dodelvilla. S. Ingelranni prioris Arroasię. S. Odonis prepositi. S.

Johannis cantor. S. Petri, s. Symonis, s. Johannis, s. Willelmi, item s. Willelmi, s. Godefridi sacerdotum et ceterorum de capitulo. Actum est hoc anno dominicę Incarnationis M° C° XC° VII°. Celebrata est autem venditio ista apud *Cawenicurt*, coram multis testibus quorum nomina subscripta sunt: Eustachius de *Abicurt* et Walterus Strabo frater ejus, Hugo *Majons*, Julianus filius *Rabel* et Johannes *Felenie* frater ejus, Robertus *Li Vilains*, Nicholaus *Bonemeirs* tunc prepositus et Dulcardus major, Hugo *Hoces*, Johannes major de *Vileirs* et Ernulfus filius ejus et alii multi.

#### D. GOSNAY

19

1198, avril

*Robert, abbé d'Arrouaise, vend à l'abbaye de Maroeuil tous les revenus de son abbaye à Gosnay.*

A. Original sur parchemin, hauteur 105 mm, largeur 180 mm, deux sceaux jadis pendant sur double queue de parchemin, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Maroeuil non coté.

B. Copie du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Maroeuil, mêmes dépôt et fonds, fol. 31v°.

C. Copie du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par dom Le Pez, Arras, B.M., 672, fol. 81r°. — D. Copie du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par dom Le Pez, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 17675, fol. 49v°.

a. P. BERTIN, *La chronique et les chartes de l'abbaye de Maroeuil de l'O.S.A. et de la congrégation d'Arrouaise au diocèse d'Arras*, Lille, 1959, n° 31, p. 122-123, d'après B.

20

1198, mai

*Pierre, évêque d'Arras, notifie que l'abbaye d'Arrouaise a vendu à celle de Maroeuil tous ses revenus à Gosnay.*

A. Original perdu.

B. Copie du <sup>xv</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle dans le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Maroeuil, Arras, Arch. dép. Pas-de-Calais, H Maroeuil non coté, fol. 31v°-32r°.

C. Copie du <sup>xvii</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle par dom Le Pez, B.M. Arras, ms. 672, fol. 81r°-v°, d'après B.

a. P. BERTIN, *La chronique et les chartes ...*, n° 32, p. 123-124, d'après B. - b. B.-M. TOCK, *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras ...* n° 277, p. 298-299, d'après B.

# Les deux sermons de Jacques de Furnes en l'honneur de saint Winnoc

par

Gérard DE MARTEL

(Solesmes)

La collection des sermons de Jacques de Furnes, abbé de Saint-Bertin de 1230 à 1237, a été transmise par un seul manuscrit conservé à la bibliothèque municipale de Saint-Omer sous le numéro 175<sup>1</sup>. Écrit dans le nord de la France vers le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce recueil composite de 198 feuillets contient principalement l'*Expositio super prologos totius Bibliae* de Guillaume le Breton (f° 4r-60r) et deux séries de sermons : la première, entièrement anonyme, comprend 7 textes d'origines diverses ; la seconde en compte 129 qui ont été reconnus au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle comme ayant été composés par Jacques de Furnes, 47<sup>e</sup>me abbé de Saint-Bertin, mort en 1238<sup>2</sup>. Dans leur grande majorité ces sermons ont été prononcés devant une communauté religieuse, mais quelques-uns ont une destination monastique ou pastorale explicitement indiquée<sup>3</sup>. Dans quelques cas le copiste a précisé le lieu où ils ont été donnés. Ainsi on apprend que Jacques de Furnes s'est rendu

<sup>1</sup> Nous avons présenté et analysé ce manuscrit dans un article intitulé *La collection des sermons de Jacques de Furnes. Le sermon sur Ruth 1, 22*, dans *Sacris Erudiri* 32, 1991, p. 343-393 et cité ici *La collection* ...

<sup>2</sup> On doit cette identification à dom De Cléty, moine de Saint-Bertin qui a étudié ce manuscrit conservé alors à Clairmarais et a rédigé en 1751 une longue notice sous la forme d'une lettre adressée à Barthélemy de La Guette, abbé de ce monastère. Cf. *La collection* ..., p. 346-352.

<sup>3</sup> On pense ici aux sermons *Ad religiosos* (n° 56, <56>, 57 <57>, <58>, 74 <76>), *In capitulo generali* (55 <55>), *De pastoribus saecularibus aut parochialibus* (106 <110>, 107 <111>, 108 <112>), *De praelatis ecclesiae* (109 <113>, 110 <114>). Pour certains autres, l'absence de précision en tête de la transcription ne permet pas de connaître les auditeurs auxquels Jacques de Furnes s'adressait.

à l'abbaye de Mont Saint-Eloi, à celle des Dunes, à Cercamp, à Saint-Remi de Reims, à Afflighem et à Ourscamp<sup>4</sup>. Il a parlé également à l'abbaye de Bergues, probablement deux fois<sup>5</sup>, et ce fut en l'honneur du protecteur de ce monastère, saint Winnoc. Comme les sermons en l'honneur de ce saint sont rares — en existe-t-il même d'autres? —, il nous a paru intéressant de faire connaître ces deux témoins inédits.

Qui était saint Winnoc? Par les *Vitae* on apprend que Winnoc, breton d'origine, est né vers 640 et a rejoint l'abbaye de Sithiu vers 690, sous l'abbatit de saint Bertin († v. 698). Celui-ci l'aurait alors chargé de fonder un monastère dans la région, à Wormhoudt. La fondation aurait été réalisée en 695 ou 696, sous Childebert III. Winnoc y vécut jusqu'à sa mort, survenue le 6 novembre 716 ou 717. Ses reliques sont transférées à Sithiu en 836 et amenées vers 900 à Bergues que vient de fonder Bauduin le Chauve. L'abbaye est alors placée sous son patronage<sup>6</sup>.

Saint Winnoc était vénéré au cours de l'année par trois fêtes liturgiques: la plus importante avait lieu le 6 novembre, jour de son *natalis*; la seconde était fixée au 18 septembre en souvenir de la translation de son corps à Bergues; et la troisième, le 23 mars, célébrait l'*Exaltatio S. Winnoci*<sup>7</sup>. On peut supposer que Jacques de Furnes, alors abbé du monastère voisin de Saint-Bertin aura été invité à prendre la parole à l'occasion de l'une ou l'autre de ces fêtes. Est-il possible de préciser laquelle? On remarquera que dans cette collection, où les sermons ne sont certes pas distribués d'après un ordre chronologique strict, le s. 40 se trouve placé entre deux sermons pour la fête de tous les saints<sup>8</sup> et deux sermons pour la fête de saint-André (30 novembre)<sup>9</sup>. Il a donc vraisemblablement été prononcé au jour anniversaire du transitus du saint, un

<sup>4</sup> Pour les références aux sermons prononcés dans ces différentes abbayes, voir *La collection...*, p. 347, n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Le titre du sermon 40 <40> est celui-ci: *Sermo de sancto Winnoci*, mais celui du sermon 51 <51> précise: *Sermo de sancto Winnoco habitus apud Bg.*

<sup>6</sup> La vie de saint Winnoc est connue par trois récits des IX-X<sup>e</sup> siècles, présentés et édités par C. de Smet dans les *Acta sanctorum* (Nov., t. 3), Bruxelles, 1910, p. 253-289.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Acta sanctorum*, op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>8</sup> S. 38 <38>: *Sermo in festo omnium sanctorum*; s. 39 <39>: *Item in eodem festo*.

<sup>9</sup> S. 41 <41> et 42 <42>. Suit un sermon pour la fête de saint Nicolas (6 décembre).

6 novembre. Quant au sermon 51 on notera qu'il est situé entre un sermon pour la Pentecôte<sup>10</sup> et un autre pour la naissance de Jean-Baptiste (24 juin)<sup>11</sup>. Or une chronique rapporte que chaque année à la fête de la Sainte Trinité les moines de Bergues portaient en procession le corps de saint Winnoc en souvenir des miracles obtenus par son intercession<sup>12</sup>. Il paraît donc légitime de penser que Jacques de Furnes aura été convié à prêcher au cours d'une semblable célébration, au dimanche octave de la Pentecôte.

La détermination de l'année de ces deux prédications demeure plus difficile. On sait que Jacques de Furnes a été élu abbé à la fin de mars 1230 et a résilié sa charge en 1237<sup>13</sup>. Dom de Cléty qui a étudié attentivement tous les sermons a pu conclure qu'ils avaient été composés par un religieux bénédictin et que celui-ci était abbé. Dans un cas au moins cela est dit explicitement<sup>14</sup>. Mais cela signifie-t-il que tous les sermons qui composent la collection datent de la période abbatiale? Pour les deux textes présentés ici, il n'y a pas lieu d'en douter. On comprendra aisément que pour donner plus d'éclat à une fête en l'honneur du patron de son monastère l'abbé de Saint-Winnoc à Bergues aura invité son homologue de Saint-Bertin à prononcer le sermon de circonstance<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> S. 49 <49>. Le sermon 50 <50> (*Ad religiosos apud Oscamp*) qui précède immédiatement celui en l'honneur de s. Winnoc n'a pas de précision liturgique.

<sup>11</sup> S. 52 <52>: *Sermo de natiuitate sancti Iohannis habitus ad Chercamp*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Acta sanctorum*, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. DE LAPLANE, *Les abbés de Saint-Bertin d'après les documents de ce monastère*, t. 1, Saint-Omer, 1854, p. 265-269.

<sup>14</sup> Dans le sermon 55 <55> Jacques de Furnes abbé s'adresse à d'autres abbés: «Nam si sumus abbates, num ideo non monachi professione?». Cf. *La collection...*, p. 349, note 14.

<sup>15</sup> On ne s'étonnera pas de ces relations entre les deux abbayes. Elles étaient anciennes. En 1133 Simon Ier, abbé de Saint-Bertin, avait participé à la dédicace de l'église de Bergues, consacrée à saint Winnoc (Cf. A. PRUVOST, *Chronique et cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winnoc*, t. 1, Bruges, 1875, p. 104). Et inversement en 1237 Guillaume, abbé de Saint-Winnoc, assistait à la translation des reliques de Saint-Bertin (cf. H. DE LAPLANE, op. cit., p. 226). Jacques de Furnes était alors abbé de Saint-Bertin. La translation eut lieu le 16 juillet 1237.

La tradition des bonnes relations se prolongera puisque lors d'une nouvelle translation des reliques de saint Winnoc, le 14 juin 1394, Jacques III de Condète, 59ème abbé de Saint-Bertin sera présent à l'abbaye de Bergues (*ibid.*, p. 285).

Ces deux sermons ont un double caractère commun : ils se présentent comme un discret panégyrique et ils s'appuient semblablement sur un texte de l'ancien testament, comme d'ailleurs la majorité des 129 pièces qui composent la collection<sup>16</sup>.

Pour son premier sermon Jacques de Furnes a choisi un extrait de la longue bénédiction que prononce Jacob sur ses fils. A Zabulon il dit : „Zabulon habitera au bord de la mer, là où stationnent les navires, il s'étendra jusqu'à Sidon". Le thème lui a été suggéré par la topographie : Bergues est aujourd'hui situé à une dizaine de kilomètres de la mer, mais au Moyen Age se trouvait sur la côte<sup>17</sup>. Les trois parties du verset établissent les trois divisions du sermon.

Saint Winnoc est donc le fils de Jacob, le nouveau Zabulon, en qui habite la force du Christ. Il s'est fixé près de la mer, et non pas sur la mer. La distinction est importante, car la mer est le symbole du monde mauvais. Elle est dangereuse, parce qu'elle est le lieu d'une lutte sans merci entre les poissons où le plus fort dévore le plus faible, parce qu'elle recèle bien des récifs et des tourbillons, parce que par sa nature-même elle est salée et amère. Tous les dangers du monde sont exprimés dans ce langage imagé : les tempêtes des vices, les rivalités sans merci entre les riches et les pauvres, l'esclavage des soucis et des désirs, qui comme le sel aiguissent la soif plutôt qu'ils ne l'apaisent. Voilà ce qu'est le monde : un enfer ! Winnoc, lui, a voulu s'établir au bord de la mer. Comme Abraham il a quitté les siens pour venir se réfugier aux confins de la mer et de la terre, dans la vie religieuse, qui res-

On mentionnera encore que deux chartes de Saint-Bertin font mention d'une intervention du pape Grégoire IX à propos d'un différend entre les deux abbayes (Cf. D. HAIGNERÉ, *Les chartes de Saint-Bertin*, t. 1, Saint-Omer, 1886, p. 359 : chartre du 18 juin 1232, et p. 366-367 : chartre du 11 août 1233).

On signalera enfin que l'inventaire des reliques conservées à Saint-Bertin, rédigé en 1465, mentionne la présence d'un fragment d'étole ayant appartenu à saint Winnoc. Cf. H. DE LAPLANE, *op. cit.*, t. 2, Saint-Omer, 1855, p. 566.

<sup>16</sup> Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de se reporter à l'index biblique (*La collection...*, p. 392-393).

<sup>17</sup> On pourra voir la carte de la Flandre vers l'an 900 reproduite par J. Lestocquoy dans *Histoire de la Flandre et de l'Artois*, Paris, 1949, p. 26. Nous n'avons pu consulter L. DEBAEKER, *Recherches historiques sur la ville de Bergues*, cité par A. Pruvost dans *Chronique et Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winnoc*, Bruges, 1875, p., 60 et sv.



semble à une marche où s'affrontent les armées ennemies. L'image du combat spirituel complète alors le symbolisme des éléments naturels. Dans la deuxième partie Jacques de Furnes développe le symbolisme du port, lieu de la sécurité où il est prudent de fixer sa demeure. Par association d'idée cette *demeure* rappelle une scène relatée par Jérémie, où à propos de l'épisode du rouleau de Baruch il est question d'une maison d'été et d'une maison d'hiver. La maison d'hiver reçoit une double signification : elle désigne la manière de vivre des séculiers qui pour lutter contre les rigueurs des péchés se chauffent au feu des passions, mais elle désigne aussi la fréquentation, par les moines, des hommes qui vivent dans le monde. Le vrai religieux, lui, s'en défend en fermant les fenêtres des sens. Revenant au thème du port, le prédicateur s'en écarte une nouvelle fois puisque le mot *angustum* lui rappelle divers textes de l'Écriture. Il cite alors à la suite l'épître aux Hébreux, l'Ecclesiastique, le Cantique des cantiques, les Proverbes, etc. Les religieux sont donc comme les navires dans le port. Ils doivent y être bien attachés ou au moins, pour ceux qui sont obligés de sortir du cloître, y être reliés par l'esprit et la pensée. Sinon ils courent le danger de se laisser attirer par la lumière d'une fausse sagesse qui les entraînera sur les rochers où ils périront et seront dépouillés par les pirates. La conclusion était facile à tirer. Winnoc a donné l'exemple d'une parfaite stabilité, et aussi d'une fécondité qui a profité à tous les siens. Aujourd'hui encore les moines de Bergues forment comme une couronne qui entoure ce saint. Or pour qu'une couronne soit décemment portée, il faut trois conditions : que la tête (l'esprit) corresponde à la couronne, que la couronne enserre bien la tête, que les vêtements soient en harmonie avec la couronne. « Nous-mêmes, si nous portons décemment la couronne, c'est-à-dire le nom et la gloire de notre Père, nous lui serons une couronne dans la vie future. Que daigne nous l'accorder ... »

Le second sermon a pour thème un verset de l'Exode qui conviendrait bien à une fête de translation : « Moïse paissait les brebis de Jethro, son beau-père, prêtre de Madian. Comme il poussait le troupeau jusqu'au fond du désert, il vint à la montagne de Dieu, l'Horeb » (Ex. 3, 1). Il y a dans ce texte tous les éléments permettant une reconnaissance facile de la personne et de l'oeuvre de

saint Winnoc. Jacques de Furnes procède ici encore en trois étapes, mais sans respecter dans l'exposé les divisions rigoureuses du verset.

Moïse, qui est le symbole fréquent de l'abbé à la tête de sa communauté, signifie «tiré des eaux»<sup>18</sup>. Au sens figuré Winnoc a été arraché aux eaux des concupiscences charnelles et a rejoint la terre de la vie religieuse symbolisée par Madian. A Madian vivait Raguel, qui donna pour épouse à Moïse l'une de ses filles. Or on sait que Winnoc était allé se fixer auprès de saint-Bertin et avait reçu de lui pour épouse sa fille spirituelle, la communauté de Wormhoudt. Telle est l'introduction.

«Moïse paissait ...» Saint Winnoc a nourri sa communauté de trois manières : par la parole, c'est-à-dire par l'enseignement des Ecritures, par l'exemple et par le fruit de son travail. Pour illustrer l'activité de l'abbé de Wormouth Jacques de Furnes rappelle un trait historique qui a fait de Winoc le patron des meuniers : Au moulin il unissait le travail à la prière et se dépensait ainsi pour le bien de tous. «Moïse paissait». Mais il ne suffit pas de paître, il faut aussi garder et protéger : contre les pâturages empoisonnés de la vaine gloire, contre les eaux tumultueuses de la concupiscence charnelle, contre la férocité des loups, symbole des avarés.

«Comme il conduisait le troupeau dans le désert ...» Le désert est le symbole de la vie religieuse comme saint Jean-Baptiste est le modèle du religieux<sup>19</sup>. Mais il faut distinguer le désert extérieur (la rigueur de l'observance) et le désert intérieur (l'oraison et la contemplation). Il faut surtout distinguer trois sortes de troupeaux : les chèvres, les porcs et les moutons. L'impureté des porcs

<sup>18</sup> Pour les Pères latins des premiers siècles Moïse est d'abord un conducteur de peuple, un chef politique, surtout un chef religieux (cf. A. LUNEAU, *Moïse et les Pères latins dans Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*, Tournai, 1955, p. 283-291). Au Moyen Age on voit plutôt en lui le modèle achevé des vertus (cf. J. CHÂTILLON, *Moïse figure du Christ et modèle de la vie parfaite. Brèves remarques sur quelques thèmes médiévaux*, ibid. p. 305-314). Dans la tradition monastique on a reconnu en saint-Benoît un nouveau Moïse (voir par exemple chez Aelred, dont les textes sont cités par A. HALLIER, *Un éducateur monastique, Aelred de Rievaulx*, Paris, 1959, p. 92-93). Les expressions de Jacques de Furnes doivent être rapprochées de celles que l'on trouve dans les *Vitae* citées par G. Penco dans *Le figure bibliche del „Vir Dei“ nell'agiografia monastica* (*Benedictina* 15, 1968, p. 6-7).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. G. PENCO, *S. Giovanni Battista nel ricordo del monachesimo medievale* dans *Studia Monastica* 3, 1961, p. 7-32.

est connue, l'évangile en rapporte un exemple lorsque les démons demandent à entrer dans un troupeau de porcs qui se précipitent ensuite dans la mer. L'expérience aussi le montre, puisque contrairement aux oiseaux qui s'enfuient lorsque l'un des leurs est frappé, les porcs ne s'écartent pas du danger, mais accourent plutôt parce qu'ils aiment demeurer dans la boue. L'épisode de l'enfant prodigue sert de transition vers la deuxième espèce de troupeau. En effet, revenu en lui-même, le fils perdu aurait quitté les porcs pour aller garder les chèvres. Les chèvres sont le symbole de la pénitence qui bien que née de la puanteur du péché est pure et agréable à Dieu. Elle est aussi le symbole du pécheur qui se convertit, confesse ses péchés et s'élève jusqu'à la miséricorde de Dieu. Mais seul le troupeau de moutons parvient jusqu'à la montagne de Dieu.

Si les moutons symbolisent les pensées, le cheminement jusqu'à l'Horeb représente l'effort de contemplation des mystères célestes. Saint Winnoc en a donné l'exemple et il est bien parvenu à l'Horeb, qui signifie «table»: non pas la table du mensonge et des démons, mais la table du pain vivant et de la vie éternelle. Les religieux sont, eux, encore en chemin entre ces deux tables. L'obéissance, la pauvreté et la chasteté les ont mis à part, mais ils sont encore comme les moutons de Jacob, blancs et noirs. Sous la conduite de leur abbé ils parviendront cependant, par la vie religieuse elle-même et par la prière contemplative, à la montagne de Dieu, riche des biens du ciel.

La lecture de ces deux sermons souligne une fois encore deux traits principaux de la prédication médiévale, et spécialement de la prédication monastique: d'une part le recours habituel à la sainte Ecriture, qui fournit ici les thèmes des sermons, et tout au long de ces textes est abondamment citée, et d'autre part l'insertion répétée d'images empruntées à la vie quotidienne. Pour soutenir l'attention d'un auditoire qui devait être composé de gens simples, Jacques de Furnes prend ses exemples dans des faits concrets et les développe de façon à impressionner<sup>20</sup>. Il se soucie peu de la forme, il parle et choisit ses images avec spontanéité. En cela il se rapproche davantage d'Isaac de l'Etoile ou de Guerric d'Igny que de saint Bernard qu'il cite cependant une fois explicitement.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. L.J. BATAILLON, *Les images dans les sermons du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* dans *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 37/3, 1990, p. 327-395.

C'est même l'une des rares traces d'une source littéraire directe<sup>21</sup>. Ce qui ne signifie pas que Jacques de Furnes ne s'inscrive dans une grande tradition, et en particulier dans la tradition cistercienne. Les notes le montrent suffisamment. Mais il sait à l'égard de celle-ci garder son indépendance\*.

<sup>21</sup> Dans quelle mesure Jacques de Furnes a-t-il utilisé la glose? Pour les textes qui suivent d'une part la citation de Job 2, 13 dans le 1er sermon (note 26) et d'autre part celle de Juges 16, 21 dans le 2ème sermon (note 22), cela semble probable. Mais il n'a pas été possible de préciser ces emprunts.

\* Melle Nicole Bériou a bien voulu relire cette présentation et vérifier la transcription des deux sermons. Nous la remercions vivement pour sa précieuse collaboration.

SAINT-OMER, BM 175, f° 116va-117vb: n° 40 <40>.

Sermo de sancto Winnoco

ZABVLON IN LITORE MARIS HABITABIT ET IN STATIONE f° 116va  
NAVIVM PERTINGENS VSQVE AD SIDONEM (Gen. 49, 13).

Legimus in libro Genesis, capitulo penultimo, quod congregauit Iacob filios suos et annuntiauit eis uentura diebus nouissimis. Veniens ergo post Iudam ad Zabulon sic ait illi: *Zabulon in littore maris habitabit*, etc. Nunc ergo qualiter uerba ista huic sancto conueniant, uideamus.

- 5 Fuit enim beatus Winnocus filius Iacob quod est luctatoris uel sub<plantatoris>, qui uiriliter pugnando mundum uicit, diabolum supplantauit et seipso fortior carnem cum concupiscentiis crucifixit. Iste dictus est Zabulon, quod interpretatur habitaculum fortitudinis. Fortitudo nostra Christus est, cui dicit Psalmista: *Diligam te, Deus, fortitudo mea*.  
10 Iustus igitur est habitaculum fortitudinis, id est Christi, sicut dicit Apostolus ad Ephesios III, f: *In interiori homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus uestris*. Ita ergo Zabulon, id est habitaculum fortitudinis, beatus Winnocus in quo Christus spiritualiter habitauit, sicut canitur de eo quod Spiritus sanctus in hu., etc. Iste quasi in litore maris  
15 habitauit etiam litteraliter, quia in hoc loco qui est iuxta mare, elegit sibi spiritualiter mansionem, ut in eo et corpus eius in pace quiesceret, et nomen eius uiueret in secula. Spiritualiter ergo habitauit in litore maris, non in mari, quia instabilitatem mundi contempnens elegit litus, id est ingressum aeternae soliditatis. Mali autem habitant in mari, id est in  
20 mundo, quia in eo sibi faciunt mansionem, exilium patrie preponentes

5/6 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *Interpr. hebr. nom.*, ed. P. de Lagarde, 7 (CC 72, p. 67, 19), 61 (p. 136, 27), 78 (p. 157, 5). 7 Cf. Gal. 5, 24. 8 Cf.

HIERONYMVS, *ibid.*, 12 (CC 72, p. 73, 1-2), 15 (p. 77, 6), 63 (p. 138, 14: Zabulon habitaculum); ALCVINVS, *In Apoc.*, IV, 7, 5 (PL 100, 1131 D); RICARDVS A SANCTO VICTORE, *Benjamin minor*, 40 (PL 196, 29 D-30 C); RVPERTVS TVITIENSIS, *De trinitate* (In Gen.), 9, 31 (CC CM 21, p. 566, l. 1321-1322). „Zabulon interpretatur habitaculum eorum” (ms ROUEN, BM 665, f° 278).

9 Ps. 17,2 (Domine Vg). Nous désignons par Vg l'édition manuelle de la Vulgate par R. Weber, Stuttgart, 1969. 11/12 Eph. 3,

16-17. 14 Faut-il lire „in humili habitat” et reconnaître une réminiscence de Rom. 8, 9 (= I Cor. 3, 16): *Spiritus Dei habitat in uobis*? Pensant à une citation d'origine liturgique nous avons cherché un texte semblable dans P. BAYART, *Les offices de Saint-Winnoc et de Saint-Oswald d'après le manuscrit 14 de la bibliothèque de Bergues*, (Annales du Comité flamand de France, t. 35), 1926, p. 1-133. Mais en vain.

- 25 contra quos dicitur per Sophoniam II, b: *Ve qui habitatis funiculum maris*, etc. Mare enim dicitur mundus, quia diuersis passionum et uitiorum tumultibus quatitur et numquam in eodem statu permanet, sicut mare. Mare monstris est plenum, ita mundus plenus est monstris peccatorum. Item omnis homo timet in mare, ita in mundo, quia nulla securitas potest esse in eo. Item mare numquam quiescit, ita mundi amatores qui mundus appellantur. Vnde Ysaïas LVII, g: *Impius quasi mare feruens*, etc. Item in mari maior piscis deuorat minorem, ita in

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21/22 Soph. 2, 5      22/24 Isidore avait donné de Zabulon une interprétation semblable: „Zabulon significat ecclesiam quae secus fluctus huius uitae inhabitans, omnes tentationes et turbines portat” (ISIDORVS, *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae*”, n° 40; PL 83, 106 B), reprise par Raban Maur dans le *De universo*, lib. II, 2 (PL 111, 44 A-B).

La comparaison du monde avec la mer est traditionnelle. En voici quelques témoignages:

AVGVSTINVS, *En. in Ps.* 65, 11; „Mare erat mundus” (PL 36, 794); „Attendite saeculum, quasi mare, uentus ualidus et magna tempestas” (*Serm.* 76; PL 38, 482). D’autres textes sont cités par H. Rondet dans son étude sur *Le symbolisme de la mer chez saint-Augustin* dans *Augustinus magister*, Paris, 1954, t. 2, p. 691-701.

GREGORIUS MAGNVS, *Moral.*, XVII, 30, 45: „Quid aliud maris nomine quam praesens saeculum designatur, in quo corda hominum terrena quaerentium diuersis cogitationum fluctibus intumescunt?” (PL 76, 31 D; CC 143 A, p. 877, l. 3-5); *ibid.*, IX, 10, 11 (PL 75, 864 C; CC 143, p. 463, l. 1-3); XXVIII, 18, 40 (PL 76, 471 C; CC 143 B, p. 1426, l. 53-54); XXIX, 12, 23 (*ibid.*, col. 489 C; p. 1449, l. 3-7). Cf. GARNERVS A. S.V., *Gregorianum*, VII, 3 (PL 193, 287 C).

ALCVINVS, *In Ioh.*, III, 12 (PL 100, 819 C).

RABANVS MAVR., *De universo*, lib. XI, 5: „Mare iuxta allegoriam ... significat ... saeculum praesens aestuans undis persecutionum, aut peccatores fluctibus vitiorum tumultuantes” (PL 111, 312 C).

Mais le texte le plus proche est celui-ci: „Mare sunt illi qui diuersis passionum ac uitiorum tumultibus quatuntur. Qui semper in motu sunt semperque vagi, nunquam stabiles, nunquam in eodem statu permanentes” (AELREDVS RIEVALLENSIS, *Serm. In aduentu*, 10; PL 184, 822 B-C; cf. *Serm.* 19: PL 195, 316 C - 317 B). 27/28 Is. 57, 20 (Impii, Vg). Cf. HIERONYMVS, *In Is.*, 16, 57: „Impii siue iniqui fluctuabunt quasi mare feruens et quiescere numquam poterunt” (CC 73A, p. 658, l. 61-62).

- 30 mundo sunt pascua diuitum pauperes, sicut dicit Ecclesiasticus. Item in  
mare | omnia flumina intrant et non redundat, et in hoc notatur auaritia. f° 116vb  
In mari sunt scopuli siue montes in quibus franguntur naues, in hoc  
notatur superbia, et in mari sunt scillee, uoragines profundae, scilicet  
fouee, aquas in se assidua uertigine absorbentes, in hoc notatur luxuria.  
Haec sunt illa tria de quibus loquitur Iohannes in I ca<pitulo> II, b:  
35 *Nolite diligere*, etc. Propter haec tria dicitur in Apocalypsi: *Vae, Vae,*  
*Vae habitantibus terram*. Item aqua maris salsa est et amara, sic mundi  
deliciae. Mundi enim deliciae siue diuitiae inter sollicitudines et uolup-  
tates locantur, sicut in euangelio Lucae Dominus dicit: *A sollicitudinibus*  
*et diuitiis*, etc. Ecce ponit diuitias inter sollicitudines et uoluptates, ita  
40 ergo aquae maris per sollicitudines sunt amarae, per uoluptates salsae,  
quia amplius sitim accedunt, quo plus sunt pote, etc. In hiis duobus  
mundus assimilatur inferno. Erit enim in inferno similiter amaritudo et  
salsedo, amaritudo ex cruciatibus, salsedo sitis ex desiderio quod num-  
quam complebitur, quia ex tormentis quae sentient, non perdent  
45 desiderium eorum quae numquam poterunt obtinere; sed quod uolunt  
non obtinebunt, et quod nolunt in aeternum sustinebunt. Ita ergo de  
habitatione huius maris quod est mundus, uenitur ad habitationem  
maris nouissimi quod est infernus, ubi in perpetuum amaritudo non  
deerit et salsedo.
- 50 Propterea beatus Winnocus noluit habitare in mari, sed in litore  
maris, iuxta quod hic dicitur: *Zabulon in litore maris habitabit*. Sancti  
enim licet sint in mundo, non habitant mundum ut patriam, sed trans-  
eunt ut uiam, sicut de eorum capite scriptum est: *In mari uia tua*, etc.,  
sed habitant in litore quia semper mentem habent ad ingressum  
55 soliditatis aeternae. Qui ergo sunt in mari egrediantur ad litus, et qui

29 Cf. Eccli. 13, 23. Cf. AVGVSTINVS, *En. in Ps.* 64, 9: „Mare in figura dicitur saeculum hoc ... Quomodo (multi) se invicem opprimunt et qui possunt devorant. Et cum devoraverit unus piscis major minorem, devoratur et ipse a maiore” (PL 36, 780); *En. in Ps.* 76, 20: „Homines se tanquam pisces deuorant, cum maior minorem absorbet. Est ergo hoc mare” (PL 36, 981). 30 Cf. Eccl. 1, 7. Pour la même interprétation, cf. AMBROSIVS, *De Tobia*, cap. 13, 44 (PL 14, 776 B-C). AVGVSTINVS, *En. in Ps.* 23, 3: „Flumina in mare fluunt, et cupidi homines labuntur in saeculum” (PL 36, 183). 35 I Io. 2, 15: „Nolite diligere mundum neque ea quae in mundo sunt”. 35/36 Apoc. 8, 13. 38/39 Luc. 8, 14. 41 Référence non identifiée. 53 Ps. 76, 20. 54/55 Cf. GREGORIUS MAGNVS, *Hom. in Euang.*, II, 24: „Quid mare nisi praesens saeculum signat, quod se causarum tumultibus et undis uitae corruptibilis illidit? Quid per soliditatem litoris nisi illa perpetuitas quietis aeternae figuratur?” (PL 76, 1184 D - 1185 A), repris par ALCVINVS, *In Iob.*, VII, 43 (PL 100, 996 A).

- egressi sunt corpore egrediantur et mente. Vnde cum iam egressus Abraham, de terra scilicet, sicut legitur in Genesi XII, a, dictum est ei: *Egredere*, etc. Non enim iudicantur egressi, quibus natalis soli uel parentum et propinquorum et eorum qui sunt in mundo in mente memoria
- 60 *perseuerat. Egredere*, inquit, *et ueni*, etc., hoc est: *Egredere* de mari, *et ueni* habitare in litore, id est in claustro. Sicut enim litus confinium est inter mare et terra, ita religio quasi confinium est inter mundum et terram uiuentium, et ibi crux, id est imitatio dominicae passionis tanquam
- 65 *limes in marchia duarum regionum iuxta quod ait Ysaïas XIX, f: Erit titulus Domini iuxta terminum eius*, id est Aegypti, *et erit in signum et in testimonium Domino exercituum in terra Aegypti*. Et post: *Clamabunt enim ad Dominum a facie tribulantis*, etc. Et notandum quod sicut maior solet esse impetus | hostium in marchia et maior collisio fluctuum f° 11 in litore, ita diabolus et mundus positus in litore, id est in religione,
- 70 artius insequuntur et grauius temptant. Hoc est quod dicit Apostolus ad II Tymotheum III, f: *Omnes qui pie*, etc. Hoc est etiam quod in Exodo XIII scriptum est, quod cum persequerentur Aegyptii filios Israel reppererunt eos in castris super mare. Haec sunt castra religionis in quibus est militia spiritualis. Haec sunt supra mare quia religiosi debent habere
- 75 mundum sub se per contemptum. Vel aliter in castris est labor militiae, in mari amaritudo doloris. Est ergo in castris supra mare, qui laborat in gemitu suo cum psalmista et dolet pro peccatis. Castrum supra mare fortissimum est et inexpugnabile maxime ex parte maris, ita ex ea parte qua dolemus pro peccatis, hostibus ad nos non patet accessus. Vnde de Iob
- 80 dicitur II, g, quod *nemo loquebatur ei uerbum. Videbant enim*, etc. Ibi dicitur: Vbi uehemens dolor est, uitia non loquuntur nec temptatio locum habet. Hoc est castrum supra mare, in litore maris, in religione scilicet, ubi beatus Winnocus habitauit, ubi habitant eius filii spirituales sicut dicitur: *Zabulon in litore maris habitabit*.

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58/60 Gen. 12, 1. 58/60 Cf. CASSIANVS, Coll. III, 4: „... ut in scripturis sanctis Abraham uoce dominica de genitili solo et totius cognationis affectibus patrisque domo legimus euocatum dicente domino: *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui*”. (CSEL XIII, 2, p. 70). 63 Sur la vie monastique présentée comme une imitation de la passion du Christ, cf. CASSIANVS, *Institut.*, IV, 34-36 (CSEL XVII, p. 72-74) et, au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, PETRVS CELLENSIS, *De disciplina claustrali*, 6: Comparatio inter crucem et claustrum (PL 202, 1110 B-D; Sources chrétiennes 240, Paris, 1977, p. 161-162). 64/66 Is. 19, 19-20. 66/67 Is. 19, 20. 71 II Tim. 3, 12. 72/73 Cf. Ex. 14, 9. 76/77 Cf. Ps. 6, 7. 80 Iob. 2, 13. A quelle glose Jacques de Fumes a-t-il emprunté le texte qui suit cette citation?



- 85 Sequitur: *Et in statione nauium*. Statio nauium appellatur portus. Nam aliud est litus, alius est portus. In portu est aqua maris, sed tuta, in litore est terra solida. Hee sunt duae habitationes. Solent enim reges duplicem habere mansionem, aestiualem et hyemalem. Domum aestiuam intelligimus claustrum in quo est amenitas spiritualium
- 90 deliciarum, et hoc est litus. Domum hyemalem possumus claustrum inter saeculares. Haec est illa domus de qua legitur in Ieremia XXXVI, d: *Rex sedebat in domo hyemali et posita arula coram eo plena prunis, et scidit Iudi scalpello scribae uolumen Ieremiae et proiecit in ignem qui erat super arulam*. Ista domus hyemalis est conuersatio saecularis, quae
- 95 constricta est frigore et gelicidi(i)s peccatorum. Arula prunarum est incendium cupiditatis. Iudi interpretatur confitens siue laudans. Scalpello scribae solet eradi quod fuerit corrigendum et significat acumen ingenii. Igitur Iudi est religiosus qui se debet in confessione et laude Dei exercitare. Iste ergo cum est in domo hyemali, id est conuersatione saeculari,
- 100 iuxta prunas, id est iuxta incendium cupiditatis, scalpellum scribae, id est acumen ingenii quod deberet eradere litteras cordis, conuertit in cumulum dampnationis, et ita sermones Domini et praecepta diuinae legis consumit ignis cupiditatis. Hoc est uolumen Ieremiae scindere et in ignem proiicere. Quid ergo faciemus in hac hyemali | domo, quia oportet f° 117rb
- 105 nos propter necessitatem talium inter saeculares multotiens conuersari? Bonum dat consilium Ysaïas XXVI, g: *Vade populus meus in cubiculum tuum et claude ostia tua super te*. Hortatur nos in hyeme huius uitae abscondi a uento et claudere fenestras, id est sensus corporis, contra tempestatem. Fenestrae enim siue ostia sunt uisus, auditus, gustus,
- 110 odoratus et tactus. Ista fenestras male clauserant quibus dicitur per prophetam Ieremiam nono, f: *Intrauit mors*, etc. Fenestras ergo claudit qui

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92/94 Ier. 36, 22-23 (dans le texte biblique, c'est le roi lui-même qui lacère les feuillets et non son secrétaire: *Cumque legisset Iudi tres pagellas, scidit (rex) illud scalpello* ...). 96 L'interprétation proposée pour Iudi est celle que Jérôme reconnaît à Iuda: „Iuda confitens siue glorificans” (*Inter.hebr.nom.*, ed.cit., 7 (CC 72, p. 67, 19), 74 (p. 152, 15) et 78 (p. 157, 4). 106/107 Is. 26, 20 (in cubacula tua Vg.). 109/110 Cicéron (*Disput. Tuscul.*, I, 20) avait déjà comparé les sens à des fenêtres. L'énumération proposée ici se trouve, avec les mêmes termes et dans un contexte semblable, dans GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Moral.*, XXI, 2, 4 (CC 143 A, p. 1065, l. 2 sq.), repris par GARNERVS A S.V., *Gregorianum*, XIII, 15 (PL 193, 409 D - 410 A). 111 Ier. 9, 21 (Ascendit mors Vg.). Ce verset est interprété semblablement par les auteurs suivants: HIERONYMVS, *In Ier.*, II, 81 (CC 74, p. 99, l. 9-12); RABANVS MAVR., *De universo* XXII, 14: „Fenestrae: uisus, auditus, odoratus et ceteri sensus carnis, ut in Ieremia: *Intrauit mors per fenestras nostras*” (PL 111, 401 B); BERNARDVS, *Serm. In Cant.*, XXXV, 2 (PL 183, 963 B; EC I, p. 250, l. 7-8); *Serm. Ad clericos de conuersione*, V, 7 (PL 182, 839 A; EC IV, p. 79, l. 11-14).

- auertit oculos, scilicet ne uideat uanum. Ysaïas XXXIII, d: Qui obturat aures suas, etc. De religioso igitur qui ita se a saeculi uanitate custodit, dicit expresse alibi Ysaïas XXXII, a: Erit uir qui absconditur, etc.*
- 115 VIII: *Quamdiu clausa erat, etc.* Est ergo sicut dictum est domus hyemalis conuersatio saecularis, et uir religiosus inter saeculares se laudabiliter habens est quasi naus in portu, ubi est statio nauium, ubi tempestatem maris de prope audit et timet, quia non est tutum uicino serpente dormire, et ideo *absconditur* ut supra dictum est. Naui comparatur uita
- 120 religiosorum, quia incipit in angusto et terminatur in angustum, et in medio est lata. Incipit ab angusto, quia sicut dicit apostulus Hebr. XII, c: *Omnis disciplina in praesenti quidem, etc.* Item de angustia in principio dicitur Eccli. VI, d: *Quam aspera est nimis sapientia.* De latitudine in medio dicitur in Cantico <canticorum> III, f: *Media caritate constrauit.* De hac angustia in principio et latitudine in medio habemus in
- 125 Prouerbiis III, c: *Duxi te per semitas aequitatis.* Ecce angustia in principio quia semita est angusta uia. Sequitur: *Quas cum ingressus fueris, non artabuntur gressus tui et currens non habebis offendiculum.* De extrema angustia satis patet, quia post omnia bona opera restat timor.
- 130 Nam cum omnia fecerit homo, nescit utrum amore an odio dignus sit. Unde Ysaïas cum multa bona enumerasset: *Qui ambulat in iustitiis, etc.*, post omnia addidit: *Cor tuum meditabitur timorem.* Hoc est quod dicit Iob IX, f: *Verebar omnia opera mea.* Cogitate ergo quantum timendum est in malis operibus, si ita timendum est etiam in bonis, etc.
- 135 Haec est ergo naus angusta in extremo. Sunt igitur quasi naues in portu religiosi, qui in exteriori occupatione solliciti sunt, et taliter ergo p(ortum?) sicut naues in portu. In litore uero tamquam in solido sunt claustrales, et sicut per naues defertur ad litus unde uiuant qui morantur in litore, ita per exteriorum prouisores in claustralibus necessaria
- 140 ministrantur. Porro iuxta sententiam Domini: *Maiores est qui recumbit, etc.* Lucae XXI, d. Necesse est ut naues in portu stationem | facientes ad f° 11 litus firmiter ligentur et anchorentur, ne undarum et uentorum impulsionem deferantur in mare et sic periclitentur. Ita necesse est ut religiosi inter saeculares quandoque conuersantes ad ea quae aguntur in claustris

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112 Cf. Ps. 10, 11.      112/113 Is. 33, 15.      114 Is. 32, 2.      115 Cf. Iudith 8, 5.      122 Hebr. 12, 11.      123 Eccli. 6, 21 (nimium Vg.).  
124/125 Cant. 3, 10.      126 Prou. 4, 11.      127/128 Prou. 4, 12  
130 Cf. Eccli. 9, 1      131 Is. 33, 15.      132 Is. 33, 18.      133 Iob 9, 28.      140 Luc. 22, 27.

145 mente et cogitatione firmiter anchorentur, ne si alia temptatione uel  
negligentia a suo proposito dissoluantur, ipsis saecularibus deteriores  
fiant. Mundus enim et daemones tamquam pessimi piratae in locis  
uadosis et scopulosis de nocte ignem accendunt, ut naues illuc  
diuertentes ad naufragium perducant. Hoc est quod falsae sapientiae  
150 saecularis uel gaudii temporalis curialitatis uel libertatis uel iactantiae uel  
uanae laudis lumen accedunt quasi sub obtentu aliquo commodi uel  
utilitatis; ad quod lumen miserae naues diuertentes miserabiliter  
naufragantur et a piratis spoliuntur et pereunt, spoliuntur uirtutibus et  
pereunt in peccatis. Si ergo huiusmodi lumen ostenditur tibi, non  
155 soluare a litore, *locum tuum ne dimiseris*.

Beatus Winnocus qui non temptationibus cessit nec humanam gloriam  
concupiuit, non est solutus a litore quia habitauit in statione nauium,  
subditis suis in corporali necessitate prouidens et in litore eos in  
spiritualibus instruens et consummans. Vnde bene sequitur: *Pertingens*  
160 *usque ad Sidonem*. Sidon interpretatur uenatio. Pertingit enim usque ad  
Sidonem qui salute propria non contentus, de aliorum etiam conuersione  
sollicitus (fuit). Beatus ergo Winnocus cum habitaret in litore, id est in  
religionis soliditate, et in statione nauium, id est amministrazione ex-  
teriorum, erat *pertingens usque ad Sidonem* quia de se non contentus  
165 aliorum uenationi erat intentus, quos ad salutem uenari et ad religionem  
attrahere satagebat. *Vade et tu fac similiter. Si filii Abrahae*, etc. Io.  
VIII, e. Qui filii sunt huius sancti, eius opera imitentur. In Ecclesiastico  
dicitur: *Fortem in filiis misericordiam custodiuit*. Misericordia custoditur  
in filiis cum uirtutes patrum ad filios deriuantur et in hoc gloria et  
170 corona et patrum et filiorum. Vnde scriptum est in Prouerbiis Salomonis  
XVII, B: *Corona senum filii filiorum et corona filiorum patres eorum*.  
Si uere beati Winnoci filii estis, uos estis corona, et ipse est corona  
uestra. Vt autem haec corona decenter nos ornet, tria nobis necessaria  
sunt: ut caput respondeat coronae, ut corona cingat caput, et ut

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155 Cf. Eccl. 10, 4. 160 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *Interpr. hebr. nom.*, 23 (CC 72, p. 88, 9). 166 Luc. 10, 37. 166 Ioh. 8, 39. 168 Sap. 10, 5 (In filii misericordia fortem custodiuit Vg). 171 Prou. 17, 6 (et gloria filiorum patres sui Vg).

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162 fuit *om. ms.*

- 175 uestimenta conuenientia sint coronae. Caput, id est mens, debet respondere coronae, ut non sit nimis grossum per superbiam, nec nimis paruum per pusillanimitatem. Debet cingi a corona, ut si aliqua temptatio nos infestauerit, | recolamus quam fortiter pater noster temptationibus restitit et superauit, et sic memoria paternae fortitudinis caput, f° 117;
- 180 id est mentem, cingat in filiis. Caueamur autem ne corona a capite decidat per peccatum, ne peccantes scilicet eius patrocinium amittamus, iuxta quod dicit Ieremiae threnorum (liber) V, f: *Cecidit corona*, etc. Tertio uestes, id est ornatus morum et honestatis, debent concordare cum corona, quia sordidae uestes non concordant cum corona. Vnde in
- 185 Zacharia III, c dicitur de Ihesu sacerdote magno: *Auferte ab eo uestimenta sordida*; et post: *Ecce abstuli a te iniquitatem tuam et indui te mutatoriis*; et postea dicitur quod sancta est ei corona de auro et posita super caput eius. Nos ergo si decenter portauerimus coronam, id est nomen et gloriam patris nostri, erimus ei corona in futuro quando
- 190 dicet: *Ecce ego et filii mei quos dedit mihi Dominus in terra peregrinationis meae, et cum eo coronabimur in aeternum. Quod ipse prestare, etc.*

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182 Lam. 5, 16.      185/186 Zach. 3, 4 (*Auferte uestimenta sordida ab eo Vg*).      186/187 Zach. 3, 4.      187/188 Cf. Zach. 3, 5.      190 Cf. Is. 8, 18; Hebr. 2, 13.

SAINT-OMER BM 175, f° 124rb-125vb: n° 51 &lt;51&gt;

## Sermo de sancto Winnoco habitus apus Bergas

(M)OYSES PASCEBAT OVES IETRO COGNATI SVI SACERDOTIS f° 124rb  
 MADIAN. CVM MINASSET GREGEM AD INTERIORA DESERTI  
 VENIT AD MONTEM DEI OREB (Ex. 3, 1).

Nota est hystoria quod Moyses, postquam occiderat Aegyptum, fugit in terram Madian, et ibi accepit uxorem Sephoram, filiam sacerdotis Madian, qui uocabatur Ietro siue Raguel. Quia igitur uetus testamentum continebat in se nouum, unde Ezechiel X, d, uidit rotam in medio  
 5 rotae, et quia gesta patrum ueteris | testamenti per uitam et actus sanc- f° 124va  
 torum patrum noui testamenti exponuntur et explicantur, sicut dicit Ysaïas XXXIII, b: *Complicabuntur caeli sicut liber*, ideo propositum thalamum de Moyse beato patri nostro, cuius hodie sollempnitatem celebramus, non incongrue adaptamus.

- 10 Moyses interpretatur assumptus de aqua. Aqua uero quia fluida est, quandoque in sacra scriptura significat fluxum carnalis concupiscentiae, per quam homines fluunt de peccato in peccatum, effluunt in mortem, pereffluunt in gehennam. Vnde Apostolus ad Hebraeos: *Habundantius oportet nos obseruare ea quae audiuiimus ne forte pereffluamus*. De hac  
 15 aqua beatus Winnocus assumptus fuit, quando concupiscentiis renuntiavit. Sciens quod in diluuio aquarum multarum, id est carnalium con-

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1/3 Cf. Ex. 2, 12-21. 4/5 Cf. Ez. 10, 10. 7 Is. 34, 4 (*complicabuntur sicut liber caeli Vg*). Pour les sources de l'exégèse de ce passage, cf. GREGORIUS MAGNVS, *Hom. in Ez.*, I, 6, 15: «Rota intra rotam est testamentum nouum quia quod designauit testamentum uetus, hoc testamentum nouum exhibuit... Rota in medio rotae est quia inest testamento ueteri testamentum nouum. Et, sicut saepe iam diximus, quod testamentum uetus promisit, hoc nouum exhibuit, et quod illud occulte annuntiat, hoc istud exhibitum aperte clamat. Prophetia ergo testamenti noui testamentum uetus est et expositio testamenti ueteris testamentum nouum» (PL 76, 834 A - 836 B; CC 142, p. 75, l. 276-278 et p. 76, l. 319-325), repris par RABANVS MAVRVS, *In Ez.*, II, 1 (PL 110, 528 A-D) et HVGO DE FOLIETO, *De claustro animae*, I, 6 (PL 176, 1030 C). 10 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *Liber interpr. hebr. nom.*, ed. P. de Lagarde, 14 (CC 72, p. 76, 1-2) et 65 (p. 141, 8-9); ms PARIS, BN 233, f° 575va: «Moyse, aquaticus uel assumptus de aqua». 13/14 Hebr. 2, 1 (*obseruare nos Vg*).

- cupiscentiarum, ad Deum non approximantur, ideo recte dicatur Moyses, id est assumptus de aqua. Iste postquam occiderat Aegyptum, id est postquam diabolus et eius uirtutem in se suffocauerat, fugit ab Aegypto, id est a mundo, in terram Madian, id est in religionem, quia Madian interpretatur responsio et significat religionem, in qua praeceptis Dei per oboedientiam et passioni Christi per imitationem respondere debemus. Vnde psalmus ille: *Domine Deus salutis meae*, intitulatur *filius Chore pro Meleth ad respondendum*. Chore interpretatur caluitium et significat passionem quae facta est in caluaria, ubi Dominus noster irrisus fuit, sicut Helisaeus: *Ascende calue, ascende calue, ascende calue*, III Reg. II, g. Dicitur ergo *filius Chore*, id est passionis Domini, *pro meleth*, id est in me, quod interpretatur chorus, id est in concordia caritatis, *ad respondendum* dominicae passioni per imitationem. Haec est terra Madian, id est responsio religionis, ad quam fugit beatus Winnocus, quando reliquit parentes et patriam omnesque propinquos et uenit ad beatum Bertinum, qui erat sacerdos in terra Madian, id est in religione, cui bene conuenit interpretatio nominum: Iethro quod interpretatur honorabilis, et Raguel quod interpretatur pastor Dei. Accepit ergo uxorem filiam eius spiritualem, id est fidelium congregationem, quando praefecit eum multitudini monasteriorum apud Wormholtum, ut spirituales filios generaret in fide, quibus posset dicere cum apostolo Ia Cor. III f: *In Christo Iesu per euangelium ego uos genui*. Ista breuiter praelibauimus ut ad propositum thalamum uiam intelligentiae pararemus.

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16/17 Cf. Ps. 31, 6. Pour l'interprétation, cf. PETRVS LOMB., *In Ps.* 31, 8 (PL 191, 321 C). 20/21 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *ibid.*, 8 (p. 69, 18-19: Gen: Madian metiens siue respondens; Madian de iudicio siue de causa); ms PARIS, Bn lat. 233, f° 573rb: «Madian respondens uel diiudicans siue iniquitas». 23/24 Ps. 87 (titre). 24 Cf. HIERON., *ibid.*, 4, (p. 63, 4), 17 (p. 80, 7) et 73 (p. 151, 16). 26 IV Reg. 2, 23. 27/28 Cf. PARIS, BN lat. 233, f° 574vb: «Meleth, chorus uel a principio». 27/29 Cf. AVGVSTINVS, *En. in Ps.*, 87, 1: «*Pro melech* latine pro choro dici potest: melech enim uerbo hebraeo chorus significatur. Domini hoc passio prophetatur... Chorus autem concordiam significat, quae in caritate consistit... Hoc enim canitur *filiis Core*, id est imitatoribus passionis Christi, quoniam in caluarie loco crucifixus est Christus; quae illius hebraei nominis interpretatio perhibetur, id est Core» (PL 37, 1109-1110; CC 39, p. 1207-1208). *Glossa interlinearis*: «*In choro*, it est concordia caritatis, *ad respondendum* imitatione uel gratiarum actione» (*Biblia sacr.*..., Venetiis, 1588, p. 216). 33/34 Cf. ms PARIS, BN lat. 233, f° 570vb: «Iethro, superfluens uel honorabilis»; f° 579rb: «Raguel, pastor Dei»; HIERONYMVS, *ibid.*, 14 (p. 77, 21: Raguhel pastio Dei). 38 I Cor. 4, 15. Sur la fondation de Wormhoudt (30 décembre 685) et le rôle de Winnoc, cf. AA.SS., *op. cit.*, p. 258-259.

Igitur *Moses pascebat*, etc. In hiis uerbis notantur tria: labor actionis, secretum contemplationis et merces utriusque. Labor actionis cum dicitur: *Pascebat oues*, etc. Secretum contemplationis cum subditur: *Cumque minasset*, etc. Merces utriusque cum subiungitur: *Venit ad*  
 45 *montem Dei Oreb*. Ergo, sicut dictum est, Moyses, id est beatus Winnocus, pascebat, oues soceri sui, id est beati Bertini qui ei filiam suam, id est religiosorum ecclesiam, spirituali matrimonio copularat. Pascebat uerbo, pascebat exemplo, pascebat temporali subsidio. Propter hoc enim Petro | ter dictum est: *Pasce*. Ultimo Iohannis. Pascebat uerbo in pascuis f° 124vb  
 50 scripturarum, exemplo in informatione morum, temporali subsidio in prouisione necessariorum. De primo dicitur per Ezechielem XXXIII, d: *In pascuis uberrimis pascam oues meas*, id est in scripturis. De secundo sequitur idem: *Et in montibus excelsis erunt pascuae earum*, id est in excelsis sanctorum. De tertio dicitur in euangelio Iohannis X, b: *Bonus*  
 55 *pastor animam suam dat pro ouibus suis*. Ponit, inquam, animam suam pro ouibus suis in talibus pro fratribus laborando. Nonne egit ille pastor noster quando manibus suis laborauit ad molam ut fratribus necessaria prouideret? Iste merito dicere potuit: *Anima mea in manibus meis*  
 60 *semper*, dum pro utilitate fratrum laborauit indesinenter. Istud ultimum non solum pertinet ad praelatos, sed etiam obedientarios qui in partem sollicite aduocantur. Accipiant exemplum a beato Winnoco quomodo debeant laborare non in bursa, sed in mola, nec in illa mola in qua coactus est molere Samson cecatus, in qua iam capilli in a ..., sed in illa de  
 65 qua unus assumetur et alter relinquetur, Luc XVII, g, in qua sunt montes in circuitu eius, id est sancti in munimentum ecclesiae. Ita ergo accipiant exemplum a beato Winnoco quomodo debeant laborare non ad commodum proprium, sed ad commune, *non quaerentes quae sua sunt, sed quae Ihesu Christi*, Phil. II, e, non quod sibi utile est, sed quod multis, recogitantes quod in collegio discipulorum Domini nemo

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49 Io. 21, 15, 16 et 17. 52 Ez. 34, 14 (oues meas> eas Vg). 53 Ibid.  
 54/55 Io. 10, 11. 56/58 Sur l'activité manuelle de Winnoc au moulin de l'abbaye, voir le récit de la *Vita secunda*, n° 4 (*Acta Sancti*, op. cit., p. 264). 58/59 Ps. 118, 109. 62/63 Cf. Iud. 16, 21. 63 En raison des abréviations extrêmes utilisées par le copiste nous hésitons sur la transcription à adopter. 63/64 Luc. 17, 34-35. 65 Ps. 124, 2. 65 Cf. AVGUSTINVS, *En. in Ps.*, 124, 2 (PL 37, 1651 D - 1652 A; CC 40, p. 1839). 67/68 Cf. Phil. 2, 21. 68/69 Cf. I Cor. 10, 33. 69/70 Cf. Io. 12, 6 et 13, 29.

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41 et 42 actionem ms. 42 et 43 contemplationem ms. 50 fornicatione ante corr. ms. 59 labore ms.

- 70 reprobatus est nisi oculos habens, et si bene laborauerint, beati sunt et bene eis erit; si autem male, male.

In hunc modum Moyses noster pascebat oves soceri sui uerbo, exemplo, temporali subsidio. Ita debet pascere cui commissum est, nec solum pascere, sed etiam custodire: custodire a pascuis nociuis et mortiferis ne inficiantur, id est a mundi gloria qua pascantur superbi; custodire ab aquis ne submergantur, id est a fluxu carnalis concupiscentiae, quo merguntur luxuriosi; custodire a lupi ferocitate ne deuorentur, id est a cupiditatis rapacitate qua utuntur auari. Haec sunt tria generalia uicia a quibus maxime custodiri oportet. Alioquin ouem sine custodia  
 80 inuentam quis liberabit a faucibus leonis qui *circuit quaerens quem deuoret*, Ia Petri III, f? Propterea dicit Abacuc: *Super custodiam meam stabo*. Bona custodia qua custodit homo seipsum, sed non debet repellere etiam custodiam aliorum. Vnde beatus Bernardus: Quis dabit mihi centum in mei custodiam deputari. Quanto plures sentio curam  
 85 gerere mei, tanto securior exeo in pascua. Ita ergo iste Moyses noster pascebat oves soceri sui, pascebat et custodiebat. Sequitur:

*Cumque minasset*, etc. Desertum est religio. Desertum, inquam, a strepitu mundi. Huius exteriora sunt rigor ordinis et aspera conuersatio. In hoc deserto praedicauit Iohannes uestitus pilis cameli | et zonam f° 12  
 90 pelliceam habens circa lumbos, sicut dicit Marcus I, a, et locustas et mel siluestre edebat. Haec sunt exteriora deserti. Interiora deserti sunt oratio et contemplatio et haec sunt speciosa deserti, de quibus dicitur in Psalmo: *Pinguesscent*, etc. Hoc est desertum in quo ieiunauit Christus. Ad haec interiora deserti grex minatur, quando congregatio fidelium ad  
 95 secretum contemplationis, aperta praedicatione uel occulta inspiratione perducitur.

Triplitem gregem siue tres greges in sacra scriptura inuenimus: gregem porcorum, gregem caprarum, gregem ouium. In porcis immundicia, in capris paenitentia, in ouibus innocentia figuratur. In lege enim non of-

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70/71 Cf. Ps. 127, 2.      80/81 Cf. I Petr. 5, 8.      81/82 Hab. 2, 1.

83/85 BERNARDVS, *Epist.*, 42, 35 (EC VII, Romae, 1974, p. 129, l. 17-19). Dans cette lettre à Henri, archevêque de Sens, Bernard vient de citer I Petr. 5, 8.

89/90 Cf. Marc. 1, 6.      93 Ps. 64, 13.      93 Cf. Matth. 4, 1-2 et par.

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71 eis *rep ms.*      74 custodire<sup>2</sup> *rep. ms.*      81 Ia-f *add. in marg.*



- 00 ferebatur porcus. Capra offerebatur pro peccato, ouis in holocausto. De grege porcorum legitur in euangelio Matth. III, f quod expulsa legione daemonum ab homine qui morabatur in monumentis, daemones petierunt ut mitterentur in gregem porcorum, et impetrauerunt et praecipitauerunt porcos in mare et suffocauerunt eos. Daemones enim
- 05 potestatem habent in eos qui uersantur in immundicia, et eos in mare nouissimum, id est infernum, praecipitant. *Omnia enim flumina intrant mare*, ait Salomon in Ecclesiastico I, c. Flumina dulcem habent aquam. Dulcedo enim carnalium uoluptatum fluit in amaritudinem sempiternam. Hoc est quod ait Zach. XIII, c: *Exibunt aquae uiuae de*
- 10 *Ierusalem, medium earum ad mare orientale et medium earum ad mare nouissimum. Aquae uiuae sunt aquae baptismatis. Medium earum ad mare orientale*, quia quaedam pars baptizatorum incidit in tristitiam et amaritudinem initialem, id est in paenitentiam et amaritudinem pro peccatis in praesenti. Hoc est mare orientale. Alia pars baptizatorum intrant *in mare nouissimum*, id est in amaritudinem finalem et infer-
- 15 nalem. Hii sunt porci qui in sua immundicia perseuerant, et ideo praecipitantur in mari. Quedam naturalis proprietas est in porcis quae hoc ipsum astruit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris. Bene scitis quod si in grege auium una auis percutitur, omnes reliquae se subtrahunt periculo fugientes. De porcis autem contingit in contrarium, quia si in grege porcorum percutitur unus, omnes reliqui non solum non fugiunt, immo etiam magis accurrunt. Ita cum aliquis improuisa morte percutitur, fugiunt qui aues sunt, id est ad caelestia tendentes iuxta illud Iob XIX, g: *Fugite a facie gladii*, etc. Qui autem sunt porci, id est
- 20 in immunditia sordida, non fugiunt, sed accurrunt quia se a sordibus luti non explicant et remanere in suis iniquitatibus non formidant, et ideo recte daemones mittuntur in porcos et eos in mare praecipitant. Propterea ergo filius | prodigus qui dissipauit substantiam suam uiuendo f° 125rb
- 25 luxuriose et pascit porcos, surgat et reuertatur ad patrem et dicat ei: *Pater, peccaui*, etc. Lucae XV, et ita incipiet pascere gregem caprarum. De hoc grege caprarum dicit sponsus in Canticum amoris III, d: *Capilli tui sicut (greges) caprarum quae ascenderunt de monte Galaad*. Capra

100 Cf. Leu. 4, 28; 5, 6. 100 Cf. Leu 1, 10. 101/104 Cf. Matth. 8, 30-32. 106/107 Eccl. 1, 7. 109/111 Zach. 14, 8. 111 Même interprétation chez RVPERTVS TVITIENSIS, *In Zach.*, V, 14 (PL 168, 807 C-D).

124 Iob. 19, 29. 130 Luc. 15, 21. 131/132 Cant. 4, 1 (greges *om. ms*). 132/136 RICARDVS A SANCTO VICTORE, *Liber exceptionum*, IIa, 3, 10: «Capra uel hircus... penitentiam insinuant... Offeramus capram... per cuiuslibet culpe penitentiam» (ed. J. Châtillon, Paris, 1958, p. 257).

- est animal foetidum, et tamen mundum, quia in lege offerebatur in sacrificium pro peccato, et significat paenitentiam quae nascitur de fetore peccati, et tamen munda est et Deo acceptabilis, qui gaudet de conuersione peccatoris. Vnde in Gen. XXVII, b: *Affer mihi duos edos*, etc. Grex caprarum capilli ecclesiae, quia paenitentes ecclesiae tribuunt ornamentum. *Quae ascenderunt*, inquit, *de monte Galaad* quod interpretatur acruus testimonii. Hoc est quando paenitens in confessione de peccatis suis facit acruum, et est accusator testis suorum peccatorum. Bonum est ergo pascere gregem caprarum, id est agere paenitentiam in praesenti, ut ad statum innocentiae pertingamus, quod est pascere gregem ouium. Nam grex porcorum praecipitatur in inferiora inferni, grex caprarum eleuatur ad superiora misericordiae Dei, grex ouium minatur ad interiora deserti, quia gregem porcorum non paut, sed increpauit et praedixit in mare praecipitandum, gregem caprarum confortauit et promisit misericordiam consequendum, gregem ouium paut et custodiuit et spocondit ad montem Dei perueniendum.

- Cumque minasset gregem ad interiora deserti*, hoc est cum uerbo, exemplo et oratione subditos suos ad contemplationis gratiam perduxisset, uel cum gregem cogitationum suarum perduxisset ad contemplationem celestium secretorum, tunc *uenit ad montem Dei Oreb*. Hic est enim ordo necessarius. Aliter enim in futuro ad Deum non peruenietur, nisi in praesenti per contemplationem aliquantulum comprehendatur. Vnde dicit Origenes: Non credo illius quemquam fieri posse participem, nisi in hac uita uel aliquantulum usum ei attigerit. Item Bernardus: Omnino necesse est, etc. Propterea legitur in Gen. XXIII, g quod egressus est Ysaac ad meditantum in agro inclinata iam die. Hoc est quod aetate uergente in senium uel morte appropinquante maxime egrediendum est a curis exterioribus ad meditandum, id est contemplandum, in agro diuinae scripturae, ut uoluntatem Domini uideamus et agnoscamus et agnitam faciamus. Sed heu multi senes nostri temporis, quantomagis appropinquant fini itineris, tantomagis parant uiaticum. Quantomagis morti appropinquant, tantomagis auaritiae student. Vnde recte

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136 Gen. 27, 9. 137/138 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *op. cit.*, 7 (p. 67, 4).  
 139/140 Même image dans PETRVS CELLENSIS, *In Ruth*, II, 3, 7 (CC CM 54, p. 149-151). 155/156 ORIGENES, Locus non repertus. 156/157 BERNARDVS, *Serm. in festo ss. apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, 2, 6: «Omnino necesse est uitae praesentis finem futurae cohaerere principio, nec ibi tolerabilis dissimilitudo est» (EC, V, Romae, 1968, p. 195, l. 25-26). 157/158 Cf. Gen. 24, 63.

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- 65 possumus conquaeri cum Ieremia V, a: *Vae nobis quia declinauit dies*, etc., quia quantomagis declinat dies uitae nostrae, tantomagis crescit in nobis umbra, id est uanitas saeculi. Angustum est | foramen mortis, etc. f° 125va  
Beatus autem Winnocus finem praesentis uitae cum futurae uitae initio copulauit.
- 70 *Cum enim minasset*, etc. Oreb interpretatur mensa. Venit ergo beatus Winnocus ad montem Dei Oreb scilicet corpus, quia sanctum corpus eius in hoc monte requiescit Berghensi. Qui sicut eminentia loci, sic etiam honestate uicina loca transiuit, hic est et mensa spiritualis refectionis. Secundum aliam (interpretationem?) uero uenit ad montem Dei Oreb,
- 75 quod interpretatur mensa. Haec est illa mensa de qua saluator ait in euangelio Lucae XXII, c, in qua est panis uiuus in uera fruitione qua sancti fruuntur nec fastidiunt, quo frui magis sitiunt. Est alia mensa temporalium deliciarum siue carnalium uoluptatum, quae est mensa daemoniorum, de qua loquitur Apostolus in prima ad Corinthios X, e.
- 80 Hac mensa sumitur panis mendacii et uinum de uinea Sodomorum et de suburbanis Gomorrae Deut. XXXII, e, ubi est carnalium paradysus sicut dicitur in Genesi: *Vidit Loth omnem regionem Iordanis quae uniuersa irrigabatur sicut paradysus Domini antequam subuerteret*, etc. XIII, c. Hic est paradysus reproborum in deliciis temporalibus, quia non
- 85 quaerunt alium nec alium consequuntur. Vnde dicunt in libro Sapientiae, II, c: *Venite et fruamur bonis quae sunt et utamur creatura tanquam in iuuentute celeriter. Vino precioso et unguentis nos repleamur et non praetereat nos flos temporis*. Hanc mensam respuit beatus Winnocus, et ideo uenit ad caelestem mensam, ad montem Dei Oreb. Inter
- 190 has duas mensas sedent boni religiosi, et hinc inde expectant epulantes ieiuni, sicut dicit beatus Bernardus: Vtrobique, inquit, uideo similes mei, alios deliciose uiuentes in bonis huius mundi, alios uero quibus disposuit Deus ut edant et bibant super mensam suam in regno suo, et ab utraque mensa prohibeor, ab illa uinculo corporis, ab ista uinculo

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165 Ier. 6, 4. 170 «Horeb: mensa uel massa siue temptatio» (ms PARIS, BN lat. 233, f° 568va). 175/176 Cf. Luc. 22, 30. 176 Cf. Io. 6, 41, 51. 178/179 Cf. I Cor. 10, 21. 181/182 Cf. Deut. 32, 32. 182/183 Gen. 13, 10 (Loth uidit omnem circa regionem Iordanis quae uniuersa irrigabatur antequam subuerteret Dominus ... sicut paradysus Domini Vg). 186/188 Sap. 2, 6-7 (repleamur impleamus Vg). 191/195 BERNARDVS, *Serm. in labore messis*, 2, 2: „Vtrobique uideo similes mei homines, fratres meos, et, heu me! ad neutram licet extendere manum. Ab utraque mensa prohibeor: ab hac quidem professionis, ab illa corporis uinculo, ut nec ad inferiorem audeam, nec ad superiorem accedere possim” (EC V, Romae, 1968, p. 221, l. 13-16). Ce sermon est intitulé *De duabus mensis*.

- 195 professionis. Certe uinculo professionis a mensa saecularium prohibentur religiosi. Separata sunt enim grana a paleis, triticum a zizaniis, oues ab edis, et etiam oues ab ouibus, quia sunt in uestimentis ouium, etc. Math. VII, d. Vnde in Genesi XXX, e legitur quod separauit Laban oues uarias et maculosas spacio itineris trium, quia religiosi separantur a ceteris
- 200 obedientia, paupertate et castitate, et quae sunt unius coloris, id est alba et nigra, cedunt in partem Laban, uaria autem et maculosa sunt merces Iacob. Laban significat mundum, Iacob Christum. Laban, id est mundus, habet alba, id est fide (?) bonos, scilicet ypocritas exterius dealbatos, et nigra, id est aperte malos. Christus autem habet media,
- 205 scilicet uaria. Hii sunt ueri religiosi qui tamquam medii communicant duobus extremis. Cum ypocritis sunt albi sed interius, cum aperte malis sunt nigri, sed exterius. Vnde sponsa: *Nigra sum*, etc. I, b. De hiiis tribus dicit Ecclesiasticus, L, f: *Duas gentes odiuit | anima mea, et tertia* f° 1 *non est gens quam oderim. Qui sedent in monte Seir*, ecce aperte mali, quia Seir interpretatur pilosus et pili significant peccata, et *Philisthim*,
- 210 ecce occulte mali. Philisthim interpretatur ruina duplex, de quibus dicit

195/196 Au chapitre 51 de sa règle, saint Benoît défend au moine qui ne s'absente que pour la journée, de manger en dehors du monastère. 196 Cf.

Matth. 13, 20. 196/197 Cf. Matth. 25, 32. 197 Cf. Matth. 7, 15.

198/199 Cf. Gen. 30, 35-36.

202 (Laban - mundus) cf. GREGORIUS MAGNVS, *Moral.*, XXX, 25, 72: „Potest per Laban mundus exprimi” (PL 76, 563 C; CC 143 B, p. 1539, l. 22-23), repris par RABANVS MAVRVS, *In Gen.*, III, 19 (PL 107, 607 A); RVPERTVS TVITIENSIS, *De trinitate (In Gen.)*, VI, 43 (PL 167, 441 C; CC CM 21, p. 423, l. 1979-1980); *ibid.*, VII, 37 (col. 481 C; p. 473, l. 1686-1687); *De diuinis officiis*, I, 21 (PL 170, 23 A).

(Iacob - Christus) cf. ZENO, *Tractatus*, II, 13 (PL 11, 428 A); AMBROSIVS, *De Iacob et uita beata*, II, 5, 25 (PL 14, 624 A; CSEL 32, 2, p. 46, l. 13-14); HIERONYMVS, *In Or.*, III, 12, 13 (PL 25, 930 B; CC 76, p. 140, l. 321-322); GREGORIUS MAGNVS, *Moral.*, XXX, 25, 72 (PL 76, 563 D; CC 143 B, p. 1539, l. 25-27); ISIDORVS HISPAL., *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae*, n. 26: „Jacob Christum demonstrat” (PL 83, 105 A); RABANVS MAVRVS, *In Gen.*, III, 14 (PL 107, 591 B-C); III, 20 (col. 610 C); *De universo*, II, 2 (PL 111, 38 B; RVPERTVS TVITIENSIS, *De trinitate (In Gen.)*, VII, 26 (PL 167, 471 C-D; CC CM 21, p. 460); *De diuinis officiis*, I, 21 (PL 170, 23 A), etc. 207 Cant. 1, 6.

208/213 (*Duas gentes-Sicimis*) Eccli. 50, 27-28. 210 Cf. Hieron., *op. cit.*, 10 (p. 72, 27-28) et 20 (p. 84, 17-18); ms PARIS, BN lat. 233, f° 582va: „Sebir (!): hyrcus uel hirsutus seu hysspidus aut pilosus”. 210 Cf. RABANVS MAVRVS, *Allegoriae in sacram Scripturam* (PL 112, 1028 D). Le symbolisme se trouve déjà chez saint Augustin: „Seir interpretatur pilosus, quod significat peccatorem” (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (Deut. 33, 1-5), V. 56: PL 34, 774; CC 33, p. 310, 1262-1263). 211 Cf. HIERONYMVS, *op. cit.*, 6 (p. 66, 16); ms PARIS, BN lat. 233, f° 564vb.

Augustinus: Simulata aequitas, etc. *Et stultus populus qui habitat in Sicimis*, hii sunt oues Christi, boni religiosi qui sunt stultus populus reputatione mundi. Hii habitant in Sicimis humerosi uel laboriosi, quia  
 115 iugo Christi humeros aptant et in labore religionis sudant. Tales sunt sunt oues Christi.

Tales oues pascebat beatus Winnocus et minauit ad interiora deserti, et sic uenit ad montem Dei Oreb, id est ad mensam caelestium deliciarum. Sequantur ergo oues quo pastor praecessit ut per desertum,  
 120 id est per obseruantiam religionis, et etiam per interiora deserti, id est per orationem et contemplationem, perueniant ad montem Dei Oreb, ubi est mons Dei, mons pinguis, uel uber, secundum aliam litteram: mons uber, mons coagulatus, mons pinguis, uber per bonorum omnium affluentiam, coagulatus per stabilitatem aeternam, pinguis per deuotionem et caritatem summam. Ad quam montem, etc.  
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212 AUGUSTINVS, *Enarr. in Ps.*, 63, 11, 7 - CC 39, p. 814, 7/8. 214 Cf. HIERON., *op. cit.*, 43 (P. 113, 15: Sicima humerus). 222/223 Cf. Ps. 67, 16. Les deux leçons pour ce verset sont en effet indiquées par P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, vol. 2, Paris, 1751, p. 132.

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222 est *rep. ms.*

# Eine *vita metrica* der Heiligen Gudula von Brüssel

Herausgegeben nach Handschrift  
London, British Library, Egerton MS 3130

von  
A.P. ORBÁN  
(Utrecht)

## EINFÜHRUNG

### I. DAS LEBEN DER HL. Gudula

Über das Leben<sup>1</sup> der hl. Gudula sind uns zwei mittellateinische Prosa-Biographien überliefert. Beide Prosa-vitae sind von den Bollandisten herausgegeben worden: a) Eine Prosa-vita, als deren Verfasser ein Frater Hubertus genannt wird, wurde nach der Handschrift Brüssel 1770-1777 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert ediert<sup>2</sup> [= BHL 3684]. Ein Frater Albertus<sup>3</sup> brachte diesem Frater Hu-

<sup>1</sup> Siehe etwa L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Etude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*. Leuven/Löwen 1907, S. 296-98; U. CHEVALIER, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-bibliographie*. Vol. I: A-I (1905). Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York 1960, S. 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Ausgabe: *Acta sanctorum, Januarii*, T. I, S. 514-524; J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V (Bruxellis M.DCC.LXXXIX), S. 689-716.

<sup>3</sup> Zu Albertus siehe etwa J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V, S. 690 Anm. (a): "Hic est fortassis Albertus, sive Olbertus, monachus Lobienensis, ac deinde Abbas Gemblacensis, qui miracula et translationem S. Veroni descripsit; cujus aequalis fuit Humbertus Presbyter Lembecanus, vir, ut ipse Olbertus testatur, secundum modernorum hominum vitam non spernendus. Non inde tamen certo possumus statuere, hunc esse Vitae S. Gudilae auctorem: solum id praestruimus feliciori cujuspian conjecturae".

bertus eine alte, mehr als bäurische Biographie<sup>4</sup> von Gudula, voller Barbarismen und Soloecismen, mit der Bitte, die Biographie literarisch zu bearbeiten<sup>5</sup>. Das letzte Ereignis, welches der Verfasser, Frater Hubertus, in dieser *Vita* erwähnt (Kap. 40), ist die Translatio der Gebeine der hl. Gudula nach Brüssel im Jahre 1047<sup>6</sup>. Das Jahr 1047 stellt also für die Entstehung der Prosa-*vita* des Hubertus den *terminus post quem* dar<sup>7</sup>. b) Eine zweite anonyme kürzere Prosa-*vita* von Gudula [= BHL 3685] haben die Bollandisten nach Surius (*Vitae sanctorum*. 1618. I, 121) herausgegeben<sup>8</sup>.

Nach der Überlieferung war die heilige Gudula in Brabant geboren als Tochter des Witgerus und der Amelberga. Sie hatte zwei Schwestern, Reineldis und Pharaildis<sup>9</sup>, und einen Bruder, Emebertus; er ist der Nachfolger des hl. Vindicianus im Amt des Bischofs von Cambrai (um 695). Die Heilige Gertrudis wurde, wie

<sup>4</sup> Eine Zusammenfassung dieser alten Biographie von Gudula findet sich in den *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* I, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Dilectissimo fratri Alberto, Hubertus servus servorum Dei ... Attulisti ad nos nuperrime quaternium ..., in quo pauca continentur de virtutibus almae virginis Gudilae. Ipsarum quidem rerum continentia auro obrizo topazioque praefenda; sed lectionis compositio barbarismis ac soloecismis pro modulo sui adeo referta, ut probaretur esse plus quam rustica. ... Ergo nostra<m> parvitatem appellasti humiliter, ut ipsorum sensus gestorum excipiens fideliter, meis verbis dissererem scholariter, atque ordinarem competenter (AA. SS., I, S. 514 (Prologus)).

<sup>6</sup> Cap. 40: Illic non sine magna veneratione quieuit usque ad tempora Comitum Lamberti nepotis, de quo praelocuti sumus, Ducis Caroli.

Der echte Schluß dieser Gudula-*Vita* von Hubertus fehlt offenbar, vgl. J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V, S. 716 Anm. (k): "Hic aliquid videtur deesse. Neque enim verisimile est, auctorem in ceteris tam verbosum, ita abrupte terminasse hanc historiam".

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Etude critique*, S. 297; *Analecta Bollandiana* 43, 1925, S. 196.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta sanctorum, Januarii*, T. I, S. 524-530; J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V, S. 716-735.

<sup>9</sup> Nach der *Vita Pharaildis* hatte Pharaildis keine Schwester. Vgl. etwa J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V, S. 693 Anm. (g): "De S. Pharailde Virgine egimus IV Januarii, [et nos congruo tempore agemus]: sed si soror fuit S. Gudilae, necesse est S. Amelbergam bis nuptam fuisse, licet invitam, primum Theodorico Duci, qui ante ex alia uxore duos filios suscepit, quorum mentio fit in Vita Pharaildis".

die *Vita* uns erzählt, die Patin der kleinen Gudula. Unter Gertruds Obhut wurde sie im Kloster Nivelles erzogen. Weiter berichtet die Gudula-*vita* über die streng asketische Lebensart der Gudula, über ihre Frömmigkeit - sie führte ihr frommes Leben wahrscheinlich in Ham bei Aalst -, über ihre zahlreichen Besuche in der Kirche von Moorsel, über die Anfechtungen des Dämons, die von ihr geleisteten Heilungen, über ihren Tod (höchstwahrscheinlich Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts; 712?), ihre Bestattung in Ham und ihre Translatio nach der Salvator-Kirche in Moorsel. Wir erfahren auch die Wunder, welche bei ihrem Grab stattgefunden und die Aufmerksamkeit Karls des Großen auf sich gezogen haben (Karl der Große soll auch noch nach Moorsel gekommen sein). Die Biographie berichtet weiter (Kap. 40), daß Karl, der Sohn Ludwigs IV. (d'Outremer), die Gebeine der Heiligen in die Kirche von Saint-Géry (S. Gaugericus) in Brüssel überführte. Baldericus, der Graf von Löwen (gest. 1054), der zusammen mit Lambertus Barbatus die St.-Michaels-Kirche in Brüssel gebaut hat<sup>10</sup>, ließ Gudulas Gebeine schließlich 1047 nach dieser St.-Michaels-Kirche überbringen.

Ikongraphisch wird sie meistens als einfach gekleidetes Mädchen mit einer brennenden Kerze in einer Laterne dargestellt. Nach der Legende soll der Teufel die Kerze bei einem Kirchgang ausgeblasen haben, worauf ein Engel sie wieder anzündete<sup>11</sup>.

## 2. DIE *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica*

Die hier von uns herauszugebende metrische *Vita* der heiligen Gudula mit dem Incipit *Inuidie morsum metuens me sepe retrorsum*<sup>12</sup> ist in einer einzigen uns bekannten Handschrift überlie-

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, Bd. V, S. 716 Anm. (i): "Baldricus, qui et Lambertus Barbatus, qui collegium septem Canonorum Lovanii instituit, templum S. Michaëlis Bruxellae aedificavit, atque in illud S. Gudilae corpus transtulit".

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 4 (Freiburg 1968), S. 1263; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Bd. 6, Rom - Freiburg - Basel - Wien 1974, S. 459-60.

<sup>12</sup> Diese metrische *Vita* der hl. Gudula fehlt sowohl in der BHL wie bei H. WALTHER, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum*. Göttingen 1959.



fert: Hs. London, British Library, Egerton 3130, aus dem 13./14. Jahrhundert. Diese Handschrift bildet ursprünglich keine Einheit: es handelt sich hier vielmehr um zwölf separate im 13./14. Jahrhundert, höchstwahrscheinlich in den "Niederlanden"<sup>13</sup>, von verschiedenen Händen geschriebene *libelli*, die - im 15. Jahrhundert? - in einem Band vereinigt wurden. Auf Seite 149b, d. h. nach der *Vita* der hl. Agnes, am Ende des fünften *libellus*, erfahren wir, daß der betreffende fünfte *libellus* (und vielleicht der ganze Band) im 15. Jahrhundert im Besitz des belgischen Klosters Rubea vallis (Rouge Cloître oder Roode Klooster) war<sup>14</sup>. Die in dieser Handschrift überlieferte *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* ist ein in reinen leoninischen Hexametern geschriebenes Gedicht: in den 550 Versen der eigentlichen *Vita* reimt das Wort vor der Zäsur (einer Penthemimeris) nämlich jeweils zweisilbig mit dem Wort am Ende des Hexameters. Nur im Epilog (Vers 551-558) weicht der Dichter von diesem poetischen Verfahren ab. In den letzten acht Versen seines Gedichts gibt er die *versus leonini* auf und geht zu den sogenannten *versus decisi* oder *serpentine* über; die letzten zwei Reimklänge einer Verszeile wiederholen sich nämlich in den ersten zwei Silben der nächsten Verszeile, und die zwei Reimklänge vor der Zäsur (einer Penthemimeris) wiederholen sich in den ersten zwei Silben des ersten Wortes nach der Zäsur:

Hec qui metra legis, egis michi sis rogo dIGNE.  
 IGNE bono caleas, alias faciam meliora.  
 Ora freudentes .....<sup>15</sup>

Am Ende des Gedichts erwähnt der Dichter seinen Namen und das Jahr, in welchem er diese *Vita* verfaßt hat; er heißt Arnoldus und schrieb das vorliegende Gedicht im Jahr 1350:

<sup>13</sup> Der *libellus*, welcher unsere *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* enthält, weist sogar zwei mittelniederländische Interlinearglossen auf: Vers 3 [marcoris] ss. d. magherheit; 451 [preteera] ss. vort meer.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. *The British Museum, Catalogue of additions to the Manuscripts 1931-1935* [...] *Egerton manuscripts 3049-3135* [...]. London 1967, S. 321-22.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. W. MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*. Bd. I. Berlin 1905 = Hildesheim - New York 1970, S. 92: "Decisi versus ... serpentine ... Eberhard gibt im Lab. III 220 17 Verse der Art, darunter folgende ...:

Morum siste scolae, cole doctos, iunctus honesto  
 Esto, petens comites mites nec crimine plenas...."

Mille tricentenis quater .xxxx. iunctis sibi senis  
 Hos redutier nexos Arnoldus fecerat exos (Vs. 549-550).

Über die Identität des Arnoldus läßt sich (noch) kaum etwas Genaueres ermitteln. Obwohl der Autor der *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* also um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts tätig war und der diese *Vita* enthaltende Teil der Handschrift Egerton 3130 ebenfalls aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammt, handelt es sich hier nicht um ein Autograph des Dichters. Die Fehler, und vor allem die durch die Glossen vorausgesetzten Textfehler, welche der in der Handschrift Egerton 3130 gebotene Text aufweist, sprechen deutlich gegen eine solche Annahme, wie etwa: Vers 94 *iusta* statt *iuta* (Glosse: *consolata*); 134 *op* statt *ob*; 155 *sua* statt *mater sua* (das Wort *mater* fehlt im Verstehtext, liegt aber als Interlinearglosse zu *sua* vor); 216 *a celi solium* statt *ad celi solium*; 224 und 230 *te* statt *re*; 226 *florente Gudulam ... tenente* statt *florentem Gudulam ... tenentem*; 227 *tumor* statt *rumor*; 241 *loquatur* statt *locatur*; 257 *ferri* statt *fratri* und *lux ut* statt *luxit*; 268 *rer* statt *rei*; 325 *pendebat* statt *tendebat*; 379 *hijs* statt *hijs notis* (das Wort *notis* ist aus dem Verstehtext verschwunden und zu einer Interlinearglosse geworden: *hijs] ss. et hoc dico*<sup>16</sup> *notis*); 452 *iam* statt *non*; 467 *octoue* statt *Ottone*; 473 *rex* statt *res* und *subtractans* statt *subtractas*; 477 *enarrandaque* (mit der Glosse: *remouenda*) statt *emendandaque*; 491 *sunt nece sunt* statt *nece sunt*; 506 *commissa* statt *commissa mala* (die Rekonstruktion von *mala* gründet sich auf die Interlinearglosse *peccata* zu *sint commissa*). Auch bei den Glossen handelt es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um aus einer anderen Handschrift abgeschriebene Glossen und nicht um Glossen, die erstmalig von dem Glossator in diese Handschrift eingetragen sind; das ergibt sich aus den Fehlern wie etwa: Vers 389 *vi] ss. pietate* (ohne Zweifel statt *potestate*; der Schreiber hat höchstwahrscheinlich die Abbrueviatur *ptate* [= *potestate*] fälschlich als *piate* [= *pietate*] gelesen); 488 *in* statt *non*.

Für die poetische Qualität unseres Dichters ist die Verwertung der sogenannten *productio ob caesuram* ein guter Gradmesser. Die *productio ob caesuram*, die vom klassischen Gesichtspunkt her als

<sup>16</sup> Mit dem Ausdruck *et hoc dico* deutet der Glossator einen Ablativus absolutus an.

ein *refugium peccatorum* bezeichnet wird<sup>17</sup>, in der mittellateinischen hexametrischen Durchschnittspoesie jedoch gang und gäbe ist, kommt 141x in den 550 Versen der *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* vor<sup>18</sup>, d.h. in 25, 6 % der Verse. Hiermit bewegt unser Dichter sich im Kreis derjenigen "außerordentlichen" mittellateinischen Dichter, die von der Vergünstigung der *productio ob caesuram* geradezu exzessiven Gebrauch gemacht haben, wie etwa Benedikt von Aniane aus dem 8. Jahrhundert (21, 3 %) und Candidus von Fulda aus dem 9. Jahrhundert (17, 9 %), - in schroffem Gegensatz zu den besten mittellateinischen Dichtern wie Walther von Châtillon (*Alexandreis*: 6, 6 %), Heinrich von Settimello (*Elegia*: 3, 8 %), Galfrid von Vinsauf (*Poetria nova*: 5 %) und Joseph Iscanus (*Frigii Daretis Ylias*: 4 %), welche den Gebrauch der *productio ob caesuram* auf das Mindestmaß beschränken<sup>19</sup>.

Weiter weist das Gedicht einige - von den klassisch-lateinischen Kriterien abweichende - sprachliche Besonderheiten auf, unter denen der ungewöhnliche Gebrauch des enklitischen *-que* und *-ve* am meisten in die Augen fällt. Diese zwei ursprünglich enklitischen Wörter behandelt der Dichter nämlich als selbständige Wörter, so daß sie in diesem Gedicht eigentlich nicht - wie die enklitischen Wörter - suffigiert werden dürfen. So kann die Zäsur beispielsweise zwischen *-que* bzw. *-ve* und dem den leoninischen Reim enthaltenden Wort stehen, wie etwa in Vers 84: *Xpistum laudabat#que .... continuabat*; 85 *Transiit orando#que ... famulando*; 139 *Quas a se iecit#que ... fecit*; 258 *Qui dum percepit#que ... cepit*; 262 *Patres et nati#que ... creati*; 301 *Plausus fe-*

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. P. KLOPSCH, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*. Darmstadt 1972, S. 74.

<sup>18</sup> und zwar in Vers 2, 8, 12 14, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35, 41, 45, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 74, 76, 79, 91, 92, 93, 100, 101, 104, 108, 113, 116, 118, 122, 123, 126, 128, 131, 147, 149, 158, 161, 163, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 181, 185, 186, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 204, 212, 213, 218, 219, 223, 224, 230, 240, 241, 246, 250, 251, 252, 257, 267, 280, 294, 295, 298, 301, 317, 318, 320, 321, 322, 328, 329, 332, 333, 335, 336, 338, 342, 343, 344, 346, 352, 360, 362, 372, 373, 375, 376, 378, 382, 387, 396, 401, 405, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 432, 434, 438, 441, 444, 448, 456, 457, 461, 465, 477, 478, 485, 492, 506, 507, 509, 519, 521, 523, 524, 533, 534, 535, 537.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. P. KLOPSCH, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, S. 74-75.

cere#que ... preteriere; 389 Gaudent vi nate#que ... nouitate;  
 463 Tunc piguit reges#que ... leges; 477 Sunt emendanda#que ...  
 locanda; 459 Terras exisse#ve ... occubuisse; 464 Qui presiderunt-  
 #ve ... potuerunt.

Die Prosa-Quelle, welche der Dichter bei seinem versifizieren-  
 den Verfahren verwertet hat, ist zweifellos die zweite kürzere ano-  
 nyme, von den Bollandisten nach Surius herausgegebene Prosa-vita  
 der hl. Gudula mit dem Incipit: *Igitur Sigiberti regis temporibus,*  
*qui fuit Dagoberti regis filius.* Der Dichter folgt der kürzeren  
 Prosa-vita nicht nur inhaltlich ganz genau, sondern er übernimmt  
 machmal auch gewisse Wendungen der Prosa fast wörtlich; etwa:

21/22 Sed plus felicem fecit deus hanc genitricem: // Prole magis  
 pura grauidatur namque futura] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 2: Horum ergo  
 genitricem tam felici jocunditate prolis pollentem, omnipotens Do-  
 minus adhuc futura foecundavit prole dignissima;

23 pregnantum more] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 2: more parturientium;

25 Iam nox instabat, homines sompnusque ligabat] cf. *Vita* II, Cap.  
 1, 2: Nox erat et terris mortales somnus habebat;

27 solue metum] cf. *Vita* II, cap. 1, 2: solve metum corde;

29 Concipiens rite prolem paries redimite] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 2: con-  
 cepisti fideliter, paries feliciter;

42 dum sacro fonte leuauit] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 3: et de sacro fon-  
 te levavit;

49/50 Cum proles igitur doctrine lacte potitur // Matre sacris et ali  
 scriptis vult spirituali] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 4: Ergo cum jam beata virgo  
 Gudula ... sacrae scripturae lacte aleretur, et a ... spirituali matre pas-  
 ceretur;

64 Crescens etate morum creuit probitate] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 1, 5: Cres-  
 cente enimvero de die in diem aetate, crescebat morum probitate;

105/06 Per quem prima parens prima virtute fit arens, // Hostis en  
 accessit] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 2, 7: ecce hostis, qui primae parentis Evae  
 ... insidiabatur;

110 Hanc extingwebat] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 2, 7: Hanc non sine detri-  
 mento sui inimicus extinxit;

125/26 Ecclesie sancte sola famula comitante // Limina nocte pede  
 nudo petijt] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 2, 8: sola, propria comite comitante fa-  
 mula, pedibus nudis ... nocturnis horis frequentare erat solita;

150/51 Et curuus multum, nequiens attollere vultum, // Cernuus inspectans terram sursum neque spectans] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 3, 10: Etenim erat contractus, **incurvus**, caducis **vultibus**, et solam **terram despectans cernuus**;

156 Hunc acceptavit humeris] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 3, 10: et in humeros suos eum accepit;

159/60 Membris laxatis et ad officium reparatis // Iam redeunt vires] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 3, 10: **Iam** enim puero vocis **membrorumque** retinacula **laxabantur**, et ad **officium** penitus excitabantur;

163/64 Est ammirata virtutem virgo beata // Ostensam Xpisti] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 3, 10: **Mirabatur** B. Gudila **virtutem** Dei **ostensam** per se;

298 Huicque repentina porrecta fuit medicina] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 6, 19: Cujus fidem e vestigio sanitas exequitur **repentina**, quam meritorum B. Gudilae praestitit **medicina**;

302/04 Sic intrauere templum, quo constituere // Corpus sinchere, quod post aram posuere. // Nomen sanctorum serie seritur reliquorum] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 6, 19: et cum magna laetitia post sacrum altare **constituere**, et **nomen** sanctum ejus adscribunt juste in aliorum **Sanctorum serie**;

324/25 tot signis auditis carmine dignis, // Illuc tendebat] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 7, 21: Rex autem Carolus tam **mirificis auditis** miraculis, **illuc** devotus advenit;

352/53 Flexa ceruice vestigia lambit amice // Illuc sacrarum que venerunt monacharum] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 7, 22: **deflexa ceruice**, submissoque humiliter capite, Sanctimonialium advenientium coepit **vestigia lambere**;

367 Experrecta patri retulit predictaque matri] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 8, 23: **Expergefata** autem, **patri et matri** quae viderat retulit;

386 Ritu pagano sit adhuc licet vsa prophano] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 8, 23: **licet adhuc paganis** detenta **ritibus** haberetur;

448 Sunt ab egestate moniales inde fugate] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 10, 30: et ancillas Christi injuriis et **egestate** coactas, compulit **fugere**;

467 post hec Ottone secundo] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 10, 31: **Post haec Ottone II** tenente;

498 Deuote quamuis temere tamen] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 10, 32: **temere**, **quamuis devote**;

502 a cepto Xpistus retraxit inepto] cf. *Vita* II, cap. 10, 32: **ab incepta** temeritate **retraxit**;

541/42 Hec lege pauca mere, que nobis nota fuere, // Obmissis vere multis, que nos latuere] cf. *Vita* II, Cap. 10, 33: Haec de Virgine pauca tantum e multis in notitiam nostram venerunt, omissis proculdubio plurimis, quae nos praeterierunt.

### 3. BESCHREIBUNG DER HANDSCHRIFT

Handschrift London, British Library, Egerton 3130, Pergament, etwa 15,3 cm x 10,3 cm, 13.-14. Jahrhundert, 217 Seiten.

#### Inhalt:

1) *Breuiiloquium fratris Bonauenture supra totam sacram scripturam*; f. 1 - 112. Inc.: *Flecto genua mea. Magnus doctor gentium*. Ausgabe: Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, von Quaracchi, 1882-1902, Bd. V, S. 199-291.

2) *Ratio quare beata uirgo Maria dicitur aduocata nostra* oder der *Processus Belial*; f. 113 - 124. Inc.: *Nostis karissimi quod cum filius dei perambulare terram*. Vgl. J. P. W. Crawford, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 26, 1911, S. 31-50 und Hope Traver, *ibidem* 40, 1925, S. 44-92.

3) Sechzehn Wunder Mariä in leoninischen Hexametern, mit Ausnahme des letzten Gedichtes (f. 136v - 137), das in elegischen Distichen gedichtet ist; f. 125 - 137. Inc.: *Virgo fuit quedam metrice quam plenius edam* (= Walther, *Initia* 20506). Vgl. H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances*. Bd. II. 1893, S. 696-98; G. Gröber, *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie: Festgabe für W. Foerster*. Halle 1901, S. 441-42.

4) *Vita s. Katherine Alexandrine "Palma triumphalis"*; f. 138 - 143v. Es fehlen die ersten 400 Verse [= Walther, *Initia* 13588].

5) Das Leben der Hl. Agnes in elegischen Distichen von Petrus Rigga (gestorben etwa 1209); f. 144 - 149v. Inc.: *Agnes sacra sui pennam scriptoris inauret* [= Walther, *Initia* 696]. Ausgabe: Migne PL 171, Sp. 1307 - 1314; PL 203, Sp. 1387 - 1392, und: B. Hauréau, *Le 'Mathematicus' de Bernard Silvestris*, 1895, S. 42-49. Vgl. BHL 164.

6) Hildebert von Lavardin, *Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*; f. 150 - 165. Inc.: *Sicut hyems laurum non urit nec rogos aurum* [= Walther,

*Initia* 18159]. Ausgabe: Migne PL 171, Sp. 1321 -1340. Vgl. BHL 5419.

7) Das Leben der hl. Gudula oder Gudila, der Patronin von Brüssel, in leoninischen Hexametern mit vielen Glossen; f. 166 - 177. Prologus inc.: *Inuidie morsum metuens*; Textus inc.: *Quando Sigibertus rex*.

8) Der metrische Paenitentiarius (zugeschrieben an Johannes de Garlandia, an "mag. Thomas", an Petrus von Blois und Bernardus Silvestris) mit dem Incipit: *Paeniteas cito* [= Walther, *Initia* 13564]; f. 178 - 183v. Ausgabe: Migne PL 207, Sp. 1153 - 1156. Hier mit einem Kommentar, Inc.: *Materia penitencie dicit autem Ysayas*.

9) *Facetus*; f. 184 - 191v. Inc.: *Cum nihil utilius humane credo saluti* [= Walther, *Initia* 3692]. Ausgabe: J. Morawski, *Le Facet en François*. Poznan/Posen 1923.

10) *Contemptus mundi*; f. 192 - 199v. Inc.: *Cartula nostra tibi mandat dilecte salutes* [= Walther, *Initia* 2521]. Zugeschrieben an St. Bernhardus von Clairvaux und einen Rainaldus. Ausgabe: Migne PL 184, Sp. 1307 - 1314.

11) *Algorismus*; f. 200 - 209. Inc.: *Omnia que a primeua rerum origine*. Ausgabe: E. L. W. M. Curtze, *Petri Philomeni de Dacia in algorismum [...] Commentarius*. Kopenhagen 1897, S. 1-19.

12) *Filius*, ein Gedicht in Hexametern (zugeschrieben an Henricus, magister Godefridus und magister Andreas); f. 210 - 217v. Inc.: *Ad noua dilecti redeant et amare salutis* [= Walther, *Initia* 404]. Ausgabe: H. Grossmann, *Das „Filius“-Gedicht des Magisters Andreas de Rode*. Beih. z. mlat. Jb. 10. Ratingen-Kastellaun - Düsseldorf 1972.

Vgl.: *The British Museum. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1931 - 1935*. [...] *Egerton Manuscripts 3049 - 3135* [...]. London 1967, S. 319 - 322.

## 4. DIE AUSGABE

Da die *Vita sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* nur in einer einzigen Handschrift auf uns gekommen ist und unsere Edition sich mit- hin auf eine einzige Handschrift gründet, lassen wir die Tradition des einzigen uns bekannten Textzeugen denn auch völlig gelten, einschließlich der handschriftlichen Orthographie, die wir buch- stäblich übernehmen. Weil die Überlieferung des Textes der *Vi- ta sancte Gudile uirginis metrica* in dem von uns benutzten Lon- doner Kodex tatsächlich praktisch fehlerfrei ist und unser kritischer Text demzufolge dem handschriftlichen Text im Prinzip völlig entspricht, fehlt hier denn auch faktisch der Lesartenapparat. In unserem kritischen Text selbst bezeichnen wir die nach unserem Dafürhalten zu tilgenden handschriftlichen Teile, indem wir sie mit eckigen Klammern [] umrahmen, während wir die von uns vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen des handschriftlichen Wortlauts mit Winkeln < > kennzeichnen. Die Edition der Londoner Handschrift er- strebt also zum einen deren genaue Wiedergabe, wozu die Abbre- viaturen ohne jeweilige Kenntlichmachung aufgelöst wurden. Zum andern wurde, um ein rascheres Verständnis zu ermöglichen, die heute übliche Interpunktion eingeführt. Außer dem kritischen Text enthält unsere Edition einen Apparat mit Anmerkungen, welche die von dem kritischen Text abweichenden handschriftli- chen Lesarten, die von dem Autor benutzten - möglichen - Quel- len<sup>20</sup>, stilistische Anklänge, Zitate und parallele Stellen ver- merken.

In unserer Edition gelten weiter die folgenden Abkürzungen:

- LHL = *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon. Dichterisches For- melgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*. Zusammen- gestellt von Otto SCHUMANN. MGH Hilfsmittel 4, 1-6. München 1979-1983.
- .d.        dicens, dicendo  
d.        dicens, dicendo

<sup>20</sup> Die von dem Dichter benutzte kürzere anonyme Prosa-*vita* der hl. Gudu- la wird vollständig beigegeben, so daß der Leser des Gedichts alle vom Dichter vorgenommenen Änderungen auf einen Blick erfassen kann.



et hoc dico eine Interlinearglosse zur Andeutung eines Ablativus absolutus

.i. id est

.s. scilicet

*codex* Hs. London, British Library, Egerton 3130

*in marg.* in margine

.ss. suprascripsit (= eine Interlinearglosse)

*Vita II* Die kürzere Prosa-vita der hl. Gudula, nach Surius herausgeben in: *Acta sanctorum, Januarii*, T. I, S. 524-30; J. GHESQUIERUS - C. SMETIUS, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta*, T. V, S. 716-735.

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## DER TEXT

## VITA SANCTE GVDILE VIRGINIS METRICA

f° 1

- Inuidie morsum metuens me sepe retrorsum  
 Traxi, cum metra vellem componere tetra.  
 Inuide, marcescas! Marcoris auem quid inescas?  
 Non michi crudescas fremitu, sed amore calescas.  
 5 Non in me seui liuoris acu rogo seui!  
 Si ruditer neuī, stimulum tamen abice neuī!  
 Gudula sacra, meum velum mare duc per Egeum,  
 Ne sim liuore punctus, sed inunctus honore!  
 Quando Sigibertus rex, quem genuit Dagabertus,  
 10 Vixit, Witgerus fidei comes incola verus  
 In Brabantina terra fuit. Huic genuina

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4 amore calescas] cf. *LHL* 1, 82. 9/11 quando - terra fuit] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 1: Igitur Sigiberti Regis temporibus, qui fuit Dagoberti Regis filius, extitit quidam Comes Witgerus nomine, in pago Brabantensi, probabilis moribus Sigibertus] d. h. Sigibert III, König von Austrasien (629/30 - 1. 2. 656), wurde 3jährig von seinem Vater Dagobert I auf den Thron von Austrasien erhoben. Er gründete u. a. die Abteien Stablo und Malmédy, sowie die Abtei von St. Martin von Metz, die seine Grabstätte wurde. Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 9 (Freiburg 1964), S. 747-48 Dagabertus] Dagobert I., fränkischer König, 605/610 - 19. 1. 638/39; Sohn Chlotars II.; noch zu dessen Lebzeiten zum Unterkönig von Austrasien unter der Regentschaft Arnulfs von Metz und Pippins des Älteren erhoben, gelang es ihm nach Chlothars (629) und seines Bruders Charibert Tod (632) die Regierung im Gesamtreich zu übernehmen. Dagobert räumte den Austriern ein Unterkönigtum unter seinem Sohn Sigibert III. (633/34) ein. Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 3 (Freiburg 1959), S. 122-23. 11/14 huic genuina - vtroque] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 1: Cuius Thalamis inhaerebat coniunx dignissima, cuius fuerat nomen Amelberga, Maioris Domus inclita Pipini sorore progenita: qui uterque diuinis parili modo obtemperabant monitis.

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3 marcoris] ss. d. magherheit. 5 seui] ss. .i. crudelis liuoris] ss. seui  
 acu] ss. .i. stimulatione seui] ss. tu non crudescas. 6 l. neuī] ss. .i.  
 composui 2. neuī] ss. .i. fraudis. 7 per Egeum] ss. .i. per malas stimula-  
 tiones mundanas. 10 incola] ss. verus verus] ss. existens verus incola  
 fidei. 11 fuit] ss. comes huic] ss. Witghero genuina] ss. .i. nobilis.

- Amelberga data fuerat pro coniuge, nata  
 Regis Puppini germane laude supini,  
 Iussa modo quoque complente Tonantis vtroque.
- 15 Istorum quiuis celi cupiens fore ciuis,  
 Dotibus ornauit deus hos et prole beaut:  
 Ortus Emebertus fit ab hijs virtute refertus  
 Presul honorificus Cameraci iuris amicus;  
 Huius Reinildis soror extitit et Pharaildis
- 20 Ornata quaque virtute fluenter vtraque.  
 Sed plus felicem fecit deus hanc genitricem:  
 Prole magis pura grauidatur namque futura.  
 Pregnantum more partus instante dolore  
 Hanc rex solatur, qui iustis auxiliatur.

f.166v

15 quiuis ... cupiens] ein Nominativus absolutus, cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 1: Quibus in seculo pie degentibus. 16 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 1: sanctum et iustum contulit Dominus germen prole beaut] cf. *LHL* 4, 375. 17 Emebertus] Emebert (gestorben 713/715), Sohn Witgers und der Hl. Witwe Amalberga (gestorben um 690), Bruder der Hl. Gudula und Reinildis, wohl identisch mit dem Bischof Hildebert von Cambrai-Arras. Er bestrafte diejenigen, die das Grab der Hl. Gudula entweiht hatten, mit dem Anathem. Sein Leib wurde zunächst in Ham in Brabant und schließlich in Maubeuge beigesetzt. Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 3 (Freiburg 1959), S. 845 virtute refertus] cf. *LHL* 5, 655-56. 17/20 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 1: Eodem namque germine Sanctus Extitit Emebertus, Cameracensium Praesul gloriosus, vitae admirabilis, et meritis insignis: cuius etiam extitere sorores simili sanctitate probabiles. Reinildis scilicet sanctissima, et Pharaildis egregia. 18 presul honorificus] cf. praesul apostolicus: *LHL* 4, 335 iuris amicus] cf. iuris amator: *LHL* 3, 134. 21/22 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 2: Horum ergo genitricem tam felici iocunditate prolis pollentem, omnipotens Dominus adhuc futura foecundavit prole dignissima. 23/24 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 2: et iam more parturientium anxietatis fluctuantem procella, qui in servis suis consolatur, huiusmodi eam refocillatione recreare dignatur.

12 Amelberga] ss. genuina coniuge] ss. femina nata] ss. existens.  
 13 germane] ss. .i. sororis supini] ss. Puppini. 14 iussa] ss. tonantis modo] ss. quoque complente] ss. vtroque Tonantis] ss. dei vtroque] ss. et hoc dico. 17 ortus] ss. fit ab hijs] ss. .s. ab Amelberga et a Witghero refertus] ss. .i. repletus. 18 presul] ss. et ipse existens Cameraci] ss. iuris amicus] ss. fuit. 20 vtraque] ss. et hoc dico ornata. 21 hanc] ss. Amelbergam. 22 grauidatur] ss. ipsa Amelberga futura] ss. prole .i. prole prius habita. 23 pregnantum] ss. dominarum grauatarum more] ss. secundum morem dolore] ss. et hoc dico, paratus. 24 hanc] ss. Amelbergam qui] ss. rex.

- 25 Iam nox instabat, homines sompnusque ligabat:  
Ipsa stertente subit angelus atque repente  
Dixit: "Solue metum, paritura sacrum modo fetum!  
Rex maris et terre michi iussit opem tibi ferre.  
Concipiens rite prolem paries redimite,  
30 Xpisti primeuo que iussa tenebit ab euo,  
Iustis intendet ad regnaque celica tendet".  
Talia post dicta fugit angelus et benedicta  
Mater multimodas Xpisto cito reddidit odas.  
Hanc prope Bruxellam natam reor esse puellam  
35 Illustri patre, morum plena quoque matre,  
Tempore quo vixit Gertrudis, que benedixit

25 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3, 147: Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat.  
25/31 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 2: Nox erat et terris mortales somnus habebat (cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3, 147), cum eadem materfamilias sopori dedita, Angelum aspicit, haec sibi proferentem: Solve metum corde, utpote pretioso foecundata germine. Ipse enim Rex caeli ferre me iubet haec solamina tibi: concepisti fideliter, paries feliciter, venerabilis filiae clarissima mater: quae ab ipso puellari aevo divinis adhaerebit caeremoniis: in quibus perseverans usque ad metas aevi brevis, palmam capiet vitae perennis. 27 solue metum] cf. *LHL* 5, 218. 28 maris et terre] cf. *LHL* 3, 288-89. 30 iussa tenebit] cf. *LHL* 3, 137. 31 ad regnaque celica tendet] cf. *LHL* 1, 241-42. 32 talia ... dicta] cf. *LHL* 5, 337-40. 32/33 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 2: Tali ore locuta visio Angelica, eam completo sermone reliquit auramque in tenuem evanuit. At illa talibus exhilarata visis, corpus e stratis corripit, et ad coelum manus cum voce tendit, et parans caelitus delatis credula corda responsis, largitori omnium bonorum gratias reddidit. 34/37 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 3: Orta est sane haec virgo Brabantensium finibus, ut praedictum est, a parentibus tam religiosus quam nobilibus, eo tempore, quo B. Gertrudis vixit celeberrima in Dei rebus. 36 tempore quo (vixit)] cf. *LHL* 5, 398-400 Gertrudis] Äbtissin von Nivelles; geb. ca. 626 - gest. den 17. März 659; Tochter Pippins des Älteren, soll nach der ältesten *Vita* einen von König Dagobert I. ausgewählten reichen Bräutigam zurückgewiesen haben; trat in das von ihrer Mutter, der Hl. Iduberga, gestiftete Kloster Nivelles ein und wurde nach deren Tod 652 die erste Äbtissin; *Vita*: MGH SS rer. Mer. II, S. 447-74. Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 4 (Freiburg 1960), S. 761-62; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 4 (München - Zürich 1989), S. 1356-57.

25 ligabat] *in marg.* Sompnus est ligatio sensuum exteriorum. 26 ipsa] ss. .s. Amelberga. 27 paritura] ss. Amelberga tu. 29 concipiens] ss. tu rite] ss. .i. perfecte redimite] ss. .i. 30 que] ss. .i. Gudula euo] ss. .i. a prima etate. 31 iustis] ss. .i. operibus. 32 fugit] ss. recedit benedicta] ss. mater. 33 odas] ss. .i. multiples laudes. 34 hanc] ss. Gudilam. 35 illustri] ss. reor esse natam ab plena] ss. existente matre] ss. et a. 36 tempore] ss. eo Gertrudis] ss. beata benedixit] ss. Gertrudis subdens se benedixit.

- Xpisto seruitijs se subdens vndique dijs.  
 Ergo cum sacro sit sacra lauanda lauacro,  
 Gertrudis petitur precibus multis et aditur,  
 40 Vt presens fieret, vbi Gudela fonte maderet.  
 Nolens deuota Gertrudis spernere vota  
 Hanc consecrauit, dum sacro fonte leuauit.  
 Sic Gudile talis fit mater spiritualis;  
 Hanc enutriuit morum speculoque poliuit,  
 45 Prole refulgente Xpisto virtute fauente.  
 Huius cognate Waldetrudis venerate  
 Ac Aldegundis non prebent seruitium dijs,  
 Sed maris atque poli regi plaudunt prece soli.

f. 167r

38/40 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 3: Cum ergo praedicti parentes virginis filiam suam sacro fonte regenerare decernerent, praesentiam supradictae virginis expetunt, et ut regenerationis eius testis fieret, in omnes preces descendunt. 40 fonte maderet] cf. fonte manarunt: *LHL* 2, 324. 41 spernere (vota)] cf. *LHL* 5, 235.

41/42 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 3: Beata autem Gertrudis tam piaie preci assensum praebuit, virginisque Gudilae regenerationi non solum interfuit, sed etiam manuum suarum munditia eam sanctificavit, et de sacro fonte levavit. 42 (sacro) fonte leuauit] cf. Arator, *Act.* 2, 774: de fonte levatae; Arator, *Act.* 2, 1142: uno de fonte levatur. 42/45 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 3: Unde factum est, ut virgo virginis mater per spiritum fieret, atque ulterius sub uberibus doctrinarum suarum educandam suspenderet. 46 Waldetrudis] Waldetrud, geb.

vor 679 - gest. Ende 7. Jahrhundert, Schwester der Hl. Adelgunde; heiratete den Hl. Vincentius Madelgarius. Auf Rat von Gislenus ließ sie in Castrilocus ein Kloster (später Mons, Diöz. Cambrai) bauen, wo sie seitdem lebte. Dieses Kloster wurde durch Normannen zerstört. Vgl. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 10 (Freiburg 1966), S. 936. 46/48 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 4: Huius etiam sanctae virginis neptes extitere sanctae sorores Aldegundis atque Waldetrudis, ubertim bonorum operum flore fulgentes. 47 Aldegundis] Äbtissin des Klosters Maubeuge, das sie wohl selbst gegründet hat; geb. 623/639 - gest. 684 (oder 689, 695); Eltern: Waldebertus (domesticus Chlothars II.) und Bertila. Aldegundis scheint in ihrer religiösen Lebenshaltung gegen den Willen ihrer Mutter beharrt zu haben. Vgl. *Vita Aldegundis* (MGH SS rer. Mer. VI, S. 85-90; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1 (München - Zürich 1980), S. 344.

37 dijs] ss. seruitijs .i. diuinis seruitijs. 38 sacra] ss. Gudila lauacro] ss. sacro. 39 petitur] ss. rogatur. 40 vt] ss. ipsa Gertrudis maderet] ss. .i. baptizata fieret. 42 hanc] ss. Gudilam sacro] ss. de. 43 Gudile] ss. sancte talis] ss. virgo spiritualis] ss. mater. 44 enutriuit] ss. ipsa Gertrudis. 45 refulgente] ss. et hoc dico, virtute Xpisto] ss. et hoc dico fauente] ss. .i. annuente. 46 huius] ss. .i. Gudile cognate] ss. fuerunt Waldetrudis] ss. et Aldegundis venerate] ss. a Xpisto supple. 47 dijs] ss. pluribus supple. 48 plaudunt] ss. seruitium dant prece] ss. .i. cum soli] ss. regi.

- Cum proles igitur doctrine lacte potitur  
 50 Matre sacris et ali scriptis vult spiritali,  
 Statim celeste regnum petit hec manifeste,  
 Hanc consolante Gertrudeque consiliante  
 Semper, ut illese seruaret de mare sese  
 Viuat et ut grate seruata virginitate  
 55 Neue sit exclusa cum stultis atque retrusa,  
 Cum grege prudente sed eat sponso veniente.  
 Istis impleta, mundi dulcedine spreta,  
 Etatis tenere iam gestiit astra tenere  
 Xpisto seruire cupiens pia Gudula mire,  
 60 Corde petens equo celestia premia. De quo  
 Quanto crescebat, tanto plus laude nitebat

49/56 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 4: Ergo cum iam beata virgo Gudila intra monasterii claustra sacrae scriptionis lacte aleretur, et a sua sancta consanguinea, nec non spiritali matre pascetur, Evangelicis sententiis non absurde auditis, mentem ad caelestis patriae desideria coepit erigere, et ad beatam atque aeternam vitam ubertim exardescere. Beata siquidem Christi virgo Gertrudis eius animum incessanter pulsabat, ut sacrae virginitatis inuolatam palmam servaret, ut veniente sponso pulsans, non cum stultis ad ostium remaneret, sed cum prudentibus caelestem gloriam feliciter possideret. 57/60 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 5: His namque atque aliis huiusmodi, quamplurimis beata virgo accensa monitis, huius seculi pompam abnegans, moribus aetatem peragrans, et sanctam mentem suspendens ad astra, totam se mirum in modum in Dei redigebat famulatum, a quo perenne flagitabat praemium. 58 etatis tenere] cf. aetate tenella: *LHL* 1, 35 gestiit astra tenere] cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 3, 7, 15: cupit astra tenere; *LHL* 1, 150. 59 Xpisto seruire] cf. *LHL* 1, 339. 60 corde petens] cf. *LHL* 1, 453. 61/63 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 5: Unde contigit, ut semper in dies melior se fieret, aetatemque sensu praecelleret: quia secundum illud Sapientis doctrinam, et non pecuniam, disciplinamque magis elegit, quam aurum.

49 lacte] ss. .i. dulcedine potitur] ss. fruitur. 50 scriptis] ss. in  
 sacris spiritali] ss. a. 51 hec] ss. beata Gudila. 52 Gertrude] ss. et  
 hoc dico. 53 illese] ss. aduerbialiter de mare] ss. .i. de viro.  
 54 virginitate] ss. et hoc dico. 55 neue] ss. pro non et vt stultis] ss.  
 virginibus. 56 sponso] ss. et hoc dico. 57 istis impleta] ss. pia Gudila  
 dulcedine] ss. et hoc dico. 58 etatis tenere] ss. existens virgo gestiit]  
 ss. .i. cupiuit astra] ss. .i. regnum celeste. 58 cupiens] ss. illa Gudula  
 mire] ss. .i. miro modo. 60 petens] ss. Gudula est equo] ss. cor-  
 de de quo] ss. Xpisto. 61 crescebat] ss. in corpore nitebat] ss. ipsa  
 Gudula fulgebat.

- Et precellebat socias, quia mente vigebat:  
 Artes quesivit, aurum non vile sciuit.  
 Crescens etate morum crevit probitate:  
 65 Est vilis vita nulla virtute polita.  
 Casta fuit corde carnem seruans sine sorde,  
 Prudens et grata cunctisque decenter amata,  
 Constans, mansueta, mira pietate repleta,  
 Spe non deserta, quod fide pollente referta.  
 70 Hac acie morum Gudila renitente bonorum.

f. 167v

Spiritualis sed mater dum morte ruisset  
 Ad solium clarum de valle means lacrimarum,  
 Gertrudis sancta merore puella fit ancta;  
 Sublata nepte tanta non meret inepte.

62 mente vigebat] cf. Alcuin., *Carm.* 1, 419: et mente vigentem. 63 Cf. *Prov.* 8, 10: Accipite disciplinam meam et non pecuniam, doctrinam magis quam aurum eligit! 64 crescens aetate] cf. *LHL* 1, 494 morum ... probitate] cf. *LHL* 3, 444. 64/65 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 5: Crescente enimvero de die in diem aetate, crescebat morum probitate, veluti condecens erat Dei famulae. 66 sine sorde] cf. *LHL* 5, 186. 66/69 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 5: Erat sane corpore incorrupta, mente casta, amabilis cunctis, affabilis universis, prudentia callens, fortitudine ingens, fraenis temperantiae serena, iustitiae vigore severa, patientia laudabilis, mansuetudine praestabilis, pietate ineffabilis, fervens caritate bis tincta, stabilis fide robusta, longanimis spe inconcussa. 68 pietate repleta] cf. *LHL* 4, 252. 70 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 1, 5: Harum namque omnium virtutum commercia exaggerabat in eius animo cuncta disponens sapientia. 71/77 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 6: Postquam ergo spiritualis eius genitrix, sanctissima videlicet Gertrudis, de huius mundi peregrinatione transivit ad patriam, et ab eiulatu et convalle lacrymarum ad caeli regiam, ubi desiderati sponsi facie perfruitur; almiflua Christi virgo Gudila tantae cognatae solamine destituta, repedit ad parentum limina, referens pectus sitibundum, haustu sapientiae refertum; parentibus deinceps subiecta, iuxta Apostoli praeceptum. 72 valle ... lacrimarum] cf. *Ps.* 83, 7: in valle lacrimarum.

62 socias] ss. coetaneas. 63 quesivit] ss. illa Gudula non vile] ss. esse sciuit] ss. et illa. 64 crescens] ss. illa probitate] ss. .i. bonitate morum. 65 nulla] ss. pro non et vlla polita] ss. non ornata. 66 seruans] ss. illa Gudula. 67 prudens] ss. illa Gudula grata] ss. fuit amata] ss. et fuit. 68 mansueta] ss. .i. modesta. 69 deserta] ss. fuit derelicta fide pollente] ss. renitente referta] ss. et fuit repleta. 70 acie] ss. congregatione Gudila] ss. et hoc dico. 71 spiritualis] ss. .s. Gertrudis existens ruisset] ss. desessisset (sic!). 72 ad solium] ss. .i. ad celum means] ss. fuit lacrimarum] ss. .i. de lacrimabili mundo. 73 merore] ss. tristitia ancta] ss. commota. 74 sublata] ss. .i. mortua tanta] ss. et hoc dico meret] ss. illa Gudula .i. non tristatur.



- 75 Ad solitam sedem patriamque reuertitur edem  
 Gudula, que matris impleuit iussaue patris;  
 Ista placens genti parebat vtrique parenti.  
 Hinc distante parum Morcella, qua bene clarum  
 Templum credo fore sub Saluatoris honore
- 80 Factum: Morcellam lego sepius isse puellam,  
 Que soli Xpisto templo seruiuit in isto  
 Orbe vacans spreto sibi soli pectore leto.
- Ocia vitabat, precibus deuota vacabat,  
 Xpistum laudabatque, diu sacra continuabat;
- 85 Duxerat insomnem noctemque diem simul omnem  
 Transiit orandoque pio regi famulando,  
 Que psalmos legit et per ieiunia degit.  
 Sic se mactauit, sic se Xpistoque dicauit.  
 Sermo conditus fuit eius et arte politus.

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76 iussaue patris] cf. iussa parentis: *LHL* 3, 135-36. 77 Cf. *Colos.* 3, 20: Filii, oboedite parentibus per omnia, hoc enim placitum est in Domino; *Ephes.* 6, 1: Filii, oboedite parentibus vestris, in Domino hoc enim est iustum.

78/82 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 6: Erat autem in confinio villa, Morzella vocabulo, distans ab eorum mansione duorum miliarium interstitio, in quo aedificatum fuerat oratorium in honore Sancti Saluatoris dedicatum. Hunc locum diligens Dei virgo, crebro expetiit, remota a suis. 79 (sub) Saluatoris honore] cf. *LHL* 5, 22. 82 pectore leto] cf. *LHL* 4, 180. 83/88 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 6: vitans eis esse molestiae in omnibus saltem modicis negotiis, atque appetens vacare contemplationi solius diuinitatis Orationibus protelatis deputabat dies, continuabat et noctes, pernox in vigiliis, strenua in psalmodiis, exercitata in ieiuniis, mactabat se holocaustum Christi conspectibus, cui se totam deuota tradiderat ab annis puerilibus, et cum solo hic esset corpore, quotidie animo ad aeterna transibat. 85 (duxerat) insomnem noctem(que)] cf. *LHL* 3, 79 noctemque diem] cf. *LHL* 3, 526-528. 86 regi famulando] cf. *LHL* 4, 479. 87 per ieiunia degit] cf. Flodoard., *Triumph. Palest.* 1, 20, 19: Sedula quae templo degens, ieiunia ducens. 89 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 6: Sermo quoque illius erat, iuxta Apostolum, sale conditus; *Colos.* 4, 6: Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus arte politus] cf. *LHL* 1, 137.

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77 parebat] ss. .i. obediuit. 78 hinc] ss. .i. abhinc Morcella] ss. et hoc dico. 79 Saluatoris] ss. .i. Xpisti. 80 isse] ss. .i. iuisse. 81 que] ss. Gudula. 82 orbe] ss. .i. mundo vacans] ss. .i. intendens sibi soli] ss. .s. Xpisto pectore] ss. corde. 83 vitabat] ss. .i. fug(i)ebat vacabat] ss. intendebat. 84 sacra] ss. talia opera. 85 insomnem] ss. sine sompno. 87 que] ss. .s. Gudula degit] ss. .i. degendo vixit. 88 mactauit] ss. castigauit dicauit] ss. copulauit. 89 conditus] ss. bene ordinatus.

- 90 Sepe genu flexit, ad celum lumina rexit,  
Cum lacrimis poscit, ut grata deo fore possit,  
Verbis ac opere valeat dominoque placere.  
Demonis o quanta fert prelia Gudula sancta,  
O laqueis quantis quatitur Xpistum cor amantis!
- 95 Non euasisset laqueos, nisi iu[s]ta fuisset  
A domino celi, qui spem dat cuique fideli.  
Sic confortata vitijs manet immaculata  
Hostem deridens, sua retia falsa relidens.  
Quo magis instabat demon, se virgo parabat
- 100 Tam plus virtute: sic transijt prelia tute,  
Sic nos transire det mortis prelia dire.

f. 168r

Ergo precum causa cum quadam nocte sit ausa  
Visere prefatum templum luitura reatum,  
Contemplatura vigili celestia cura,

90/92 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 6: saepissime genuum flexionibus accommodata, cum lacrymis et compunctionibus cordis Dominum obsecrabat, ut quaecumque meditaretur, vel ageret, conspectui eius accepta forent. 93/94 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Quantos autem pro huiusmodi facto adversus virginem Dei fraudum suarum diabolus laqueos tetenderit, explicare quis poterit? 95/101 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Sed virgo Dei tot tegebatur divinis adminiculis, quot contra se omnium hostis usus est tendiculis: tantoque ei obnixius resistebat, quanto ad insidiandum instare ipsum videbat. 96 domino celi] cf. *LHL* 2, 125-126. 102/107 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Quadam igitur nocte dum ad idem oratorium Sancti Salvatoris, quod praescripsimus, declinaret, ut in contritione spiritus sui ad caelestia suspirando illic pernoctaret, ecce hostis, qui primae parentis Evae calcaneo insidiabatur, huic virgini fraude, qua potuit, insidiari conabatur. 104 vigili ... cura] cf. *LHL* 5, 604.

90 lumina] ss. .i. oculos. 91 ut] ss. quod. 93 fert] ss. .i. patitur.  
94 amantis] ss. hominis. 95 euasisset] ss. illa Gudula iu[s]ta] ss. con-  
solata. 96 cuique] ss. homini. 97 confortata] ss. illa Gudula in-  
maculata] ss. intacta. 98 deridens] ss. .i. despiciens sua retia falsa] ss. .i.  
suos falsos laqueos relidens] ss. confringens. 99 quo] ss. .i. in quan-  
to instabat] ss. insistebat demon] ss. diabolus parabat] ss. tam .i.  
tantum. 100 tam] ss. .i. tantum plus] ss. se virtute] ss. .i. in  
bonitate transijt] ss. et illa beata Gudula tute] ss. .i. certe. 101 det]  
ss. illa beata Gudula mortis] ss. dire dire] ss. .i. crudelis. 102 ergo]  
ss. cum precum] ss. orationum et hoc cum] ss. beata  
Gudula quadam nocte] ss. in. 103 luitura] ss. .i. demptura reatum]  
ss. .i. forefactum. 104 contemplatura] ss. diuinitus visura vigili] ss.  
cura celestia] ss. .i. celestes.

- 105 Per quem prima parens prima virtute fit arens,  
Hostis en accessit, Gudule qui parcere nescit,  
Spicula multa gerit, quibus illam ledere querit!  
Dementi nocte lucem pia Gudula docte  
Transiit et vernam iussit portare lucernam.
- 110 Hanc extinguebat demon, quia forte volebat  
Virgineum votum per talem rumpere motum.  
Auxilio Xpisti sed virgo recalcitrat isti.  
Ceperat orare sathanam rata sic superare;  
Vt redeat lumen, poscit summum cito numen.
- 115 Votis admissis - credas, si credere glissis -  
Lux prius ablata Gudule fit iamque relata,  
Absque manu verne reparata luce lucerne,  
Virgine prudente ceptum callem peragente.

f. 16r

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108/109 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Nam quia nox lumen negabat, secum virgo Dei lucernam habebat, quam pedissequa eius tunc forte ferebat. 110/112 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Hanc non sine detrimento sui inimicus extinxit, si forte virginem Dei sua fraude praeoccuparet, eandemque a coepto itinere revocaret. Sed elusit fraudem inimici in virgine virtus Christi. 113 Ceperat ...] cf. *LHL* 1, 367. 113/114 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Nam virgo Dei, ut diabolicae fraudis perturbaret laqueos, orationum assumit clypeos: utque lucerna per diabolum extincta reaccendatur, minor genibus Deum deprecatur. 115/117 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 7: Exaudivit Deus preces virginis, quas pro receptione fudit luminis: et tenebras, quas ingessit princeps tenebrarum, dirupit luce misericordiarum suarum. Videns itaque lucernam sine manibus accendentis reaccendi, et in obsequium suum, velut in ictu oculi, lumen extinctum restaurari, Deo gratias egit.

118 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 8: Coeprum ergo iter laeta peregrat.

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105 quem] ss. hostem prima parens] ss. .i. Adam et Eva arens] ss. .i. carens. 106 en] ss. .i. ecce Gudule qui] qui (ss. b) Gudule (ss. a) *codex*. 107 spicula multa] ss. .i. multas fraudes illam] ss. Gudulam. 108 dementi nocte] ss. et hoc dico, abscondenti lucem lucem pia] pia (ss. b) lucem (ss. a) *codex* docte] ss. .i. sapienter. 109 vernam] ss. .i. pedissequam. 110 hanc] ss. lucernam. 111 virgineum votum] ss. .i. orationes virgineas per talem] ss. per talem extinctionem. 112 auxilio] ss. .i. cum recalcitrat] ss. .i. resistebat isti] ss. demoni. 113 ceperat] ss. .i. inceperat orare] ss. .i. orationes effundere rata] ss. existimans .i. sciens superare] ss. .i. vincere sic sathanam. 114 vt] ss. illa beata Gudula poscit] ss. orat summum] ss. .i. omnipotentem dominum. 115 votis] ss. et hoc dico admissis] ss. a deo glissis] ss. .i. si cupis. 116 iamque] ss. .i. immediate. 117 verne] ss. .i. pedisseque luce] ss. et hoc dico. 118 virgine] ss. et hoc dico peragente] ss. .i. perficiente.

- Hoc post exemplum petijt pia Gudila templum;  
 120 Hic non dormiuit, sed magnificare sitiuit  
 Votis multimodis Xpistumque decentibus odis,  
 Adducto sole solitis precibus sine mole  
 Virgine perstante suspiria concomitante.
- Ob mentis mendas carniemque premendas  
 125 Ecclesie sancte sola famula comitante  
 Limina nocte pede nudo petijt, michi crede.  
 Sed ne laudetur populo, de luce videtur  
 In pede tecta fore planta tamen inferiore  
 Nuda. Dum gnare sua vota cupit latitare,  
 130 Panduntur genti. Gudula persepe frequenti

119/123 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 8: et ad oratorium, quo tendebat, pervenerat, reliquumque noctis obsecrationibus et vigiliis transegerat. Cumque aurora in matutinam lucem prorumperet, rebusque vultu suo colorem redderet, preces vigiliisque, quibus haec virgo totam noctem pernoctabat, longis suspiriis iam in diem continuabat. 124/126 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 8: Nam pro carnis spiritusque sui contritione, et pro declinando populari favore, sola, propria comite famula, pedibus nudis Sanctorum loca sub nocturnis horis frequentare erat solita. 125 ecclesie sancte] cf. *LHL* 2, 167. 126 michi crede] cf. *LHL* 3, 355-56. 127/128 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 8: Diebus vero, ut humanum vitaret favorem, talibus, et ut ita dicam, dimidiis utebatur subtalaribus, ut superior pars pedum videretur tecta: sicque Dei fervens amore incedebat, inferiore nuda relicta. 129/131 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 9: Sed dum id, quod pie egit, homines latere voluit, fit res palam, quam innotescere noluit. Nam solo prostrata, et ipse atque animo in caelos erecta; plantas, quas nudas videri noluit, praetereuntium visibus non sine oblivione videndas reliquit.

120 hic] ss. in isto templo dormiuit] ss. illa Gudula sitiuit] ss. .i. cupiuit. 121 votis multimodis] ss. .i. multis orationibus decentibus odis] ss. .i. congruis laudibus. 122 adducto sole] ss. .i. die adueniente .i. in precibus] ss. orationibus. 123 virgine] ss. et hoc dico perstante] ss. .i. perseuerante concomitante] ss. et hoc dico, virgine. 124 *In marg.*: Ob mentis etc. Construe, o puer, tu crede michi: beata Gudula supple petijt limina sancte ecclesie ob mendas mentis et carniem carnis premendas mendas] ss. culpas carniem] ss. .i. putredinem. 125 ecclesie] ss. limina famula] ss. et hoc dico comitante] ss. sequente. 126 petijt] ss. illa beata Gudula michi crede] ss. o puer tu michi. 127 sed ne] ss. illa beata Gudula videtur] ss. fore tecta in pede de luce ne laudetur populo. 128 planta] ss. et hoc dico. 129 nuda] ss. existente dum gnare] ss. illa Gudula cupit] ss. affectat latitare] ss. .i. latentia esse. 130 panduntur] ss. facta beate Gudule Gudula] ss. cum frequenti] ss. prece.

- Cum prece proiecta, patuit tunc planta resecta.  
 Presbitero quodam veniente, velut tibi prodam,  
 Vt missam faceret, Gudule dum vota videret,  
 Ob tantos actus multum fuit hic stupefactus.
- 135 Virginis algori compassus et eius amori  
 Longius astabat; sed dum se virgo leuabat,  
 Mufflas deponit manibus terreque reponit,  
 Virginis ut tante modicum caleant ita plante.  
 Quas a se iecitque dei virtus ibi fecit
- 140 Predictas vere longe sursum remanere.  
 Virgo quo viso domino dans de paradiso  
 Laudes, non proprio merito, sed munere dyo  
 Ista sciens fieri, nec vult hinc magna videri.
- Officio misse facto, quo virgo remisit
- 145 Non exorabat, ad tecta patris remeabat.

f. 169

132/140 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 9: Sacerdos etiam hoc viderat, qui celebraturus Missam advenerat, et quid in hac re causae ageretur, satis superque mirabatur. Ipse vero horrore tanti facti percussus, eiusque algori compassus, diutissime praestolans, postquam illa ab oratione surrexit, continuo chirotecas de manibus suis extraxit, eiusque vestigiis supponere volens abiit, ut tam illustris meriti puellam religiose honoraret. Quas humiliter in manibus virgo recipiens, et recedente Sacerdote in alteram partem se divertens, longe a se projicere exoptavit: sed divina operante clementia, fere unius horae spatio restitit in aere.

134 ob] op *codex*. 141/143 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 2, 9: Quo stupendo rursus animata miraculo, immensas retulit gratias omnipotenti Deo, non suo imputans merito, sed illi, qui suis semper adest fidelibus. 142 proprio merito] cf. *LHL* 4, 383 munere dyo] cf. *LHL* 3, 459-460. 144 officio ... facto] cf. *LHL* 4, 18. 144/145 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Expletis tandem a Sacerdote Missarum solennis, in quibus sancta virgo suum spiritum contribulatum Deo sacrificium immolaverat, ad proprii limina domatit remeat.

131 patuit] ss. manifesta fuit. 132 quodam veniente] ss. et hoc dico velut] ss. pro sicut prodam] ss. i. manifestabo. 133 missam faceret] ss. ille celebraret dum] ss. ille presbiter. 134 hic] ss. presbiter. 135 virginis] ss. ipse sacerdos algori] ss. frigiditati. 136 longius astabat] ss. ipse presbiter virgo] ss. dum. 137 deponit] ss. ille presbiter manibus] ss. de (terre)que] ss. pro et reponit] ss. terre. 138 ut] ss. plante caleant] ss. i. calide fiant. 139 quas] ss. s. mufflas iecit] ss. illa Gudula fecit] ss. vere. 140 predictas] ss. mufflas sursum] ss. i. in aere. 141 virgo] ss. dans quo] ss. facto dans] ss. laudes. 142 dyo] ss. i. diuino. 143 sciens] ss. sc. virgo nec vult] ss. illa beata Gudula. 144 remisit] ss. ymmo cum magna intentione.

- Semi repleta vere fuit ut via, femina vere  
 Occurrit lassa Gudule mala plurima passa.  
 Fert humeris natum multis morbis tribulatum.  
 Nam triplici peste percussus erat manifeste:  
 150 Et curuus multum, nequiens attollere vultum,  
 Cernuus inspectans terram sursum neque spectans;  
 Mutus; confractus cirogra, nullos ut in actus  
 Possit ferre manus, nullo membro quasi sanus.  
 Hunc dum cernebat, virgo lacrimando dolebat  
 155 Compatiens tantum, faceret <mater> sua quantum.  
 Hunc acceptauit humeris propriisque leuauit,  
 Flendo rogans Xpistum, puerum curaret ut istum.  
 Mox exaudita Gudule sunt vota perita:

146/147 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Iam fere medium iter emensum fuerat, et ecce cuidam mulieri obuiat, quam longus moeror et diutina calamitas torquebat.

148 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Gestabat siquidem filium suum in humeris, qui cum languore nativo ab alvo ipsius malefoetae parentis deciderat in hanc lucem.

149/153 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Iamque sol nonum circumvolvebat annum, ex quo eundem puerum trina passione debilitatum viderat. Etenim erat contractus, incurvus, caducis vultibus, et solam terram despectans cernuus. Spiracula etiam vocis habens obstructa, insuper obmutuerat lingua. Quinetiam dira chiragra contuderat manuum articulos, intantum ut ori non ingereret cibos, nisi adiutorio alienae manus appositos. 150 attollere vultum] cf. *LHL* 1, 167.

154/155 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Pro cuius incommodo, compassione et pietate Dei virgo pusillanimis facta, et ex visceribus misericordiarum in lacrymas est suscitata, ac si in lacrymarum indicio eum genuisse putaretur, et per omnia mater ipsius crederetur. 156/157 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Accedit ergo, et in humeros suos eum accepit, atque pro sospitate eius coram Domino aliquantulum flevit.

158 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Cuius preces mox in aures Domini Sabaot pervenerunt, effectumque sui celerem invenerunt.

146 semi repleta] ss. fuit .i. semi perfecta ut] ss. pro postquam fuit.

147 lassa] ss. femina existens Gudule] ss. occurrit passa] ss. femina inquam. 148 fert] ss. illa femina humeris] ss. propriis natum] ss.

fert tribulatum] ss. natum. 149 nam] ss. pro quia ille natus. 150 nequiens] ss. et non potuit. 151 cernuus] ss. puer. 152 mutus] ss. et puer fuit

confractus cirogra] ss. puer inquam .i. per infirmitatem existentem membris. 153 nullo] ss. et fuit quasi] ss. .i. fere. 154 hunc] ss.

puerum cernebat] ss. videbat virgo] ss. dum lacrimando] ss. .i. flendo dolebat] ss. illa beata Gudula. 155 compatiens] ss. Gudula fuit

sua] ss. mater. 156 acceptauit] ss. illa beata Gudula humeris] ss.

scapulis. 157 rogans] ss. illa Gudula istum] ss. puerum. 158 mox] ss.

statim perita] ss. vota.

- Membris laxatis et ad officium reparatis  
 160 Iam redeunt vires. Hee grate sunt homini res.  
 Cui fuerat muta prius, est iam lingua soluta.  
 Iamque puer fatur matremque venire precatur.  
 Est ammirata virtutem virgo beata  
 Ostensam Xpisti laudesque cito dedit isti.  
 165 Digne laudatur, per quam deus hec operatur.  
 Mater gaudebat, puerum dum respiciebat  
 Sanum, gaudente simul ac vtraque stupente  
 De signis tantis factis pietate Tonantis.  
 Sed virgo proprie cupiens hec facta latere  
 170 Matrem sincere rogat, ut velit ista silere.  
 Hec sed letata mater secus est meditata:  
 Facta dei cuique virtute reuelat vbique  
 Non quasi transgressa monitus, sed amore professa.

f. 169

159/162 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Iam enim puero vocis membrorumque retinacula laxabantur, et ad officium suum penitus excitabantur, membra in usum movendi roborantur, atque lingua ad officium distinguebatur loquendi, primumque sermonem hunc habuit, quo matrem lactus sic inclamavit: Mater veni, mater veni. 163 virgo beata] cf. *LHL* 5, 632. 163/164 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Mirabatur B. Gudula virtutem Dei ostensam per se. 165/166 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 10: Gaudebat etiam mater pueri, misericordiam Dei per beatam virginem factam in se. 167/168 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 11: Ambae gaudebant, ambae stupebant, Dominique misericordiam semper superexaltare iudicium perpendebant. 168 pietate Tonantis] cf. *LHL* 4, 252-53. 169/170 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 11: Sed hoc factum humilis virgo nube silentii appetens obumbrari, interdixit mulieri, ne id per se aliquando contingeret divulgari. 171/173 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 11: At illa longe aliter actitabat, quam virgo Dei supplicabat: quia pro inopinata salute filii sui, pietatem nequibat tacere filii Dei; non ut verborum virginis Dei aspernatix, sed ut devota beneficiorum Domini veneratrix.

159 membris] ss. et hoc dico reparatis] ss. ad officium. 160 res] ss. hee. 161 cui] ss. illi puero muta] ss. lingua soluta] ss. est iam. 162 (iam)que] ss. et fatur] ss. loquitur precatur] ss. et rogat. 163 beata] ss. .s. Gudula. 164 ostensam] ss. virtutem laudes (ss. b) Xpisti (ss. a) que (ss. pro et) *codex* dedit] ss. et ille isti] ss. Xpisto laudes. 165 digne] ss. .i. merito quam] ss. illam hec] ss. .i. facta. 166 respiciebat] ss. .i. dum natum suum esse sanum. 167 vtraque] ss. et hoc dico. 168 de signis tantis] ss. .i. de tantis miraculis pietate] ss. et hoc Tonantis] ss. Xpisti. 169 proprie] ss. .i. personaliter latere] ss. .i. taceri. 170 sincere] ss. intime. 171 hec] ss. femina letata] ss. existens gauisa secus] ss. .i. aliter meditata] ss. cogitata. 172 facta] ss. miracula virtute] ss. dei reuelat] ss. illa femina vbique] ss. .i. in omni loco in quo quasi veniebat. 173 non quasi] ss. et illa femina non reuelat quasi esset supple professa] ss. sed ipsa est.

- Sic Gudule gesta cunctis fiunt manifesta,  
 175 Vndique tam clare decuit factum recitare,  
 Fit celebris genti res circumquaque manenti.

- Preterea plura legi de virgine pura:  
 Omnia scriptura comprehendet vix mea cura.  
 Luce preces cella quadam fundente puella  
 180 Venit leprosa mulier, cuius caro rosa  
 Sordibus ex peste longa fuerat manifeste,  
 Que, nisi iuvisset virgo, mortem subiisset.  
 Lepra repletam populo quouis lego spretam  
 Tantum, quod fatur sibi nullus nec sociatur;  
 185 Et quia deformis hominum vixit sine normis.  
 Ast humili mente mulieri compatiante

174/176 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 11: Perlatum est autem huiusmodi miraculum ad populum circumquaque manentem, et celebre factum usque in praesentem diem. 177 Preterea ...] cf. *LHL* 4, 339-340. 177/178 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Est adhuc, quod in virgine Dei miremur, quod per eam de excelso caelorum habitaculo patratum fide fatemur. 179/182 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Nam, ut sibi moris erat, quadam die in cella sua orationis pensum peragebat, et in caelesti contemplatione spiritum suum suspendebat: cum ecce quaedam mulier leprosa accedit, quae non sine fide sospitatis suae mox futurae illo advenit: cuius carnem ex diutina infirmitate putredo pene in vermes consumpserat, et ad mortem usque perduxerat, nisi iam ex pietate divina pretiosa per virginem succurreret medicina. 183/185 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Praeterea pro deformitate sui, a praesentia et visibus hominum intantum (ut ita dixerim) exulaverat, ut vix ulla cum aliquibus consortii vestigia inveniret. 186 humili mente] cf. *LHL* 2, 533. 186/189 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Sed B. Gudila spiritu contrito et humiliato intrinsecus perfusa, compassione super illam, et sermone cum illa satis est usa, atque ex nomine sic inclamavit, et pro sospitate sui, ne diffideret, admonere curavit: O Herenfrida, inquit, mens tua fidei suae anchoram in eum figat, qui sanat contritos corde, et alligat contritiones eorum.

174 Gudule] ss. beate gesta] ss. .i. opera cunctis] ss. hominibus manifesta] ss. aperta. 175 tam clare] ss. .i. tantum perfecte decuit] ss. .i. decens fuit. 176 celebris] ss. .i. genti] ss. manenti circumquaque] ss. .i. vbique. 177 plura] ss. signa. 178 omnia] ss. .i. miracula scriptura] ss. .i. per scripturam. 179 luce] ss. quadam cella] ss. in fundente] ss. preces puella] ss. et hoc dico. 180 rosa] ss. fuit .i. corrosa. 181 sordibus] ss. .i. immundicijs peste] ss. tempestate fuerat] ss. caro cuius manifeste] ss. .i. aperte. 182 que] ss. .i. mulier virgo] ss. .i. beata Gudula. 183 repletam] ss. mulierem lego] ss. ego spretam] ss. esse supple. 184 tantum] ss. ego lego illa esse spretam quod] ss. nullus sociatur] ss. sibi. 185 quia] ss. illa mulier fuit vixit] ss. illa normis] ss. hominum.



- Virgo loquebatur, quam consolando precatur,  
 Vt cito sana foret, Xpistum precibus quod adoret,  
 Ad dominum mentem tollat miseris miserentem.
- 190 Hinc precibus gratis a virgine multiplicatis, f. 17  
 Dicens: "Qui denos lepre putredine plenos  
 Mundasti, celeri venia misere mulieri  
 Assis! Admissis precibus credas bene, quis sis!"  
 Lepra cessante mulieris, sospes ut ante,
- 195 In cute candente nullo signo remanente,  
 Quo lepram nosces maculam uel noscere posses:  
 Sospes letatur mulierque deo famulatur.  
 Rex celi signa pro virgine plura benigna  
 Fecit quam noscit homo uel describere possit:
- 200 Occulte facta non sunt in luce redacta.  
 Hijs tamen ex dictis veterum sub luce relictis  
 Nos contentemur Gudulamque piam veneremur.

190 multiplicatis] cf. *LHL* 3, 451. 190/193 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Preces proinde ingeminat solitas, suspiriorum atque gemituum administratione praestitas, ut qui decem leprosis mundatis, unius tantum alienigenae fidem invenit, et pro gratiarum actione revertentem laudavit, huius etiam mulieris fidem inspiceret, et eidem misericordiarum suarum antidoto consuleret. 191 Cf. *Luc.* 17, 11-19. 194/197 cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 3, 12: Cuius preces Dominus exaudivit, omnemque lepram miserationis suae manu deterisit, ut nec cicatricum signa in ea relinquerentur, quibus leprae indicia notarentur. Quantis vero pro subita incolumitate sui gaudiis indulserit, facile ex similibus quisque colligere poterit. 196 noscere posses] cf. *LHL* 3, 565-566. 197 deo famulatur] cf. *LHL* 2, 40. 198/200 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 13: Haec et alia innumerabilia, et plura certe quam possit humana colligere scientia, per famulam suam operata est virtus divina: quae ideo notitiam mortalium fugerunt, quia ex iudicio divino publica non fuerunt. 201 (sub) luce relictis] cf. *LHL* 3, 232. 201/202 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 13: Ea tamen, quae scire contigit relatu antiquorum, suisque ex scriptis fides praestitit maiorum, fideli tantum sufficiant, atque pro sanctitate Virginis illi satisfaciant.

187 quam] ss. .i. mulierem. 188 sana] ss. .i. sanitati foret] ss. ut adoret] ss. illa mulier Xpistum precibus. 189 ad dominum] ss. et illa Gudula precatur mulierem ut miserentem] ss. ad dominum.  
 190 precibus] ss. et hoc dico virgine] ss. .i. beata Gudula multiplicatis] ss. .i. multipliciter fusis. 191 qui denos] ss. o Xpiste tu homines plenos] ss. existentes. 192 mundasti] ss. tu qui celeri] ss. .i. cum. 193 assis] ss. .i. Xpiste tu. 194 lepra] ss. et hoc dico sospes] ss. fit ut] ss. fuit supple. 195 nullo] ss. et hoc dico. 196 quo] ss. .i. signo. 197 sospes] ss. mulier existens. 199 noscit] ss. homo. 200 in luce redacta] ss. .i. inaperta .i. manifestata. 201 hijs] ss. miraculis luce] ss. veterum relictis] ss. hijs.

- Contigerat vere miracula plura videre,  
 Mundo ferita postquam fuerat sua vita.  
 105 Nam licet hic moritur, vita tamen ipsa potitur  
 Illic in celis quo gaudet adire fidelis.  
 Hec ut laudetur meruit simul et veneretur.  
 Que non seruiuit fraudique nocere cupiuit  
 Nulli, sed mundo vixit cum pectore mundo,  
 110 Non desistendo, sed longe sic remanendo,  
 Spe nec decepta, sed erat quod amauit adepta.  
 Nam cum censura mortis peteret sua iura,  
 Sancta pastura se paut femina pura.  
 Hec Ydus sexto Iani, de quo ratus exto,  
 115 Tempore maioris Puppini uel senioris  
 Transijt a<d> celisolum, gaudente fideli  
 Turba celesti: sed ab hoc fuerant bene mesti,

f. 170v

203/207 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 13: Hanc ergo Domino miraculis coruscare placuit, quam in vita sua iuste et irreprehensibiliter vivere concessit. Igitur in eius praesenti et inimitabili vita, qualis esset meriti, crebro divina declarabant miracula: quae ad scribendum nimium sunt prolixa, sed ex his paucis etiam eius cetera cognoscuntur opera. Soluta ergo ab ergastulo corporis, multa prioribus ampliora et admiranda subsequuntur miracula: quia etsi non vivit corporaliter, vivit cum illo spiritualiter, qui est gloriosus in Sanctis suis, et magnificus in omnibus operibus suis. 208/211 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 13: O vere Beata, multis praeconiis digna, in qua dolus non fuit: neminem iudicans, neminem condemnans, nulli malum pro malo reddens, sed coram Deo et hominibus iuste et sancte vivens. In hac itaque constantia perdurans animi, ne dicam per singulos dies, verum etiam per singula horarum momenta fervebat flagrantia interni desiderii videndi Deum deorum in Sion caelesti: quarum vicissitudine non est inhibita, a petitione, quam poposcit, ut in domo Domini habitaret omnibus diebus vitae suae, non est fraudata. 209 pectore mundo] cf. *LHL* 4, 182.

212/217 Nam cum - Turba caelesti] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 13: Nam felici et ultimo eius praesentis vitae termino mediante, Dominici Sacramenti sese viatico circumquaque vallans, iturum ad caelos spiritum roborans, Pipino seniore monarchiam tunc regni regente, VI Idus Ianuarias, flentibus fidelium catervis, supernorum civium gaudentibus turmis, illa sancta anima Sanctorum coetibus socianda, de mundi ludibrio migravit ad Christum, ab ipso perceptura aeternae felicitatis palmam, cui est honor, virtus, gloria in saecula saeculorum. 216/217 fideli turba] cf. *LHL* 5, 484. 217 ab] anstelle von ob? 217/218 sed ab hoc - modeste] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: [Administrata autem sunt honorifice corporis ipsius funebria, et ut tantae nobilitatis puellam decuit, ex concursu plebis non modice facta sunt celebria: ubi virtutes ipsius, quibus plurimum usa est quoad vixit, etiam ab invitis lacrymas extorquebant, et ab ipsis vix quemquam abstinere permittebant. Lugebant certe hanc nobiles quique, qui affuere, quibus humilitas et summa eius subiectio exemplo vivendi fuere.] (Das Fragment in Klammern [...] fehlt in der Versifikation). Lugebant etiam orphani et pauperes, ostendentes tunicas et vestes, quibus illos haec altera Dorcas vestiebat, et quotidianis alimoniarum stipendiis fovebat.

- Quos dape uel veste recreauit sepe modeste.  
 Contrita mente populo quocumque dolente  
 220 Hamme fuit multa collecta gente sepulta.  
 Ad tumulum cuius non gratia defuit, huius,  
 Hanc qui, dum vixit, defenderat et benedixit.  
 Phebo splendente Capricorni signa tenente  
 Multum vergente brumas quoque re faciente  
 225 Arbor crescebat frondens - cur quisque stupebat -  
 Testans florente<m> Gudulam nunc astra tenente<m>.  
 Hinc rumor creuit, duplex stupor inde repleuit  
 Continuo gentem plantam frondere videntem  
 Et pubescentem ramosque nouos facientem,  
 230 Cum re natura non seruet talia mira.  
 Signa sed hec grata pro virgine fecit humata  
 Xpistus, qui terre precepit semina ferre.  
 Hinc gens conuenit, quia talia cernere venit:  
 Xpistum laudauit et, quod vidit, recitauit.

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219 contrita mente] cf. *Waltharius* 1165: Deprecor at dominum contrita mente benignum. 219/222 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Sepulta est autem in villa Ham, quam hodie eo ipso vocabulo constat nominatum. Neque ad tumulum eius divinae glorificationis defuere magnalia, quae viventi ipsi fuere semper praesentia. 223 signa tenente] cf. *LHL* 5, 154. 223/226 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Nam uno eodemque die ipsius sepulturae, sole in Capricorni sidere posito, (nunc quippe brumam facit deflexus ad Austrum) arbor, quam ferunt populum, visa est subito ibidem virescere, et quod natura temporis non habuit, in propaggines formari et frondescere, in testimonium eiusdem virginis, in domo Domini, ut palma florentis. 224 re] te *codex* (cf. Vers 227: rumor] tumor *codex*). 226 astra tenente<m>] cf. *LHL* 1, 150. 227 rumor] tumor *codex*; vgl. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Magnus ... rumor et duplex ... stupor. 227/230 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Tanta namque hincinde frondium seu ramorum iucunditate diffundebatur, ut omne aestivi temporis nemus vicisse putaretur. Magnus proinde in ore omnium super hoc miraculo rumor, et duplex in omnes permiscetur stupor, arborem et insperate et intempestive crevisse. Utrumque enim non satis fuit stupuisse. Mirum namque fuit, arborem subito populasse: sed mirabilius extitit, eam hyemis tempore, quod natura (ut praedictum est) non habuit, vernasse. 230 re] te *codex* (cf. Vers 224 und 227). 231/232 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Fecit autem Deus haec officio quo novit et voluit: fecit etiam potestate, qua valuit, qui in principio creaturarum terram iussit germinare herbam virentem, semenque iuxta genus suum facientem. 233 talia cernere] cf. *LHL* 5, 337. 233/234 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 4, 14: Deinde pro miraculi huius admiratione plebs undecumque accurrit cum exultatione, Deumque in tam praeclara virgine supplicat, et miraculum, quod viderat, ubique gentium explicat.

- 335 Insuper astabat quidam, qui cuncta notabat  
 Mente subastuta, quibus ornamenta voluta  
 Virgo fuit. Terna noctu sceleris cito verna  
 Illuc perrexit, Gudele corpusque retexit, f. 171r  
 Presumens pulcrum sacrum spoliare sepulcrum.  
 340 Ergo cum nata celebri sit stirpe beata,  
 Virgo satis veste renitente locatur honeste:  
 Non quia sic iussit, patrie sed cumque modus sit.  
 Hec asportauit corpusque sacrum spoliauit  
 Pernice latro dolo tumulto remanenteque solo  
 345 Cum membris sacris ausu furis minus acris.  
 Ultio sed sequitur illius, qui reperitur  
 Semper adesse bonis. Breuiter quoque nata latronis  
 Vadit more dee mulierum iuncta coree  
 Per fora saltando quoque cantum multiplicando.  
 350 Que Gudulam colere suevit, quadam muliere  
 Illic astante, simul ornamenta notante,  
 Cum quibus ornata latronis erat fera nata:

235 cuncta notabat] cf. *LHL* 1, 524. 235/239 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 15: Factum est autem dum humaretur corpus sanctissimum, latronem quendam exequiis eius interfuisse, et ornamenta quaedam, cum quibus sepulturae tradebatur, contemplatum fuisse. Tertia vero nocte, nefas quod corde conceperat malitiose, mortifero ebriatus veneno avaritiae, opere festinabat adimplere. Proh nefas! Ad sepulchrum accessit, gloriosam margaritam detexit, et ut lupus ad praedam, ita impudens et furcifer gloriosum irruit depraedari sepulchrum. 240 nata ... stirpe beata] cf. *Hrotsv.*, *Gesta* 95: Hanc tradunt ergo natam de stirpe beata; *LHL* 5, 269. 240/242 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 15: Nobilis ergo sancta ut fuerat virgo, atque inclita prosapia, et praepotentibus ac ditissimis parentibus, ut praetulimus, exorta; non sua spontanea praemeditatione, sed fidelium potius amicorum apparatu, eius sacrosanctum corpusculum auro et argento, vesteque pretiosa honorifice fuerat redimitum. 241 veste renitente] cf. *LHL* 5, 584 locatur] loquatur *codex*. 243/245 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 15: Qui talia omnia secum asportans, diripuit, solo relicto sarcophago cum sacrae virginis gleba. 246/247 ultio - bonis] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 15: Quo facto illius nutu, cuius oculis nuda et aperta sunt omnia, statim ultio subsequitur divina. 247 semper adesse] cf. *LHL* 5, 94-95. 247/255 breuiter - stupenti] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 15: Nam eiusdem scelesti latronis filia cum non multo post feminarum se choreis interponens, atque cum ceteris per plateas decantando, et huc illuc saltando discurreret, quaedam illic adfuit mulier, sanctissimae virgini familiaris et amica; quae praedicti latronis filiam nimis diligenter intuens, easdem armillas, quas in brachiis sacrae virginis, dum sepeliretur, reliquerat, in eius lacertis fore certissime recognovit. Tanta itaque admiratione commota, hoc illic adstantibus denudavit celerius. 248 iuncta coree] cf. *LHL* 3, 121.

- Noscens armillas, quas pessima gesserat, illas,  
 Quas Gudule sancte brachiis coniuxerat ante,  
 255 Pandens presenti genti nimis inde stupenti.  
 Istud Emeberto patuit pietate referto  
 Fratri peccare Gudule, qui luxit amare.  
 Qui dum percepitque reos confundere cepit  
 Cum iaculis dire maledictis protinus ire.  
 260 Qui sic dampnati, de templis atque fugati,  
 Digni praua pati morbis sunt suppeditati:  
 Patres et natiue truci de stirpe creati  
 Viribus arescunt, omnique salute tepescunt.  
 Hijs in tormentis viuunt: abiectio gentis  
 265 Nam conceditur hijs in penis viuere duris,  
 Hic ut peniteant, baratri ne plus calefiant  
 Furno feruente, Gudula simul hoc cupiente.  
 Sic multa multa sunt furta re[r]i truci vltia.  
 Sed signis gratis pro virgine multiplicatis  
 270 Consilio gentis venerabilis et sapientis

f. 17

256 pietate referto] cf. *LHL* 4, 251. 256/257 istud - Gudule] Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: Quibus admirantibus, illico talia sanctissimae virginis fratri, Emeberto scilicet iam superius praelibato delata fuerat quantocyus. 257 fratri] ferri *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: virginis fratri, Emeberto) luxit] lux ut *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: Hic ... dolore tactus cordis intrinsecus) luxit amare] cf. *Matth.* 26,75 = *Luc.* 22, 62: flevit amare. 257/261 qui luxit - suppeditati] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: Hic namque pro atrocissimi immanitate sacrilegii dolore tactus cordis intrinsecus, quandoquidem ille locus, in quo furtum factum fuerat suae dioecesi erat adtitulatus, totus ex auctoritate canonica in reos furti insurgens, maledictionis iaculum in eos vibravit, et a sanctae Dei Ecclesiae gremio atque fidelium consortio sequestrans, damnavit. 262 (truci de) stirpe creati] cf. *LHL* 5, 269-270. 262/263 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: Quibus ergo tam merito mulctatis, veluti arbor quaedam si a proprio fuerit incisa stipite, continuo eius universi rami a priori arescunt atque deficiunt viriditate, ita omnis illa progenies, tam detestabili profluens stirpe, gravi et varia postmodum vexatur infirmitate. Nulla enim huius generationis persona excedit, quin clauda vel aliqua pedum debilitate detenta, vel etiam dira affecta gutturia, praeteritum luat facinus. 264/268 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 5, 16: Sic namque a primordio usque in praesens huiusmodi in talibus talis perseverat infirmitas. Unde datur intelligi, sacra virgine intercedente, illis temporaliter poenitere a Deo concessum fore, ne illos igni inextinguibili (quod multo constat deterius) perpetualiter nimis infelix exureret culpa. 269/273 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 17: Cum autem ex signis ad tumbam eius quotidie crebrescentibus, odorem virtutum eius fama adspiraret omnibus, ex consilio et dispositione Altissimi, placuit fidelibus de loco sepulchri eam levare, et in locum honori ipsius magis congruum transferre.

- Est transportandum corpus Guduleque leuandum:  
 Templo maiori puta congruit eius honori  
 Vt sit Niuelle caro translata puelle.  
 Conueniunt gentes prudentes atque potentes.  
 275 Frustratur vere labor hic. Nam quando mouere  
 Capsam conantur, qua reliquie situantur,  
 Pondus senserunt tantum, quod ob hoc stupuerunt:  
 Sic dimiserunt transponere nec potuerunt.  
 Quid faciant, herent, cum signa stupenda viderent;  
 280 Ad loca diuersa fuit hijs intentio versa.  
 Sed dum conantur, conando nil operantur.  
 Sed tandem gentem dubitando deficientem  
 Consolabatur dominus. Nam scire dabatur

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274 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 17: Factum est, ut ex consensu pariter et conventu probabiliū utriusque sexus personarum, certus praefiniretur dies transferendarum Beatae Gudilae reliquiarum, quas ad Nivialense transferre coenobium ex consilio eorum, qui conuenerant, est propositum: quandoquidem non esset competens, thesaurum tantae margaritae oculi angulo humillimi viculi, sed loco celebri reponi [conueniunt gentes] cf. Iuenc. 3, 129: Conueniunt populi.

275/278 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 17: Sed consilium humanum, divino roboratum, in ipso suo conatu est frustratum. Nam dum feretrum, receptui membrorum paratum, moveri tentaretur, ut eo, quo praedictum est, transportaretur, tanto fit pondere ibidem fixum, ac si catenis insolubilibus teneretur adstrictum.

279 quid faciant] cf. *LHL* 4, 433-434      signa stupenda] cf. *LHL* 5, 154.

279/281 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 17: Quid vero agere debeant, stupore et sollicitudine utrobique haesitant: quia ibi quid agere nesciebant, ubi de occulto Dei iudicio quicquam praesumere non habebant. Venit proinde in mentem quibusdam religiosis consanguineis B. Gudilae, Aldegundis atque Waldetrudis virginum Christi: si forte haec virgo illuc membra sua transferri vellet, quo quaelibet virginum praescriptarum sedem suae quietis haberet. Erant namque loca, tunc reliquiarum earundem virginum Christi servatoria, Beatae videlicet Aldegundis Malbodium, Sanctaeque Waldetrudis Castrilocus. Destinabant ergo animo nunc huc, nunc illuc transferre: similiterque in movendo vires perdere. Nam huius rei adinventio per omnia redigitur in nihilum. Fatigari poterant, sed sanctam glebam movere non poterant.      282/283 sed tandem - dominus] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 18: Singulis vero huic ponderi frustra succedentibus, et in ipso conatu deficientibus, pietas divina diutius suspensos tenere noluit, quos ad id operis inspiratione sua excitare voluit.

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279 herent] ss. dubitant      stupenda] ss. ammiranda      viderent] ss. cum ip-  
 si.      280 hijs] ss. hominibus      intentio] ss. cogitatio.

- Cuidam prudenti, senio iam deficienti,  
 285 Quo deducendum sit corpus uel quid agendum.  
 Iste senex dixit: "Templum, dum Gudula vixit,  
 Forsitan elegit Morcelle, quo pia legit  
 Sepe preces". Propere ceperunt ergo mouere  
 Lipsona, que grate duxerunt cum leuitate.  
 290 Sic fit Morcelle caro deportata puelle  
 Mirandis factis Xpisti virtute peractis -  
 Multis, sed quedam senibus testantibus edam.  
 De surdo quodam facto mirabile prodam  
 Contrita mente mox ad pheretrum veniente:  
 295 Longe priuatus auditu, iamque meatus

f. 17r

284/285 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 18: Nam reverendae huic elevationi quidam pro-  
 vectae, imo decrepitae aetatis intererat, qui usque ad id temporis longum senium  
 duxerat, solusque a diebus S. Gudilae superstes, caeterisque natu et industria  
 provector fuerat. Huius spiritum divina inspiratio mox excitavit, et quo virgo Dei  
 transferri debuit, inspiravit. 286/288 iste senex - preces] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6,  
 18: Namque in haec verba prorumpens: Videtur, inquit, mihi eam quietis suae  
 sedem in oratorio Sancti Salvatoris iam elegisse, in quo eam, quoad vixit, assiduus  
 suspiriis spiritum suum claruit Deo vovisse. 288/291 propere - peractis] cf.  
*Vita II*, Cap. 6, 18: Tunc ad nutum senis intuitus omnium pendebat, eiusque  
 sententiae omnium qui aderant consensus respondebat. Et accedentes feretro,  
 tanta mox facilitate usi sunt in ferendo, quanta prius difficultate frustra  
 laboraverant in movendo. Deportandum est ergo ad praescriptum locum Mort-  
 zelle illud venerabile corpus, populis promiscui sexus cum laude et tripudio comi-  
 tantibus, miraculisque ex glorificatione divina prosequentibus. 291 Xpisti vir-  
 tute] cf. *LHL* 1, 337. 292 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 18: E quibus ea quae fidelium  
 relatu didicimus, ut posteris notitiae sint, narrabimus. 293/297 Cf. *Vita II*,  
 Cap. 6, 19: Cumque a plebe sanctum corpus cum hymnis prosequente,  
 dimidium itineris emensum fuisset, et iam ecclesiae, ad quam festinabat, can-  
 tantium populus propinquasset, ecce surdus quidam, cui longa infirmitas aurium  
 meatus clauserat, pro incommoditatis suae remedio corpori sacro propius ac-  
 cesserat, et ut fidelibus ad deportanda Sanctorum corpora moris est, prope lip-  
 sana sacrae Virginis ire religiosum duxerat. 294 contrita mente] cf.  
*Waltherius* 1165: Deprecor at dominum contrita mente benignum.

284 senio] ss. .i. iam in decrepitu existenti. 285 corpus] ss. beate Gudile.  
 286 templum] ss. elegit. 287 quo] ss. templo legit] ss. Gudula legit  
 sepe preces. 289 *In marg.*: Versus: Suscipe lipsona, sperne perisona, tollis  
 arullam Lipsona sanctorum commendat quisque suorum que] ss. lip-  
 sona cum leuitate] ss. leniter. 292 senibus] ss. multis edam] ss. di-  
 cam. 293 surdo] ss. veniente prodam] ss. .i. testabor. 294 phere-  
 trum] ss. capsam veniente] ss. contrita mente veniente ad pheretrum.  
 295 priuatus] ss. iste surdus fuit meatus] ss. transitus auris.

- Auris claudebat. Ibi que putredo latebat,  
 Vt cito curetur, precibus Gudulam reueretur.  
 Huicque repentina porrecta fuit medicina.  
 Protinus audiuit, gentem stupor inde subiuit.
- 300 Letatur sanus, gaudet iuuenis quoque canus.  
 Plausus fecereque viam sic preteriere,  
 Sic intrauere templum, quo constituere  
 Corpus sinchere, quod post aram posuere.  
 Nomen sanctorum serie seritur reliquorum.
- 305 Missa completa gens illa domum bene leta  
 It laudando deum Guduleque stupendo tropheum.  
 Illa luce quidem Rex affuit almus eidem:  
 Sepius ut fecit, miranda nimis patefecit  
 Arbore de quadam. Dictum prius est ab eadem,
- 310 Quomodo creuisset subito florensque fuisset  
 Virginis ad tumbam sacram tutura columbam.

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298/299 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 19: Cuius fidem e vestigio sanitas exequitur repentina, quam meritorum B. Gudilae praestitit medicina. *Hauserat aure sonum, chorus inde stupet populorum.* 300/304 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 19: Idem vero pro receptae sanitatis commodo gratias Deo sanctaeque Virgini egit, atque sacrosanctum ipsius corpus sequendo, reliquum itineris peregit, et cum populis pro novitate rei voces in altum dantibus, ad definitum sancti corporis locum usque pervenit. Ergo in basilicam Sancti Salvatoris sancta ossa introducere, et cum magna laetitia post sacrum altare constituere, et nomen sanctum eius adscribunt iuste in aliorum Sanctorum serie. 305/306 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 19: Cumque solemnia celebrassent Missarum, perfecto honore, laeti redeunt domum, praedicantes sanctae Virginis nomen famosissimum, ac in Sanctis suis mirabilem magnificantes Deum. 307/311 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 20: Hoc vero die, quo translatus est corpus Virginis in basilicam Mortzellensem, virtus Altithroni ad nominis sui laudem, et sanctae Virginis ampliandum honorem, patefecit omnipotentiae suae ostentationem, quam utique propalavit super arborem, cuius superius fecimus mentionem; quae videlicet in vico Ham coeperat crescere ad vestigia sanctae Virginis depositionis eiusdem die.

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297 vt cito curetur] ss. ut sanus fiat reueretur] ss. ipse. 298 huic] ss. isti porrecta] ss. data. 300 letatur sanus] ss. et ipse existens gaudet] ss. letatur. 301 preteriere] ss. transiuere. 302 quo] ss. templo. 303 corpus] ss. Gudule quod] ss. corpus post] ss. retro aram] ss. altare. 304 nomen] ss. Gudule serie] ss. ordine seritur] ss. scribitur. 306 it] ss. vadit.



- Virgine translata prius arbor in Hamme locata  
 Transit Morcellam sacram comitata puellam.  
 Ipsius astabat tumulo. Iam fama volabat  
 315 Maxima, pergentes omnes nimis inde stupentes,  
 Cum magnum villas spatium desinerat illas:  
 Illico creuisse, bruma flores habuisse,  
 Huc transiuisse, loca priscaque deseruisse.  
 Hanc gens miratur. Sed creuit; in hoc operatur  
 320 Virginis obsequia propter pia gratia dya.  
 O quam ditatur homo, qui Xpisto famulatur!  
 Vndique currente fama Karolique mouente  
 Aurem regalem, qui gesserat imperialem  
 Palmam, tot signis auditis carmine dignis,  
 325 Illuc tendebat, quia tanta videre volebat.  
 Postquam cernebat tot mira, stupens remanebat;

f. 17

312/321 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 6, 20: Haec enim arbor olim apposita custos fidissima sanctorum exequiarum, non defecit a suo obsequio, nec in translatione earum. Nam altera die eiusdem translationis, in villam Mortzelle, eadem arbor sacrae Virginis membra fuerat subsecuta, ac in eodem loco tam mirifice radicata, et convenienter transplantata coram praedicti oratorii foribus, quasi ibidem a primordio germinare coepisset ac crescere, cum utraque villa a se invicem decem milliaria distarent. Neque parum est spectaculi, arborem ex eo loco, quo olim sine manibus creverat plantantium, etiam sine manibus subito transisse eradicantium. Quod ad iussum Dei omnipotentis Angelico ministerio actum intelligit, qui divina providentia disponi omnia fideliter credit. 314 fama volabat] cf. *LHL* 2, 221-222. 316 desinerat] anstelle von: *dividerat*? 321 Cf. Hraban., *Carm.* 81, 29: Sicque tuum famulum Christus ditavit honore o quam] cf. *LHL* 4, 2. 322/325 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 21: Huius rei rumor circumquaque decurrit, et per cunctorum ora volitans ad palatium usque pervenit. In tempore illo sceptrum monarchiae Imperialis tenebat Karolus, qui ex trophaeis frequentibus cognominatus est Magnus. Itaque fama pervulgante volucris, certatim studebant illuc adventare tam longinqui quam et proximi, et miraculum, quod Christus ad gloriam suae virginis monstraverat, ardebant, intueri. Rex autem Carolus tam mirificis auditis miraculis, illuc devotus advenit, ubi ex miraculo praedictae arboris res nova spectaculum ipsi iniecit, et ex spectaculo compunctionis gratiam adiecit. 324 carmine dignis] cf. *LHL* 1, 277. 325 tendebat] pendebat *codex*. 326/330 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 21: Qui ut Ecclesiarum Dei amator semper extitit, defensorque strenuus, in cunctis devotissimus, eandem villam Mortzellensem sacrae Virgini testamentis condonavit legalibus, et praedictum praediolum Ham, unde arbor advenerat, sub pluribus idoneis tradidit testibus: ut ibi tota villa deinceps subiecta maneret, ubi primum arbor proccesserat divinitus.

- Hinc apponebat sua donaque precipiebat,  
 Virgineis villa testamentis sit ut illa  
 Prorsus legata; simul Hamme fuit sociata  
 330 Testibus accitis venerabilibusque peritis.  
 Rex et ibi clarum claustrum fecit monacharum,  
 Viuendi tuta dictauit eisque statuta.  
 Hec ad predicta iam testamenta relicta  
 Templo iungebat, in quo pia virgo iacebat.  
 335 Hec datio grata longe stetit inuiolata,  
 Donec Wenmarus hanc vsurpauit auarus.  
 Nec sine vindicta sibi res fuit ista relicta.
- Hinc rex in nemore pergens solito cito more  
 Cepit venari. Quo vidit bruta vagari  
 340 Multa, sed vrsa quidem se maxima pandit ibidem.  
 Hanc qui miratur, rex vrsam concomitatur.

f. 173r

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331/332 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 21: Adiecit insuper praefatus Rex Karolus eo in loco sanctimonialium aggregare catervam, decretisque regalibus facultatem illis famulandi Deo asscripsit satis opportunam. 333/334 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 21: Quae singula testamento mandavit, et subscriptis testibus assignavit, et ecclesiae, in qua Sancta iacebat, in perpetuam hereditatem delegavit. 334 pia virgo] cf. *LHL* 4, 242. 335/337 cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 21: Quae scilicet traditio usque ad Wenemarum rata permansit: cuius usurpatione iniusta, ad posteros suos eadem villa non sine offensa divina pertransiit. 338 solito ... more] cf. *LHL* 5, 213. 338/341 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Post haec memoratus Rex Karolus exercitio venationis more deditus, per circumadiacentem forestam turbabat rapidas feras a suis saltibus: inter quas mirae magnitudinis ursum insequitur.

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327 hinc] ss. postea. 329 legata] ss. .i. in testamento data. 330 accitis] ss. .i. aduocatis et hoc dico peritis] ss. testibus. 331 claustrum] ss. clarum. 332 dictauit] ss. composuit statuta] ss. tuta .i. certa viuendi. 333 *In marg.*: Rex iungebat templo hec bona relicta iam ad predicta testamenta uel sic: Ipse rex .s. Karolus iungebat hec testamenta relicta ad predicta bona hec] ss. bona iam] ss. mox. 334 iungebat] ss. ipse rex in quo] ss. in quo templo iacebat] ss. recubuit. 335 hec datio] ss. .s. hoc testamentum. 336 Wenmarus] ss. ille comes hanc] ss. dationem vsurpauit] ss. male vsu suo destruxit. 337 vindicta] ss. multa sibi] ss. Wenmaro. 338 hinc] ss. postea rex] ss. Karolus nemore] ss. pergens solito] ss. .f. cito] ss. .d.e. more] ss. .f. 339 cepit] ss. .d. venari] ss. .e. cito quo] ss. nemore bruta] ss. multa. 340 quidem] ss. pro certe maxima] ss. vrsa. 341 hanc qui] ss. qui rex miratur hanc vrsam .i. mirando laudat et ipse comitatur hanc vrsam..

- Que iam lassata multo spatioque fugata  
 Vidisset fortis instare pericula mortis,  
 Vllum prodesse nec discursum sibi fesse:  
 345 Campos exiuit, sancti templumque subiuit  
 Iam Saluatoris. En magni signa stuporis!  
 Nam saluans eque dominus viuientia queque,  
 Vrse concessit rationem. Seque repressit  
 Virginis ad sacre feretrum minime genus acre  
 350 Formidans gentis cursu properante sequentis.  
 Statim mansuescit nec plus feritate rigescit:  
 Flexa ceruice vestigia lambit amice  
 Illuc sacrarum que venerunt monacharum.  
 Dulciter allusit nec eas mordendo retrusit.

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342/346 que iam - Saluatoris] Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: qui iam multo spatio victus, cum nullum esset effugium, undique campis late patentibus, ac mortem imminentem iamiamque capiendus crebris differret flexibus, propero cursu tetendit ad Mortzellam, et Sancti Salvatoris irrumpit ecclesiam. 343 instare pericula mortis] = Albert. Stad., *Troil.* 3, 533; vgl. *LHL* 4, 227. 346 en - stuporis] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Tunc rem contigit evenisse, quam facilius erat stupuisse, quam dixisse. 347 Cf. *Psalm.* 35, 7. 347/348 nam - rationem] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Nam Deus, qui, ut scriptum est, homines salvat et iumenta bestialem quodammodo ursi sensum permutavit, rationemque quandam intelligendi in eo formavit. 348/350 seque - sequentis] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Erat namque cernere prope lipsana sacrae Virginis se admisisse, et sub tanta protectrice, a strepitu insequentium iam securum, procubuisse. 351/354 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Ibi subito oblitus feritatis suae, deflexa cervice, submissoque humiliter capite, Sanctimonialium advenientium coepit vestigia lambere, ac more lascivientium catulorum omnibus aggaudere. 352 flexa ceruice] cf. *LHL* 2, 300 vestigia lambit] cf. *LHL* 5, 586.

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342 que] ss. vrsa (spatio)que ss. et que vrsa. 343 vidisset] ss. cum fortis] ss. mortis instare] ss. incumbere uel minere. 345 exiuit] ss. ipsa vrsa (templum)que] ss. et ipsa vrsa. 346 Saluatoris] ss. sancti stuporis] ss. magni(!) ammirationis. 347 saluans] ss. .i. saluare volens eque] ss. equaliter queque] ss. cuncta. 348 concessit] ss. saluator noster (se)que repressit] ss. et illa vrsa. 349 minime] ss. non formidans acre genus gentis sequentis eam vrsam properante cursu. 350 formidans] ss. timens gentis] ss. hominum sequentis] ss. imitantis. 351 statim] ss. et ipsa vrsa mansuescit] ss. mansueta fit rigescit] ss. et ipsa non. 352 lambit] ss. ipsa lambit amicabiliter vestigia sanctarum monacharum que monache venerunt illuc, et hoc dico ceruice vrsae flexa ad pedes earum supple. 354 eas] ss. monachas retrusit] ss. nec vrsa.

- 355 Noscens saluari se per Gudilam, famulari  
 Ammodo vult illi. Super hoc magnique pusilli  
 Mirantur. Tandem cum rex rem nouit eandem,  
 Vrse parcebat laudesque deo referebat  
 Virgine pro sancta danti miracula tanta.
- 360 Fit fera mansueta quondam feritate repleta,  
 Complens ad nutum monacharum singula brutum.
- Facta stupenda lege de quodam denique rege,  
 Qui genuit natam nimis in membris maculatam,  
 Quam male vexauit morbus quoque debilitauit!
- 365 Cui mulier quedam sompnis apparet ut edam  
 Dicens: "Sospes eris, Gudile si lipsona queris".

f. 173v

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355/356 noscens - illi] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Unde patenter dabat intelligi, se fuisse defensatum patrocinio famulae Dei, eiusque amodo paratum esse deservire obsequiis. 356/359 super hoc - tanta] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Quod ubi nuntiatum est Regi, cum suis rem, quae in bestia divinitus agebatur, intellexit: Deique magnalia in virgine amplectens, recessit, sine eiusdem ursi quidem laesione, sed non sine rei, quam viderat in urso, admiratione. 358 laudesque deo referebat] cf. *LHL* 3, 176. 359 miracula tanta] cf. *LHL* 3, 370. 360 feritate repleta] cf. *LHL* 2, 252. 360/361 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 7, 22: Idem vero ursus desistens esse silvaticus, coepit esse domesticus, et in reliquum apud eiusdem loci sanctimoniales non aliter vixit, quam sententia omnium ibi manentium ipsi indixit. 362/364 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 23: Operae pretium mihi videtur non praetermitti silentio, qualiter eandem famulam suam clarificaverit opifex rerum per fines transmarinos. Ibi siquidem Rex quidam regebat populos sub placida pace, qui susceperat filiam ex legitima coniuge. Huic autem prima nativitatis dies dedit initium vitae cum membrorum labe, quam languor coaevus debilitate contraxerat. 365/366 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 23: Cui in visu persona mulieris, vultu et statura spectabilis, apparuit, eamque sospitatis suae indicia ad tumultum Virginis Gudilae iam cito futurae edocuit.

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355 noscens] ss. Ipsa vrsa sciens se saluari per beatam Gudilam vult famulari ammodo illi beate Gudile. 356 super] ss. de quo magnique] ss. homines pusilli] ss. homines. 357 mirantur] ss. ammirati sunt tandem] ss. ultimo cum] ss. quando rex] ss. Karolus eandem] ss. rem. 358 referebat] ss. dedit. 359 virgine] ss. beata Gudila danti] ss. Xpisto miracula] ss. tanta. 360 fera] ss. .i. vrsa. 361 complens] ss. ipsum brutum .i. ipsa vrsa complens singula ad nutum ipsarum monacharum. 362 facta stupenda] ss. ammiranda miracula lege] ss. o lector denique] ss. ultimo. 363 qui] ss. rex natam] ss. filiam. 364 male] ss. difficulter debilitauit] ss. debilem effecit. 365 cui] ss. nate apparet] ss. apparuit causa metri ut edam] ss. ut dicam. 366 dicens] ss. ipsa mulier .d. o filia eris sana lipsona] ss. .i. scumbria.

- Experrecta patri retulit predictaque matri.  
 Hinc qui letantur, sed rursus sollicitantur,  
 Cum loca nescirent, ad que velociter irent.  
 370 Visio tunc rursus redijt: "Mea filia sursum",  
 Dicens, "Fer mentem puram virtute vigentem!"  
 Filia tunc flere cepit nimiumque dolere,  
 Vexauit se queque plorando nocte dieque.  
 Visio nocte quidem trina presens fit eidem  
 375 Declarans multa, nascens vbi sitque sepulta,  
 Quo detranslata fuerat quoque virgo beata  
 Et quod sanctarum sit ibi claustrum monacharum,  
 Que cum feruore Gudule psallunt in honore.  
 Hijs <notis> patrem constat gaudereque matrem.

367/369 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 23: Expergefata autem, patri et matri quae viderat retulit, stuporemque ipsis exinde intulit: quibus provisione gaudium quidem crevit, sed quia locum ignorabant, sollicitudo tristitiam dedit. 369 velociter irent] cf. *LHL* 5, 522. 370/371 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 23: Tunc nocte insequente eadem visio puellae apparuit, utque bonis operibus esset intenta, admonuit. 371 virtute vigentem] cf. *LHL* 5, 659. 372/378 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 23: Quae a somno excitata, noctem illam diemque sequentem lamentationibus transegit, donec tertia se nocte eadem, quae ante apparuit, mulier praesto dedit, et consolationis viam primum ingressa edocuit, quo B. Gudila pago orta, ubi post mortem sepulta, et ad quem locum postea esset translata: adiiciens etiam sanctimonialium catervam, quietis ipsius loco congregatam, atque ad obsequium eius fidei signo subarrhatam. 373 nocte dieque] cf. *LHL* 3, 520-523. 376 virgo beata] cf. *LHL* 5, 632. 379/381 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Mane ergo iis, quae viderat, publice enarratis, patreque et matre pro his in gaudium excitatis, navi una cum militum manu imponitur; emenso mari ad locum, ubi virgo Dei sedem suae quietis elegerat, provehitur.

367 experrecta] ss. filia. 368 hinc qui] ss. propter istud parentes sollicitantur] ss. .i. contristantur. 369 nescirent] ss. ignorarent velociter] ss. cum festinatione. 370 visio] ss. apparitio redijt] ss. dicens o. 371 dicens] ss. visio mentem] ss. cor vigentem] ss. mentem. 372 filia] ss. nata illius regis incepit dolere] ss. contristari. 373 vexauit] ss. fatigauit queque] ss. que filia nocte] ss. in dieque] ss. et inde. 374 nocte] ss. trina quidem] ss. pro certe eidem] ss. filie. 375 declarans] ss. manifestans multa] ss. facta nascens] ss. et ibi Gudila fuit (sit)que] ss. et sepulta] ss. sit. 376 quo] ss. loco detranslata] ss. deportata virgo] ss. sancta Gudila. 377 et] ss. et declarans ibi] ss. vbi sepulta erat monacharum] ss. sanctarum. 378 que] ss. monache cum feruore] ss. feruentes psallunt] ss. cantant honore] ss. beate. 379 hijs] ss. et hoc dico notis constat] ss. .i. certum est gaudereque] ss. letari.

- 380 Per mare tunc egre placuit transire peregre:  
Ad terram vehitur, qua, quod petijt, reperitur.  
Statim descendit, ad sacraque membra tetendit:  
Per triduum gratis votis ibi multiplicatis  
Iam sospes fieri meruit. Cepitque fateri
- 385 Xpistum tam dignum dantem pro virgine signum,  
Ritu pagano sit adhuc licet vsa prophano,  
Trans mare regressa summum regemque professa.  
Gaudet abinde pater, stupet et credit pia mater;  
Gaudent vi nateque stupent facti nouitate
- 390 Inque deum credunt, sic ex errore recedunt. f. 174r  
Rex mare transiuit tandem claustrumque subiuit  
Donis oblati, babbismum spe pietatis

382/384 statim - meruit] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Ubi sanctimonialibus suscepta, ac prope lipsana sacrae Virginis posita, orationis instantia ab eisdem per triduum fovetur: tandemque sospitatem, quam oraculo accepturam se didicit, meretur.

385/387 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Sicque membrorum officio roborata, atque incredibilibus super hoc gaudiis excitata, licet adhuc paganis detenta ritibus haberetur, Deum in tanta Virgine miraculis coruscantem profitetur, ad patriam repedat, Deum Christianorum publice praedicat. 388 pia mater] cf. *LHL* 4, 241. 388/390 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Cuius incolumitas stuporem, gaudium et fidem Regi suisque dedit; stuporem, rei novitate; gaudium, in filiae recuperatione; fidem, in unius Dei confessione.

391/393 rex - Xpisti] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Tandem et ipse ad coenobium sacrae Virginis, satis terrarum marisque emensus, una cum plurimis regni sui viris est adductus, baptismumque quibusdam suarum rerum copiis ibidem oblati, est adeptus.

380 egre] ss. filie. 381 vehitur] ss. filia qua] ss. terra reperitur] ss. illud quod ipsa petijt. 382 statim] ss. subito descendit] ss. nata membra] ss. beate Gudile. 383 per triduum] ss. per tres dies votis] ss. et hoc dico multiplicatis] ss. multipliciter factis. 384 sospes] ss. sana fieri] ss. effici meruit] ss. fateri] ss. Xpistum dantem tam dignum signum pro virgine. 385 dignum] ss. signum virgine] ss. beata. 386 ritu] ss. more pagano] ss. gentili sit] ss. filia licet] ss. quamuis prophano] ss. malo gentili more. 387 trans] ss. b mare] ss. b regressa] ss. ipsa a (regem)que] ss. et est. 388 abinde] ss. propter hoc. 389 gaudent] ss. parentes vi] ss. pietate (wahrscheinlich wird hier nicht *pietate* (abgekürzt: *piate*), sondern *potestate* (abgekürzt: *ptate*) gemeint.) stupent] ss. ammirantur. 390 credunt] ss. pater et mater recedunt] ss. ipsi parentes. 391 rex] ss. predictus tandem] ss. in fine claustrumque] ss. beate Gudule in Morcella. 392 donis oblati] ss. et hoc dico immolatis spe] ss. pietatis] ss. salutis eterne.

- Suscipiens Xpisti. Temploque reliquerat isti  
 Vas simul argenti, quod complacuit bene genti.  
 395 Claustum dimisit eius patriamque reuisit;  
 Gliscens, ut tota gens sit bap̃tismate lota,  
 Fecit preceptum longe lateque receptum  
 Dicens: "Filioli, Xpisto vos credite soli!"  
 Arcens a terra quemuis Grecum truce guerra  
 400 Insequitur Xpistum. Sic regem multa per istum  
 Gens saluabatur. O quantum magnificatur  
 Gloria signorum, que corda fouent populorum!  
 Terris et celis veneratur virgo fidelis.

393/394 temploque - genti] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Post cuius perceptionem eidem beatae Virgini vas argenteum condonavit, quod in deferendis ad ecclesiam oblatis longo post tempore ibidem manentium aetas conservavit.

395/398 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Interea regressus patriam cum suis reuiscit, ut omnes sui regni homines baptis̃mi fonte abluerentur, decretum dedit: quod late divulgatum, in unum credere Deum fecit. 396 bap̃tismate lota] cf. *LHL* 1, 187-188. 397 longe lateque] cf. *LHL* 3, 220. 399/401 arcens - saluabatur] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Postremum, nullum permisit regno militare suo, qui per paganismum rebelasset Christi regno. Sic per salutem unius, multis prouenit animarum salus. 401/402 o quantum - populorum] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Sed nec dubitare debet, quanta inter circummanentes signorum gloria fulserit, quae etiam longe remotos populos illustravit miraculis. 403 virgo fidelis] cf. *LHL* 5, 633. 403/409 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 8, 24: Magna vere in caelis et in terris eius gloria, magna aequae ipsi apud Deum inueniendi, quae postulat, efficacia; cuius meritis obtinentibus, veri notitia Dei transmarinis data est gentibus: non illis, quos vocant Anglos; iam enim illi docente Augustino in Christum crediderant, quem admirabili viro, Gregorio auctore docentem meruerant: sed longe nimirum remotioribus, in infidelitatis coeno cum temporis sordescitibus.

393 suscipiens] ss. ipse rex baptismum Xpisti et hoc spe pietatis reliquerat] ss. ipse rex isti] ss. templo. 394 vas] ss. vnum ut puto turribulum vas genti] ss. omni populo. 395 claustum] ss. predictum dimisit] ss. rex patriamque] ss. terram reuiscit] ss. ipse iterum visitauit. 396 gliscens] ss. ipse rex tota gens] ss. de sua terra bap̃tismate lota] ss. .i. ut sit baptizata. 397 fecit] ss. ipse preceptum] ss. receptum lateque] ss. .i. ample receptum] ss. preceptum. 398 dicens] ss. ipse rex filioli] ss. o vos Xpisto] ss. soli credite] ss. vos soli] ss. Xpisto. 399 arcens] ss. ipse rex a patria sua Grecum] ss. hominem qui homo insequitur Xpistum crudeli impugnatione. 400 insequitur] ss. imitatur regem] ss. istum. 401 gens] ss. multa magnificatur] ss. extollitur. 402 signorum] ss. istorum que] ss. signa corda] ss. fouent populorum] ss. pectora gentium. 403 terris] ss. in veneratur] ss. reueretur virgo] ss. beata.

- Per res nunc gestas patet eius magna potestas,  
 405 Per cuius merita fit Xpisti gratia scita  
 Pagane genti trans pontum grande manenti.  
 Non fuit Anglorum gens hec, conuersio quorum  
 Ex Augustino precessit in arte supino;  
 Sed plus distabat, viciis heresique vacabat.
- 410 Clastrum prefatum longe stetit inuiolatum.  
 Diuitijs creuit, in honore diu requieuit:  
 Tandem vergente nimis ad terrestria gente,  
 In cupida mente simul ambitione vigente,  
 Demone suadente subuertere nos cupiente,

f. 174v

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405 Xpisti gratia] cf. *LHL* 1, 335. 410 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 25: Ratum quidem erat sanctimonialium inibi floruisse religionem, et usque ad Hunnorum irruptionem. 411/417 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 25: Qualiter autem cum eis sanctimonialibus actum sit, et in Mortzellensi villa religio supradicta defuerit, sequens sermo declarabit. Post multa et magna miracula ostensa in vico Mortzelle dispensatione Domini, collocata sanctimonialium congregatione inibi in honore dilectae Deo Gudilae Virginis, multiplicata populorum malitia, laeta et prospera turbavit diaboli versutia. Ipse quippe adversarius noster, qui bonis invidet, et malis aggaudet, tum tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem devoret, si qua adhuc virtutum vestigia remanserant in terris, nititur omni impietatis abolere molimine.

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404 per res] ss. per miracula iam pridem prefata patet] ss. manifesta est potestas] ss. beate Gudule videlicet. 405 cuius] ss. Gudule fit] ss. ipsi Xpisti] ss. dei scita] ss. manifesta. 406 pagane genti] ss. increduli(!) populo pontum] ss. mare grande] ss. magnum manenti] ss. habitanti in marg. Ipsi pagane genti manente trans pontum .i. vltra magnum mare. 407 non fuit] ss. hec gens de qua loquitur non fuit Anglorum, conuersio quorum Anglorum precessit ex Augustino supino .i. subleuato in arte. 408 Augustino] ss. beato arte] ss. scientia supino] ss. alto in marg. Augustine pater mutata <p>este tua ter, Qui factus frater bis candidus et semel acer, Qui bonus heres es Xpisti fidei <quoque> preses: Humanas hereses non sis pessumdare deses. 409 sed plus] ss. abhinc quia remotius multum vacabat] ss. illa gens intendebat vicijs et heresi .i. incredulitati. Versus: Est heresis secta sensus uel opinio dicta. 410 prefatum] ss. predictum longe] ss. longo tempore inuiolatum] ss. intactum. 411 creuit] ss. claustrum honore] ss. in bona pace requieuit] ss. et claustrum. 412 tandem] ss. in fine vergente] ss. inclinante gente ad terrestria] ss. ad mundana bona gente] ss. et hoc dico. 413 cupida] ss. mente mente] ss. et hoc dico ambitione] ss. desiderio vigente] ss. radicata. 414 demone] ss. et hoc dico suadente] ss. consulente hoc predictum cupiente] ss. et hoc dico et demone.



- 415 Vndique querente, quem deuorat, atque repente  
 Fraudibus implente mundum, quoque ius abolente,  
 Tristicijs plena tot seuit in orbe venena.  
 Insimul, ut gentes sunt prelia sua gerentes,  
 Natio Danorum Lothoringos vi rutilorum  
 420 Impetit armorum. Templis periuntibus horum,  
 Peste colonorum res preda fit. Heu vitiorum  
 Fomes erat tantus: vix possum dicere, quantus!  
 Clastrum Morcelle factum sub honore puelle  
 Sacre dant igni gentiles fraude maligni,

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415 querente, quem deuorat] cf. *I Petr.* 5, 8: diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret. 418 prelia sua] cf. *LHL* 4, 369.

418/422 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 25: Ut iacula atrocitatis suae per corpora exterius transmitteret liberius, (heu dolor et facinus!) primo venena sua in anima diffudit interius, tanto gravius, quanto abundantius. Sic, ut diximus, ascendente ad Dominum clamore nequitiae Christianorum, ut similem invenirent poenam, fines Lotharingiae gens invadit Danorum. Sanctuaria vertebantur in derisum, in praedam substantiae incolarum. 423/424 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 25: Ita pace turbata, res coenobii Mortzelensis paullatim diripit adversariorum insatiabilis cupiditas. 424 fraude maligni] cf. *LHL* 2, 348-349.

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415 querente] ss. et hoc dico quem] ss. hominem repente] ss. subito. 416 fraudibus] ss. et hoc dico demone implente repente mundum fraudibus abolente] ss. et hoc dico ipso etiam. 417 plena] ss. impleta seuit] ss. demon in orbe venena] ss. plena tristicijs. 418 ut gentes] ss. vt ipsa sunt gentes sua] ss. crudelia gerentes] ss. facientes. 419 natio] ss. terra Danorum] ss. illorum hominum Lothoringos] ss. illos de Lothoringis vi rutilorum] ss. per vim armorum splendentium. 420 impetit] ss. Lothoringos templis] ss. et hoc dico horum] ss. Danorum et Lothoringorum. 421 peste] ss. morborum colonorum] ss. res preda fit] ss. fit spoliū heu] ss. proch dolor. 422 fomes] ss. alimentum erat] ss. extiterat possum ss. queo dicere] ss. narrare quantus] ss. fomes erat. 423 clastrum] ss. factum Morcelle] ss. in illo loco puelle] ss. sancte Gudule. 424 sacre] ss. puelle dant] ss. comburunt gentiles] ss. homines fraude] ss. in.

- 425 Membris portatis in Capre monte sacratis.  
 Huius causa rei quoque tante perniciiei  
 Est germanorum dissentio magna duorum,  
 Reg[n]um Francorum: quia rex ferus Austraciorum  
 In fratres mouit, sed pacem postea vouit.  
 430 Federe firmato redijt cursu properato  
 Ad propriam terram; cum Normannis cito guerram

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425/432 membris - ibi] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 26: Qua tempestate, metu paganorum agente, sanctissimae virginis Gudilae corpus a supradicto coenobio, in locum, qui dicitur Capraemons, deportatur. Interea pagani impietatis suae funiculos latius protendentes, atque rapinae vastationisque fomitem magis magisque sitientes, quaecumque poterant consumptionis fine perdidere, nec etiam a coenobio Mortzelensi manum abstinuere. Nam igni ab eis crematum, et irremediabili malo temere est invasum: ita ut nullum nostro nunc tempori reliquerint indicium: sicut nobis Dominica voce testatur Evangelium (*Mat.* 12,25; *Luc.* 11, 17): Omne regnum in se divisum, desolabitur. Ludovicus rex Austrasiorum, fines Francorum iniuste invasit contra fratres suos. Facta itaque pactione inter eos, datisque sacramentis cum reverteretur, Nortmannis, qui erant progressi usque Carbonariam, in loco, qui dicitur Timnim obviavit supradictus Rex, qui Austrasiis imperaverat: cum quibus absque mora confligit, et Deo propitiantie, ex eis maximam partem gladio stravit. Reliqui in fugam dilapsi, in fisco regio se communiunt, deinde noctu diffugiunt, et ad classem gressum dirigunt. 430 federe firmato] cf. *LHL* 2, 316.

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425 membris] ss. et hoc dico sacratis portatis] ss. translatis in Capre monte] ss. in illo loco sacratis] ss. membris sancte Gudule. 426 huius] ss. rei quoque] ss. pro et perniciiei] ss. malicie. 427 germanorum] ss. .i. fratrum dissentio] ss. magna duorum germanorum erat causa huius rei et erat causa tante perniciiei. 428 Francorum] ss. ipsorum ferus] ss. crudelis Austraciorum] ss. de illa patria. 429 in] ss. .i. contra fratres] ss. suos fratres pacem] ss. confederationem vouit] ss. rex Austraciorum promisit. 430 federe] ss. et hoc dico redijt] ss. rex Francorum. 431 ad propriam terram] ss. .s. ad Franciam Normannis] ss. illis hominibus guerram] ss. prelia.

Pertractauit ibi. Possent hic plurima scribi.  
Sed quia sunt extra metas, pauset mea dextra.

432/433 possent - dextra] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 27: Postea Walam fluvium ingressi, in Niumago ad regium palatium applicuerunt, ibique castra posuerunt. Quod factum cum ad notitiam Ludovici perlatum esset, absque dilatione cum exercitu venit, et munitionem obsidione clausit. Conserto cum eis nonnullis diebus certamine, non adeo praevaluit: quia palatium ingentis magnitudinis mirique operis, hostibus tutissimum praebebat receptaculum. Postremo Rex accepta pollicitatione, quod si ab obsidione cessaret, Nortmanni continuo de regno eius discederent, cum omnibus copiis recessit. Illo recedente, pagani palatium una cum munitione exurentes flammis, navibus ascensis, maiori numero congregato, cum inaestimabili multitudine peditum et equitum consederunt in loco, qui dicitur Haslon, iuxta Mosam. Et primo impetu finitima loca depopulantes, Leodium civitatem, Traiectum castrum, Tungrensem urbem incendio cremant. Secunda incursione Ribuariorum finibus effusi, caedibus, rapinis ac incendiis cuncta devastant, Coloniam Agrippinam, Bonnam, civitates cum adjacentibus castellis, Tulpiacum, Vulpiacum et Nussam igne comburunt. Post haec Aquis palatium, Inde, Malmundarias et Stabulaus monasteria in favillam redigunt, Arduennam percurrentes. Prumiam monasterium ingrediuntur ipso die Epiphaniae Domini, interfectis omnibus, quos ibi invenerunt, monasterium igne consumunt, et onerati praeda, ad castra redeunt. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 28: Dum haec aguntur, Ludovicus Rex apud Francofort moritur. Nortmanni audita morte Regis, nimio exultabant tripudio et iam non de conflictu, sed de praeda cogitabant. Igitur cum omni festinatione exeunt, et Treverirorum civitatem nobilissimam die sacratissimo Coenae Domini occupant: in qua usque ad sanctum diem Paschae fessa ab itinere corpora recreantes, omne territorium urbis circumquaque usque ad solum demoliti sunt. Deinde civitatem flammis exurentes, Mediomatricum dirigunt aciem. Quod cum reperisset eiusdem urbis Antistes adiunctis sibi aliis Episcopis vel Comitibus, ultro illis obviam ad pugnam procedit. Inito certamine, Nortmanni victores extiterunt, et Episcopo interfecto, ceteri fugerunt. Pagani iter, quod coeperant, deserentes, cum ingenti praeda, summa celeritate ad classem revertuntur. Iisdem vero temporibus Carolus, huius nominis et dignitatis tertius licet gravibus et multimodis regni negotiis occupatus, tamen adversantes Nortmannos, Deo auxilium ferente, regno depulit. *Vita II*, Cap. 9, 29: Postea vero gens Hungarorum finibus suis egressa, regnum Baviariorum ac Lotharingiae occupat, caedibus, rapinis ac incendiis omnia vastat, et usque ad Carbonariam silvam igne et praeda est demolita. Sed Otto senior tunc temporis Imperator, multimodis regni et suorum Procerum impeditus incommoditatibus, dum adversantes non cohibet hostes censura regiae severitatis, maiorem et graviores licentiam iniustitiam faciendi tribuit etiam domesticis. Bellum tamen contra Hungarios susceptum, Deo misericorditer dispensante et pro suis pugnante, satis feliciter peractum est. Rex ipse Hungariorum cum suis Principibus captus est: ceteri vero interfecti et funditus sunt extincti.

432 pertractauit] ss. ipse rex Francorum plurima] ss. de bellis scribi] ss. pertractari. 433 extra metas] ss. .i. non ad propositum pertinentia pauset] ss. requiescat dextra] ss. scribendi.

- Ergo recedente paganorum truce gente,  
 135 Pace restaurata, Gudile sunt ossa relata  
 Ad claustrum dudum, quod nunc fuerat quasi nudum,  
 Pastores pecudum quo nunc faciunt sibi ludum.  
 Sunt ibi seruata necnon tantum venerata,  
 Quantum permisit paupertas. Postea misit  
 140 Demon Wenmarum crudelem plus et auarum  
 Gentili gente, qui claustrum iura repente  
 Vsurpauit ei. Proch fomes spurcitiei,  
 Qui ferior brutis! Nec erat sibi cura salutis:  
 Verbis, non opere baptismum visus habere;  
 145 Fertur habere fidem verbis, non actibus idem,

f. 175r

434/437 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Igitur post tanta et talia regni flagitia recedentibus paganis, B. Gudilae corpus ad praescriptum coenobium, ab Danis iam in nihilum redactum, rediit. 437 pastores pecudum] cf. *LHL* 4, 144.

438/439 sunt ibi - paupertas] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Quod quamquam hostium irruptione suique destructione vilescebat, beatae tamen Virginis corpus ibidem servabatur, eaque reverentia, qua loci eiusdem valuit paupertas, venerabatur. 439/447 postea - aurum] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: donec

Wenmarus quidam subintravit, qui ut altera pestis eundem locum iniusto possidendi desiderio usurpavit, et omni crudelior bellua, specie Christianus, non opere, paganos ipsos nimia vicit crudelitate. Bona Ecclesiastica in usus suos, et suorum stipendia satis audacter praesumpsit vindicare. 443 cura salutis] cf. *LHL* 1, 535.

434 paganorum] ss. illorum incredulium gente] ss. et hoc dico. 435 pace] ss. et hoc dico etiam restaurata] ss. confirmata relata] ss. reportata. 436 ad claustrum] ss. videlicet claustrum dudum erat in Morcella quod] ss. quod claustrum nudum] ss. fuerat. 437 pecudum] ss. animalium quo] ss. in quo claustrum ludum] ss. ioca. 438 ibi] ss. in illo loco necnon] ss. sancte Gudule venerata] ss. et honorata tantum. 439 permisit] ss. sustinuit paupertas] ss. ipsa. 440 demon] ss. dyabolus misit Wenmarum] ss. i. illum virum crudelem] ss. plus avarum] ss. et plus ipso gentili populo. 441 gentili gente] ss. illo populo qui] ss. Wenmarus iura] ss. privilegia. 442 vsurpauit] ss. malo vsu suo attraxit ei spurcitiei] ss. totius malicie erat. 443 qui] ss. Wenmarus brutis] ss. animalibus sibi] ss. Wenmaro salutis] ss. eterne. 444 verbis] ss. loquelis opere] ss. facto baptismum] ss. gratie visus] ss. ipse est habere] ss. baptismum in verbis non autem opere. 445 fertur] ss. et idem Wenmarus actibus] ss. operationibus idem] ss. Wenmarus.

- Excedens late gentiles in feritate,  
 Sumens thesaurum templi, simul eius et aurum.  
 Sunt ab egestate moniales inde fugate,  
 Que sunt vastate duce sicut oues viduate  
 450 Et quasi balantes sunt circumquaque vagantes.  
 Preterea si que moriuntur, dictus inique  
 Non loca suppleuit, que legit nec sata seuit;  
 Turbans viuentes, denudauit morientes.  
 Qui nece sublatu non prole fuit viduatus:  
 455 Herme(n)fridus eo peior similis Phariseo  
 A patre detenta bona templi siue talenta  
 Contradicente nullo tenuit violente.  
 Illo tempore nam virtutem credo serenam

448/450 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: et ancillas Christi iniuriis et egestate coactas, compulit fugere, et ut oves sine pastore circumquaque vagantes errare.  
 451/453 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Si quam praeterea de numero Deo seruentium mors occupabat, locum eius avaritia Uvenemari supplere nolebat: sed non mirum erat, quippe qui et viventibus sua denegabat. 452 non] iam *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: locum ... supplere nolebat). 454/457 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Hoc tandem iusto Dei iudicio tam animae quam corporis morte damnato, dolet Ecclesia ipsum reliquisse filios. Quorum unus Hermenfridus res Ecclesiae supradictae invasas iniuste, non timuit mortuo patre suscipere, et quidem per aliquot annos sine alicuius contradictione vel defensione. 458 illo tempore] cf. *LHL* 3, 26. 458/460 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Hoc enim tempore, ut clamaret veritas scripturae, neque Rex, neque Dux in Israel erat: sed unusquisque in via cordis sui ambulabat (*Iudic.* 17, 6).

446 excedens] ss. ipse Wenmarus gentiles] ss. ipsos feritate] ss. crudelitate. 447 sumens] ss. ipse accipiens eius] ss. templi.  
 448 ab egestate] ss. propter paupertatem moniales] ss. de Morcella fugate] ss. repulse. 449 que] ss. moniales vastate] ss. .i. de oues] ss. sicut oues pastore priuate. 450 quasi balantes] ss. et sicut oues vagantes] ss. ambulantes. 451 preterea] ss. vort meer que] ss. moniales dictus] ss. .i. predictus Wenmarus. 452 non loca] ss. quia ipsemet accepit prebendas legit] ss. nec ipse seuit semina que legit .i. col-legit. 453 turbans] ss. ipse perturbans viuentes] ss. moniales denudauit] ss. ipse similiter morientes] ss. moniales. 454 qui] ss. qui Wenmarus sublatu] ss. morte fuit] ss. ipse Wenmarus. 455 Herme(n)fridus] ss. filius suus eo] ss. Wenmaro. 456 patre] ss. suo Wenmaro talenta] ss. thesauros. 457 contradicente] ss. et hoc dico nullo] ss. nullo homine tenuit] ss. ipse violente] ss. a: uel violente potest poni aduerbialiter et tunc construetur post hoc verbum tenuit. 458 nam] ss. pro quia virtutem] ss. serenam serenam] ss. virtutem claram fidem exisse ter-ras illo tempore.

- Terras exisseve medullitus occubuisse,  
 460 Ad proprium nutum quia gens vixit quasi brutum:  
 Creuit auaritia, tepuit sed vera sophia,  
 Fraudes magnatum reddunt ius suppeditatum.  
 Tunc piguit regesque duces deffendere leges;  
 Qui presideruntve, tueri non potuerunt.  
 465 Ecclesias cuique spoliare licebat inique.  
 Que dum patrabant, non se spectare putabant.

f. 175v

- <I>mprium mundo post hec Ottone secundo  
 Seruanti, natus Francorum regis amatus  
 Lotharij Karolus, fidei cultor quasi solus,  
 470 Dux fuit - ut sensi - sub regno Lothoriensi.  
 Qui perturbari dolet imperiumque negari

461/466 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 30: Tanta namque aliorum malorum pericula, tanta undique adversitatum creverant incommoda, tanta insuper Principum erat negligentia, vel defensorum impotentia, ut res ecclesiarum minui vel diripi in his finibus ab aliquo, iam esset pro minimo. 467 Ottone] octoue *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Ottone II tenente Imperium). 467/470 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Post haec Ottone II tenente Imperium, Carolus frater Lotharii Regis Francorum in regno Lothariensi adeptus est Ducatum. 471/474 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Qui statum Imperii dolens perturbari multipliciter, ad melioranda negotia multorum, animum advertit solerter. Unde inter cetera res ablatas Ecclesiae Mortzelensi invasorum partibus nisus est subtrahere, et S. Gudilae famulantibus restituere.

459 terras] ss. mundum (exisse)ve] ss. pro uel medullitus] ss. totaliter occubuisse] ss. mortua<m> fuisse. 460 nutum] ss. voluntatem gens] ss. omnis homo brutum] ss. animal. 461 creuit] ss. tunc temporis in mundo sophia] ss. sapientia. 462 fraudes] ss. doli principum reddunt] ss. dant suppeditatum] ss. annihilatum. 463 tunc] ss. tunc temporis piguit] ss. impersonaliter (reges)que] ss. et piguit etiam duces leges] ss. iura. 464 qui presiderunt] ss. illi qui presides fuerunt potuerunt] ss. ipsi. 465 ecclesias] ss. templa cuique] ss. homini inique] ss. praue. 466 que dum] ss. que predicta peccata dum quando ipsi patrabant, non putabant. 467 imperium] ss. s<c>eprum imperiale hec] ss. predicta Ottone] ss. illo rege et hoc dico. 468 seruanti] ss. tenenti natus] ss. Karolus existens amatus natus .i. dulcis filius Lotharij. 469 Lotharij] ss. illius regis Karolus] ss. existens fidei cultor] ss. Karolus inquam quasi solus cultor fidei. 470 dux] ss. ipse Karolus sensi] ss. percepi. 471 qui] ss. qui rex uel dux Karolus regnum imperiale et qui dolet etiam ius.

- Ius, cupiens eque reperire negotia queque,  
 Res quoque subtracta[n]s Gudile prauisque subactas  
 Instanter poscit, ut clauistro reddere possit.  
 475 Noscere sed poteris leuiter, si cautus haberis,  
 Qualiter assueta longa feritate repleta  
 Sunt emendandaque statu meliore locanda.  
 Dux conabatur, ut raptum restituatur.  
 Proditor obstabat, falsos testesque vocabat,  
 480 Qui iurant, heres quod erat super ecclesie res.  
 Vi prestante ducis, eterne nescia lucis

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473 res] rex *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: res ablatas). 475/477 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Sed quivis scire potest facile, quam difficile corrigantur, quae in consuetudinem venerunt diutina dilatione. 476 (longa) feritate repleta] cf. *LHL* 2, 252. 477 emendandaque] enarrandaque *codex* (cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: quam difficile corrigantur). 478/480 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Sua loco sancto volebat reddere industria Caroli Ducis, sed obstabat audacia per-vasoris, nec Deum timentis, nec hominem reverentis. Insurgunt testes iniqui, et mentita est iniquitas sibi: Hermenfridum omnes suae partis clamant esse patris successorem, et paterni boni haeredem. 481/488 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Ducis autem praevalente potentia, Hermenfridus sui que complices amantes terrena, parvipendentes caelestia, inuito consilio invasas terras retinent sibi, et pretiosam margaritam, omnibus datis comparandam, corpus scilicet S. Gudilae dant bono negotiatori, Carolo videlicet glorioso duci. O miseros et miserandos omni modo, qui instar brutorum animalium terram respicientes pectore prono, ac ventri obediens, non Deo, ipsi se indignos iudicant tanto dono!

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472 cupiens] ss. et ipse eque] ss. iuste negotia] ss. iura prius violata.  
 473 res] ss. .b. quoque] ss. .a. subtracta[n]s] ss. .h. res Gudile] ss.  
 res prauisque] ss. illis hominibus subactas] ss. et res .s. subditas.  
 474 instanter] ss. diligenter .d. poscit] ss. rex .c. ut] ss. .e. clauistro]  
 ss. .g. reddere] ss. res .f. possit] ss. ut ipse .e. 475 noscere] ss.  
 scrutari leuiter] ss. faciliter cautus] ss. sapiens. 476 qualiter assueta]  
 ss. assueta repleta longa feritate sunt enarranda .i. irradicanda et locanda  
 meliore. 477 emendandaque] enarrandaque ss. remouenda *codex* locan-  
 da] ss. reformanda. 478 dux] ss. predictus raptum] ss. sublatum *in*  
*margin.* Nota: Omne quod est raptum uel ineptum uel male captum, Fratribus est  
 aptum, hoc est cum Simone captum (Cf. H. Walther, *Sententiae* 19862: Omne  
 quod est raptum uel furtum uel male captum, Fratribus est aptum, si sit  
 cum demone factum.) 479 proditor] ss. ille falsus qui detinuit bona sancte  
 Gudile vocabat] ss. et ipse adduxit. 480 qui iurant] ss. testes quod]  
 ss. quod ille proditor erat heres super res ecclesie. 481 vi prestante] ss. et hoc  
 dico vi preuallente eterne] ss. gens nescia eterne salutis fecit nimium incon-  
 sulte et stulte.

- Gens inconsulte nimium fecit quoque stulte :  
 Vt teneat preda, Gudule corpus michi credas  
 Iam Karolo tradit. Sic ad decliua uadit,  
 485 Ventribus intendit iramque dei leuipendit.  
 Pro re celesti capiunt terrena scelesti  
 Et similes brutis non curant dona salutis,  
 Nec fuerant digni tam sacra dote maligni.  
 Sicut letantur, quod fraude patri simulantur,  
 490 Sic contristantur, simili quod morte grauantur.  
 Horum nam nati misera [sunt] nece sunt lacerati,  
 Quos lego ferire vitam necis omine dyre.  
 Dux non tristatur, quod terrenis spoliatur,  
 Sed letabatur, sacra dum sibi virgo dabatur.

f. 176r

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487 dona salutis] cf. *LHL* 2, 141-143. 489/490 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Et sicut paternam rapacitatem eis haereditate cessisse gavisus sunt, sic quasi aeterno mucrone perfoffi, paternae necis exitum sibi contigisse tristati sunt.

490 morte grauantur] cf. *LHL* 3, 429. 491/492 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 31: Nam universos eiusdem possessionis cohaeredes, inaudita mirabilique nece notum est finiri ad extrema venientes. 493/494 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Carolus vero Dux pro nihilo ducens damna terrarum, felici commercio gaudet se caelestem suscepisse thesaurum.

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482 gens] ss. populus fecit] ss. operata est. 483 vt teneat] ss. vt ipsa gens obtineat bona corpus] ss. Gudule credas] ss. tu michi. 484 Karolo] ss. duci tradit] ss. illa gens corpus Gudile ad decliua] ss. ad perditionem tendit gens illa. 485 ventribus] ss. gulositatibus intendit] ss. illa gens dei] ss. Xpisti leuipendit] ss. et ipsa gens .i. leuem reputat. 486 pro re] ss. .i. pro corpore sancte Gudile capiunt] ss. scelesti terrena] ss. bona scelesti] ss. .s. illa gens criminosa *in marg.* Versus: Cum sis celestis, non coniungere scelestis (Cf. H. Walther, *Proverbia* 4426: Cum sis celestis, noli te simulare scelestis.) 487 et similes] ss. et ipse gentes non curant] ss. ipsi non salutis] ss. eterni premii. 488 nec fuerant] ss. ipsi non tam sacra] ss. sicut corpori sancte Gudile ipsi in (= non) fuerant. 489 sicut] ss. sicut ipsi fraude] ss. in patri] ss. regi. 490 sic] ss. simili modo simili quod] ss. sicut pater grauabatur. 491 horum] ss. populorum nam] ss. pro quia misera] ss. mala nece] ss. morte. 492 quos] ss. homines vitam] ss. finire necis] ss. dire omine] ss. fato uel casu. 493 dux] ss. predictus. 494 letabatur] ss. dux sacra] ss. virgo dabatur] ss. beata Gudula sibi duci.



- 495 Que deportatur Gaugericique locatur  
 Templo Bruxelle. Mens leta ducis sine felle  
 Thecam iamque forat, sacra membra videre laborat,  
 Deuote quamuis temere tamen: ecclesiam vis  
 Nubis fuscauit, tenebras tantasque creauit,  
 500 Vt si venisset nox atque dies abijisset.  
 Incipiens temere, nescit sacra membra videre:  
 Quem sic a cepto Xpistus retraxit inepto.  
 Cautius inceptit, deuotos namque recepit,  
 Qui ieiunantes, orantes et lacrimantes  
 505 Sic refrenabant carnem, triduo quoque stabant,  
 Vt sint commissa <mala> per pia vota remissa.

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495/502 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Quem cum debito honore in ecclesiam S. Gaugerici Bruxellae intulit, et quid sibi cessisset boni gestiens probare oculis, temere, quamvis deuote, aperuit thecam Virginis: sed mirum dictu, ecclesiam totam derepente nebula circumfundit, omnemque diurni luminis aspectum in nocturnas tenebras permutans, oculos praesentium caligo retundit, atque sic providentia Dei omnes ab incepta temeritate retraxit. 496 sine felle] cf. Arator, *Act.* 1, 662: nisi sit sine felle columba. 503/506 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Saniori interim praescriptus Dux innitens consilio, se una cum aliquanta fidelium plebe in contritione carnis ac spiritus coarctavit triduo, ut quod faciendum incauta persuasit temeritas, summa, quae omnia vincit impetraret humilitas.

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495 que] ss. virgo deportatur] ss. defertur Gaugericique] ss. et que locatur templo Gaugerici Bruxelle. 496 templo] ss. in ducis] ss. ipsius existentis sine malitia. 497 forat] ss. .i. perforat. 498 quamuis] ss. licet fecit temere] ss. stulte vis] ss. potestas. 499 nubis] ss. obscuritatis tenebras] ss. tenebrositates creauit] ss. et vis. 500 venisset] ss. .i. ad-atque] ss. et si abijisset] ss. recessisset. 501 incipiens] ss. dux temere] ss. stulte nescit] ss. open(m?) sacra membra] ss. sancte Gudule. 502 quem] ss. .i. ducem cepto] ss. principio retraxit] ss. Xpistus inepto] ss. dementi. 503 inceptit] ss. dux deuotos] ss. homines namque] ss. quia recepit] ss. ipse. 504 qui] ss. homines ieiunantes] ss. abstinentes orantes] ss. et qui lacrimantes] ss. et qui. 505 refrenabant] ss. constrinxerunt carnem] ss. suam triduo] ss. tribus diebus stabant] ss. ipsi. 506 sint] ss. ut peccata ducis per pia vota] ss. per talem penitentiam remissa] ss. sint indulta.

- Sole relucente trino dux ad sacra mente  
 Iuit contrita cum thureque plebe perita,  
 Membraque sacrata vidit techa reserata:  
 510 Xpistum laudauit, rursus techamque serauit,  
 Corde pio plausit domino thecamque reclausit.  
 Et partem ville de Molenbeke dedit ille  
 Adiunctis senis famulis seruimine plenīs,  
 Vestimenta quidem tradens altaris ibidem.  
 515 Templo prefato mansit cum carmine grato,  
 Dum Baldericus comes atque nepos et amicus  
 Rexit prefati ducis a Xpisto peramati.  
 Mille quando scribis quater .xxxx. semel .v. simul .ij. bis,

f. 176v

507/511 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Et iam tertia dies illuxit, memoratusque Princeps ad loculum beatae Virginis cum Sacerdotibus ac thymiamate accessit, aperuit, et quod desiderabat vidit, invocataque Dei maiestate reclausit, ac sigillo signavit. 511 corde pio] cf. *LHL* 1, 453. 512 ille] höchstwahrscheinlich eine "mittellateinische" weibliche Dativform anstelle von *illi*, cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: partem quandam villae, quae vocatur Molenbecca, S. Gudilae tradidit. 512/514 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Postea vero partem quandam villae, quae vocatur Molenbecca, S. Gudilae tradidit, et sex familias addidit, et alia complura altaris vestimenta donavit. 515 carmine grato] cf. *LHL* 1, 278. 515/517 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 32: Illic non sine magna veneratione quieuit usque ad tempora Comitris Baldrici, nepotis Caroli Ducis. 518 .xxxx. und .v. müssen beim Lesen des Hexameters überschlagen werden. 518/525 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Millesimo quadagesimo septimo anno incarnationis Dominicae, XV indictione, Damaso Apostolicae Sedi praesidente Summo Pontifice, Henrico II regnante, dedicatum est in monte Bruxellae templum XVI Calend. Decembris ad laudem nostri redemptoris, in honore sancti Archangeli Michaelis a Gerardo Cameracensi Episcopo.

507 sole] ss. trino .i. trino die relucente] ss. adueniente dux] ss. iuit sacra] ss. membra mente] ss. contrita. 508 iuit] ss. tetendit thure] ss. et iuit (thure)que] ss. et. 509 membra] ss. beate Gudule vidit] ss. et dux techa] ss. et hoc dico. 510 laudauit] ss. dux techam] ss. capsam. 511 plausit] ss. ipse dux in marg. Vnde sicut dicitur recludo ita et recludo dicitur. 512 partem] ss. vnam ville] ss. Bruxellencis ille] ss. dux. 513 senis] ss. et hoc dico sex curijs cum suis viris. 514 vestimenta] ss. altaris tradens] ss. dux ibidem] ss. in illo loco. 515 prefato] ss. predicto mansit] ss. beata Gudula cum carmine] ss. cum debita laude. 516 Baldericus] ss. ille dominus atque] ss. et dum et amicus] ss. et amicus prefati ducis .s. Karoli peramati a Xpisto rexit .i. regnauit. 517 prefati ducis] ss. predicti Karoli. 518 mille] ss. .k. et hoc quando quater] ss. et quando .i. .xxxx.] ss. .i. semel] ss. et simul] ss. et.

- Templum credo fore factum Michaelis honore  
 520 Bruxelle, gratum, quodam cliuo situatum.  
 Hoc Cameracensis extremi tempore mensis  
 Fecit, id attendas sexto decimoque Kalendas,  
 Presul Gherardus ad opem celer, ad mala tardus.  
 Ista peracta cape Damasi tempore pape,  
 525 Tercius Heinricus dum rexit corde pudicus.  
 Fratri successit Baldericusque repressit  
 Turpia, ius fouit, inhonesta cuncta remouit,  
 Corpus sacratum Gaugerici situatum  
 Templo precepit tolli, secumque recepit  
 530 Pontificem: toto sacro simul ordine moto,  
 Templum poscentes Michaelis, ibi statuentes  
 Artus sacratos cunctis digne veneratos,  
 Cordibus ac ore Xpisti plaudunt in honore,

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521 tempore mensis] cf. *LHL* 5, 389. 525 tercius Heinricus] cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Henrico II regnante; vgl. *Acta sanctorum, Januarii*, T. I, S. 530 Anm. b: "*Secundus* erat eius nominis Imperator, Rex tertius. Quare in citato Baldrici diplomate habetur: *regnante Henrico Imperatore tertio*" corde pudicus] cf. *LHL* 1, 454. 526/533 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Lambertus vero, qui et Baldricus Comes, Henrico fratri succedens, cuius praesentia tunc cuncta extiterunt illic decenter ordinata, eodem die illud corpus sanctissimum de ecclesia S. Gaugerici cum Episcopo ceterisque sacris ordinibus levavit, atque cum summo honore in ecclesia S. Michaelis reposuit.

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519 templum] ss. .b. credo] ss. .b. fore] ss. .c. factum] ss. .d. Michaelis] ss. sancti honore] ss. .e. 520 Bruxelle] ss. .g. gratum] ss. templum inquam. 521 hoc] ss. templum Cameracensis] ss. presul extremi] ss. tempore mensis mensis] ss. .s. Decembris. 522 id attendas] ss. tu attendas id sexto] ss. ipse fecit hoc. 523 Gherardus] ss. existens presul. 525 Heinricus] ss. existens pudicus pudicus] ss. corde. 527 fouit] ss. et ipse rex cuncta] ss. omnia remouit] ss. inhonesta. 528 corpus] ss. sacratum Gaugerici] ss. templo. 529 precepit] ss. ipse tolli] ss. remoueri recepit] ss. corpus secum pontificem. 530 pontificem] ss. presulem toto sacro] ss. .i. tota religione Cameracensi moto .i. tendente illuc. 531 poscentes] ss. ipsud omnes Michaelis] ss. templum statuentes] ss. et. 532 artus] ss. membra cunctis] ss. a hominibus veneratos] ss. artus inquam. 533 plaudunt] ss. Gudule in honore Xpisti.

- Principis vxore domini feruenter amore  
 535 Hijs intendente, bis sex cleros statuente  
 Illic cantantes Gudulamque piam venerantes. f. 177r  
 Hiis bona dans plura simul et decimalia iura,  
 Hos bene dotaui, defenderat ac adamaui.  
 Virgine pro pura quoque nunc miracula plura  
 540 Ostendit celi rex gente sciente fideli.  
 Hec lege pauca mere, que nobis nota fuere,  
 Obmissis vere multis, que nos latuere!  
 Te rogo sincere, pia virgo, mei miserere,  
 Ne dampner misere! Me dirige meque tuere,  
 545 Gudula sponsa dei, tu lux preclara diei!  
 Complue corda mei celestis rore liei!  
 Grates do Xpisto, pelago qui duxit in isto  
 Me. Nunc existo fessus, cur seria sisto.  
 Mille tricentenis quater .xxxx. iunctis sibi senis  
 550 Hos ruditer nexos Arnoldus fecerat exos.

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534 feruenter amore] cf. *LHL* 2, 261. 534/538 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Et annuente in omnibus uxore sua Oda, quae fuit Gozolonis Ducis filia, ad seruendum Deo Sanctaeque Gudilae virgini, ibi clericos constituit, et ad usus eorum ipsam ecclesiam cum decimis, et alia plura legaliter contulit. 539/540 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Ibi nunc quoque ad ostendenda gloriosae Virginis merita, multa et magna fiunt miracula. 541/542 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Haec de Virgine pauca tantum e multis in notitiam nostram venerunt, omissis proculdubio plurimis, quae nos praeterierunt. 543 pia virgo] cf. *LHL* 4, 242. 543/546 Cf. *Vita II*, Cap. 10, 33: Sed hic nostra de Virgine claudatur oratio, eiusdemque nobis aperiatur intercessio, quae me scribentem, et te, Christiane, respiciat legentem. Amen. 549 .xxxx. ] im Hexameter nicht mitlesen!

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534 principis] ss. .s. Gherardi et hoc dico vxore principis feruentis amore dominum (deum?) intendente hijs. 535 intendente] ss. vxore statuente] ss. et hoc dico vxore eius. 536 cantantes] ss. cleros. 537 dans] ss. ipsa vxor Gherardi. 538 hos] ss. canonicos adamaui] ss. hos. 539 virgine] ss. beata Gudula. 540 rex] ss. Xpistus gente] ss. et hoc dico fideli] ss. gente Bruxellenci sciente hoc. 544 misere] ss. in fine. 545 sponsa] ss. o tu existens preclara] ss. et o Gudula tu. 546 complue] ss. irriga liei] ss. .i. celestis gratie. 548 sisto] ss. pono. 549 mille] ss. et hoc.

- Hec qui metra legis, egis michi sis rogo digne.  
 Igne bono caleas, alias faciam meliora.  
 Ora frendentes dentes reprimat nec aperte  
 Per te sim lusus: vsus tuus, inuide, cesset.  
 555 Esset difficile - sileas cur - cuique placere.  
 Se reprimat rancor an cor inis tedia passum.  
 Assum: quo metris me tristem coget abire.  
 Ire nec vltius ius, nam precio caret eius.

- Explicit vita beate Gudule deo gratias.  
 560 Ad celi decora nos ducat virgo decora.

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551 egis] ss. clipeus.      553 frendentes] ss. homines      reprimat] ss. ut.  
 554 inuide] ss. .o.      555 cuique] ss. vnicuique.      556 an] ss. pro uel.

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560 Cf. *Analecta Hymnica* 2, S. 123 Nr. 3, 10 *Auctoritas*: Ad caeli decora nos erige, virgo decora.

# Analyse van een merkwaardige *collectio jesuitica* (1537-1910)

door  
C. VAN DE WIEL  
(Mechelen)

Naar aanleiding van een in 1976 verschenen artikel over het archief van de Vlaamse jezuïetenprovincie<sup>1</sup>, waarin werd gevraagd bij te dragen tot of mede te werken aan de verrijking van haar geschiedkundig werkinstrument, verzamelden wij in het aartsbischooppelijk archief de archivalia m.b.t. de jezuïeten.

Op 27 september 1990 was het 450 jaar geleden dat de orde der jezuïeten, de Sociëteit van Jezus, door de toenmalige paus werd goedgekeurd en in 1991 werd de 500ste verjaardag van de geboorte van de orde stichter, Ignatius van Loyola, herdacht. Om die twee gedenkjaren beter in het licht te stellen werden in België o.a. twee tentoonstellingen georganiseerd, een rondreizende doorheen de voornaamste steden van het Vlaamse land<sup>2</sup> en een te Brussel van 1 februari tot 6 april 1991 in het Algemeen Rijksarchief<sup>3</sup>. In het Rijksmuseum Catherijne Convent te Utrecht liep van 17 maart tot 10 juni 1991 een tentoonstelling over Jezuiten in Nederland<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Het archief van de Vlaamse jezuïetenprovincie*, in *Jezuïeten*, t. XXXIV, 1976, p. 55-56.

<sup>2</sup> Hiervoor werd een brochure uitgegeven: *Ignatius, zijn orde, zijn geest*, 48 p.

<sup>3</sup> *De jezuïeten in de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik (1542-1773)* Brussel, 1991, 74 p. — Er werd ook te dier gelegenheid een dossier uitgegeven: *De jezuïeten in de Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik (1542-1773)*, Brussel, 1991, 122 p. (Algemeen Rijksarchief en Rijksarchief in de provinciën. Educatieve dienst dossiers, tweede reeks, 5).

<sup>4</sup> *Jezuïeten in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1991, 134 p.

De grondslag van deze religieuze gemeenschap legde Ignatius van Loyola<sup>5</sup> toen hij op 15 augustus 1534 in de kapel van Montmartre te Parijs met zes medestudenten armoede en zuiverheid beloofde en een bedevaart naar het H. Land om er onder de Turken te gaan werken. Toen hun tocht door de oorlog onmogelijk bleek, besloten de reeds tien gezellen, te Rome in 1539 bijeen, een nieuwe orde te stichten: de *Compagnia di Gesù* (*Societas Jesu*, Gezelschap van Jezus). Paulus III keurde de orde op 27 september 1540 goed door de bul *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*<sup>6</sup>. Ignatius werd op 19 april 1541 haar algemene overste. De orde verspreidde zich spoedig in verscheidene landen en werd weldra de grootste onderwijs- en missieorde. Clemens XIV week voor het geweld der Bourbons en hief de sociëteit op door de breve *Dominus ac Redemptor* van 21 juli 1773<sup>7</sup>.

In Pruisen en Rusland bleef zij echter voortbestaan. Frederik II en Katharina II weigerden de bul te laten afkondigen. Pius VII

<sup>5</sup> Hij werd waarschijnlijk op 23 oktober 1491 geboren op het kasteel Loyola te Giupuzcoa in Spaans Baskenland, kreeg de voornaam Inigo, die hij later veranderde in Ignatius ter ere van Sint-Ignatius van Antiochië, en overleed te Rome op 31 juli 1556. Door Gregorius XV werd hij op 12 maart 1622 heilig verklaard. Cfr. R. GARCIA-VILLOSLADA, *Ignazio di Loyola*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, t. VII, 1966, col. 674-705; R. ROUQUETTE, *Ignace de Loyola (saint)*, in *Catholicisme*, t. VI, 1967, col. 1197-1200; C. DE DALMASES, *Ignatius of Loyola, St.*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, t. VII, 1967, p. 354-356; I. IPARRAGUIRRE, *Ignace de Loyola (saint)*, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, t. VII, 1971, col. 1266-1277; A. RAVIER, *Les chroniques Saint-Ignace de Loyola*, s.l., Nouvelle librairie de France 1973, 334 pag.; R. GARCIA-VILLOSLADA, *Ignazio di Loyola*, in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, t. IV, 1977, col. 1624-1631; D. BERTRAND, *La politique de Saint-Ignace de Loyola. L'analyse sociale*, Parijs, 1985; R. GARCIA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola. Nueva Bibliografía*, Madrid, 1986, 166 pag.; J.E. VERCRUYSE, *Ignatius von Loyola*, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. XVI, 1987, p. 45-55; C. DE DALMASES, *Magister Ignatius. Het leven van Ignatius van Loyola, stichter van de jezuïetenorde (ca. 1491-1556)*, Tielt, 1990 (uit het Spaans: *El Padre Maestro Ignacio*, Madrid); J. DELPLACE, *Ignace de Loyola. Les chemins de la certitude*, Parijs, 1991, 477 p.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. *La bulle de fondation de la Compagnie de Jésus (1540). Présentation et notes par A. Demoustier*, in *Christus*, 36 (1989), p. 476-486.

<sup>7</sup> J. JAGENEAU, *De afschaffing van de jezuïetenorde in 1773. Waarom? Hoe?*, Brussel, 1973, 82 blz. (hs.).

herstelde de orde over heel de wereld door de bul *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* van 7 augustus 1814<sup>8</sup>.

Schrijver van hogervermeld artikel geeft naast de Gesù-residentie te Brussel, het Algemeen Rijksarchief, de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en enkele stadsarchieven aan als belangrijke vindplaatsen van waardevolle documenten, die in beslag werden genomen bij de opheffing der sociëteit in 1773.

Het aartsbisschoppelijk archief te Mechelen bezit echter ook historische stukken over de oude en nieuwe sociëteit, van algemene en van lokale aard.

Hoe de stukken van algemene aard, die we *generalia* noemen, in het bezit van het aartsbisschoppelijke archief zijn gekomen, is ons onbekend. Vermoedelijk waren het losse stukken, die een archivaris later zonder veel ordening tot registers samenbundelde<sup>9</sup>. Op de buitenkant (rugzijde) van zes registers staat immers wel de gelijk onderaan A.A.M. (Aartsbischoppelijk Archief Mechelen)

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. H. BERNARD-MAITRE, *Jésuites*, in *Catholicisme*, t. VI, 1967, col. 732-747; J.E. BRODERICK, *Jesuits*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, t. VII, 1967, p. 898-909; X, *Jésuites*, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, t. VIII, 1974, col. 958-1065; A. RAVIER, *Ignace de Loyola fonde la compagnie de Jésus*, Parijs, 1974, 564 pag.; A. GUICHARD, *Les jésuites*, Parijs, 1974, 253 pag.; X, *Compagnia di Gesù*, in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, t. II, 1975, col. 1262-1343; R. LEMOINE, *Le monde des religieux*, t. XV, vol. II, *L'époque moderne (1563-1789)*, Parijs, 1976, p. 119-160; C.E.M. STRUYKER BOUDIER, *Wijsgerig leven in Nederland, België en Luxemburg 1880-1980*, dl I *De jezuiëten*, Nijmegen, 1985; J.C.H. AVELING, *The Jesuits*, 2de uitg., New York, 1987; A. WOODROW, *Les Jésuites. Histoire de pouvoirs*, 2de uitg., Parijs, 1990; *Les Jésuites*, in *Notre Histoire*, nr. 77, 1991.

<sup>9</sup> Wellicht gebeurde dat door Petrus-Franciscus-Xaverius de Ram die van 1826 tot 1834 archivaris en secretaris was van het aartsbisdom en toen rector werd van de nieuw opgerichte katholieke universiteit te Leuven (cfr. G. VAN CASTER, *Obituarium dioecesis Mechliniensis*, t. XII, fol. 199; V. DE BUCK, *Mgr. de Ram, Recteur magnifique de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, uittreksel uit *Études religieuses, historiques et littéraires*, juni-augustus 1865, p. 1-79; J.J. THONISSEN, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Mgr. Pierre-François Xavier de Ram*, in *Annuaire de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et beaux arts de Belgique*, 1866, p. 105-194; ID., art. *P.F. de Ram*, in *Biographie nationale*, t. V, 1876, col. 650-670; A. SIMON, *Le cardinal Sterckx et son temps*, 2 vol., Wetteren, 1950, passim, zie index t. II, p. 475. Het vermoeden steunt op een aantekening die hij maakte op de binnenzijde van de kaft van register 6 van de verzameling Jansenisme: „Sparsim latitantes reperi inter documenta Archivi Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis”. Vermelde registers zijn op dezelfde manier ingebonden als register 6 en voorzien van hetzelfde rood etiket met gouden letters.



gegrift. Negen registers en acht liassen bevatten *generalia* (letter A); hun nummering is recent.

Van ieder stuk wordt een korte inhoud gegeven voorafgegaan door een cijfer dat de volgorde van de stukken aanduidt. De taal wordt vermeld, indien ze een andere is dan het Latijn. Meermalen deelt de kopiïst zijn bron mede; hij wil zo de echtheid van zijn schrijven rechtvaardigen en de waarheid ervan staven.

De verzameling van registers wordt vermeld in *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana*, ser. I, t. I, Madrid, 1903, p. 67, Codex 82. Voor het eerste register hebben wij ons de moeite getroost op te zoeken welke stukken werden uitgegeven. We zien er echter het nut niet van in dat ook te doen voor de andere registers. Immers, zij die in onze inventaris een hun passend document ontdekken, zullen wellicht reeds de uitgaven ervan kennen.

Naast *generalia* zijn er ook stukken over de jezuïetenkloosters in het oude aartsbisdom, nl. die van Brussel, Leuven en Mechelen. We rangschikken ze onder de rubriek *localia* (letter B).

Er bevinden zich ook nog archivalia over de *societas Jesu* in de verzamelingen aartsbisschoppen<sup>10</sup>, *Mechliniensia*<sup>11</sup>, vicariaat<sup>12</sup>, *jansenistica*<sup>13</sup>, Amatus Coriache<sup>14</sup>, parochiearchief<sup>15</sup> en kerkfabriek

<sup>10</sup> Deze verzameling bestaat uit losse documenten m.b.t. de vijftien aartsbisschoppen vanaf de oprichting van het aartsbisdom in 1559 tot 1906. Voor de inventaris, cfr. C. VAN DE WIEL, *Archivalia over de aartsbisschoppen van Mechelen. Vanaf de oprichting van het Aartsbisdom tot en met de Franse Tijd (1559-1815)*, (Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia 30), Leuven, 1990, 290 p.

<sup>11</sup> Deze verzameling bestaat uit 386 registers met akten die van de bisschoppelijke Curie uitgingen of haar aanbelangen sinds 1559 tot 1930. Een inventaris komt uit.

<sup>12</sup> De aanzienlijke verzameling werd door ons geïnventariseerd en zal weldra verschijnen. Zij bevat interessante documenten voor de studie van de evolutie van het kerkelijk leven in de loop der eeuwen.

<sup>13</sup> De meeste registers (58) en liassen (54) behoorden tot het *Museum Bellarminum* in het college der jezuïeten te Mechelen. Dat museum dankte zijn ontstaan aan Robertus Bellarminus (1542-1621), cfr. J. FRISKE, *Bellarmino, Robert, St.*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, t. II, 1967, p. 250-252; G. GALEOTA, *Bellarmini, Roberto*, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. V, 1979, p. 525-531; ID., *Robert Bellarmin*, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, t. XIII, 1988, col. 713-720; J.P. DONNELLY, in *Robert Bellarmine. Spiritual Writings* (The Classics of Western Spirituality), New York-Mahwah, 1989, p. 13-46; M. BIRSACK, *Initia Bellarmiana. Die Prädestinationslehre bei Robert Bellarmin S.J. bis zu seinen Löwener Vorlesungen 1570-1576*, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 29-90.

van Sint-Romboutskerk te Mechelen, beide oud regime, respectievelijk letters C, D, E, F, G, H, I.

Volledigheidshalve komen ook in aanmerking het register „Col-lèges et pensionnats” (ms.) uit de bibliotheek Cornelius Franciscus de Nelis, bisschop van Antwerpen (1785-1798) (J), en het dossier „Schoolwezen en catechismus in Middeleeuwen en Oud Regime” (doos 4) uit de nalatenschap van Victor Sempels, secretaris en officiaal van het aartsbisdom († 1950). In het dossier be-

Als kardinaal (gecreëerd 3 maart 1599) stichtte hij een fonds tot onderhoud van de jezuïeten uit de provincie Flandro-Belgica die de katholieke leer verdedigden tegen het calvinisme. Aanvankelijk leefden die verspreid over hun eigen kloosters. In het begin van de 18de eeuw vestigden zij zich allen te Mechelen in het jezuïetencollege. De jezuïeten bekwamen er ook het jansenisme. Over het verdere verloop van het museum, cfr. A. PONCELET, *Nécrologe des jésuites de la province Flandro-Belge*, Wetteren, 1931, p. CXVI-CXIX; L. BROUWERS, *De jezuïeten te Mechelen in de 17e en 18e eeuw en hun Xaveriuskerk*, Mechelen, 1977, p. 83-84. Jezuïet Alfons Huylenbrouck (1667-1722) die we in onze inventaris meermaals zullen vermelden, werd volgens C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, t. IV, 1893 (anastatische herdruk, 1960), col. 539, door aartsbisschop Th. Ph. d'Alsace aangesteld tot directeur van het *Museum Bellarminum*. Van deze aanstelling troffen we nochtans geen spoor in het aartsbischooppelijk archief aan. — Voor de inventaris, cfr. C. VAN DE WIEL, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het Archief van het Aartsbisdom* (Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia XXVIII), Leuven, 1988, 250 p.

<sup>14</sup> Het compilatiewerk Amatus Coriache bevat 16 registers en één losse bundel. Betreffende de inhoud, cfr. C. VAN DE WIEL, *Repertorium van het compilatiewerk van vicaris-generaal Amatus de Coriache. Bronnen van de 12e tot de 17e eeuw m.b.t. het gebied van het oorspronkelijke Aartsbisdom Mechelen* (Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, inventarissen, nr. 2), Brussel, 1973, 144 blz.

<sup>15</sup> Hierin bevindt zich veel over het scholasterschap. In de middeleeuwen was het scholasterschap een waardigheid van het kapittel. Het recht van visitatie van de scholaster was van 1448 tot 1630 verbonden aan het ambt van rector van de grootschool. Tot 1630 werd de scholaster door de magistraat benoemd, nadien door de aartsbisschop. Cfr. J. BAETEN, *Verzameling van naamrollen betreffende de kerkelijke geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom van Mechelen*, t. I, Mechelen, z.d., p. 263-276; E. STEENACKERS, *La grande école à Malines (1450-1630)*, in *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines*, 26 (1921), 21-204; R. VAN AERDE, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Tooneel te Mechelen. Het schooldrama bij de P.P. Jezuïeten*, in *Handelingen van den Mechelschen kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst*, 40 (1935) 44-126, 41 (1936) 15-39; G. BETERAMS, *Het onderwijzend personeel van de Mechelse Grootschool rond 1600*, in *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen*, 54 (1950), 39-58.

vinden zich studies over de geschiedenis van het onderwijs o.a. van de jezuïetencolleges.

We vermelden bij de ontleding van de registers (1-9) het aantal folios, tenzij het slechts om één folio gaat, en de taal van het document, tenzij het in het Latijn is.

Moge de ontleding en de bekendmaking van die oude documenten dienen tot de uitbouw van de geschiedenis van de Sociëteit van Jezus.

#### A. GENERALIA

1-2 (twee registers, t. I, pars 1 en 2; t. II, pars 3)

1. «Societas Jesu propugnata, tomus I, sive Ignatius in quo Societatis ortus, confirmatio, privilegia, vivente S. Ignatio, per Sedem Apostolicam eidem concessa, nomen, exercitia spiritualia, institutum, constitutiones acceptae generatim, res a sociis in diversis Europae provinciis sub Ignatio gestae, vita et mores eiusdem S.P. Ignatii, ac S. Francisci Xaverii, aliorumque, qui, cum S. Conditor Societatis in vivis degeret, ad Societatem Beatorum transiere, ab haeticorum, aliorumque calumniis, mendaciis, erroribus vindicantur et expurgantur, collectore et partim etiam autore sacerdote Belga eiusdem Societatis» (doorlopend gepagineerd): p. 1-491, 493-700; tom. II, p. 701-891, 893-1068.

«Dissertatio prolegomena: De vaticiniis, quibus Societatis Jesu ortus praesignatus esse fertur», p. 1-83.

Pars I: «Societas nascens et recens nata vindicatur», p. 85-491, in 15 hoofdstukken verdeeld en deze in artikelen.

2. Pars II: «Vita et mores S.P. Ignatii vindicantur», p. 493-700, in 17 hoofdstukken verdeeld en deze in artikels.

Pars III: «Primi Societatis Patres propugnati», p. 701-891.

Sectio I: «Nascentis Societatis patres vindicantur generatim; particulatim vero defenduntur ex iis aliquot, qui, S. Ignatio superstitie, ad Societatem Beatorum transiere», p. 701-744, 4 hoofdstukken in artikelen ingedeeld.

Sectio II: «Vita et mores S. Francisci Xaverii vindicantur», p. 745-891, in 11 hoofdstukken verdeeld en deze in artikelen.

- Appendix: 1. «Testimonia et documenta», p. 893-926  
 2. «Brevis notitia praecipuorum librorum seu autorum qui in hoc tomo refutantur», p. 927-948.  
 3. «Index seu epitome praecipuarum rerum», p. 949-1068.

Daarbij hoort ook een bundel losse stukken, die het kladwerk uitmaken van de twee registers en enkele aantekeningen voor de verdere geschiedenis bevatten <sup>16</sup>.

### 3 (register)

1. Beschrijving van het lijden en de vertroosting van Ignatius van Loyola, overleden op 31 juli 1556, 6 augustus 1556; beschrijving van de verkiezing van Jacobus Laynez tot generaal-overste in het bijzijn van kardinaal Petrus Pacecco en beschrijving van zijn ontvangst door paus Paulus IV, 16 juli 1558 (7 fol., Italiaans).
2. Vraag om de constituties overal toe te passen, 4 maart 1540 <sup>17</sup>.
3. Goedkeuring van de exercitiën van Ignatius, voor de eerste maal gedrukt te Rome in 1548, waarvan de breve *Pastoralis officii cura* van 11 september 1548 van Paulus III voorafgaat.
4. Getuigenis door Simon Cedulinus, jezuïet, dat de kardinalen Caesar Baronius en Robertus Bellarminus het graf van Ignatius ver-

<sup>16</sup> Het zijn wellicht die twee registers en losse stukken, die C. SOMMERVOGEL, o.c., col. 541-542 beschrijft als „Fragments considérables d'une histoire générale de la Compagnie de Jésus, en latin”. Hij schrijft ze toe aan A. Huylenbroucq († 1722). Het werk is nochtans opgedragen aan Franciscus Retz, algemeen overste van de Sociëteit van 1730 tot 1750.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie III, *Constitutiones*, t. I, Rome, 1934, p. 23-24.

eerden; verklaring dat Ignatius spoedig tot de eer van de altaren zal verheven worden en dat de legaat van de koning van Spanje 4 zilveren kandelaars zond om bij het graf te plaatsen, 7 augustus 1599.

9. 5. Mirakelen toegeschreven aan de tussenkomst van Ignatius, 20 februari 1610 (2 pag).
10. 6. Levensbeschrijving van Ignatius vanaf zijn geboorte (1491) tot februari 1528, z.d., 2 fol., cfr. *infra* nr. 23.
11. 7. Uiteenzetting over het feit dat Ignatius zijn regel in de benedictijnenpriorij te Albaneta opstelde, z.d.
12. 8. «Extracta ex diario S.P. Ignatii facto a P. Ludovico Gonsalvo»: beschrijving gesteund op woorden van Ignatius zelf en op getuigenissen, van de manier waarop Ignatius omging met de paters, van zijn bezorgdheid voor de knechten en de zieke paters en zijn verhouding tot hooggeplaatste personen, van zijn voedsel en zijn kleding, van het naleven van het reglement, z.d. (11 fol.)<sup>18</sup>.
13. 9. Brief van Ignatius uit Rome aan Maria Frassona del Gesso met lof over het lijden en over het zich onttrekken aan de ijdelheid van de wereld, 20 januari 1554 (Italiaans)<sup>19</sup>.
14. 10. Brief van Ignatius uit Rome met dank aan Maria Frassona del Gesso voor wat zij deed en nog zal doen voor de sociëteit, 7 januari 1553 (Italiaans)<sup>20</sup>.
15. 11. Brief van Ignatius aan kroonprins Filips waarin hij hem om zijn grote deugden looft, 18 februari 1549 (Spaans)<sup>21</sup>.
16. 12. Verslag van de plechtige viering van het honderdjarig bestaan van de sociëteit Jesu in 1640 (3 pag.).

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie IV, *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, t. I, Madrid, 1904, p. 153-336 (oorspronkelijk Portugees).

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie I, *Epistolae*, t. VI, 1907, p. 223-224.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie I, *Epistolae*, t. IV, 1906, p. 590-591.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie I, *Epistolae*, t. II, 1904, p. 344-345.

13. Vraag van Franciscus van Sales, bisschop van Genève, aan kardinaal Robertus Bellarminus om bescherming van Ludovicus Reydelet van de orde der tertiarissen van Sint-Franciscus, die een beroep op de paus had gedaan, 6 januari 1621; nog een briefje van Franciscus van Sales, 22 mei 1612 (Frans).

14. Schrijven van jezuïet Franciscus Borgia aan Jacobus Laynez, algemeen overste, over zijn achterdocht ten opzichte van een pater, die zijn bloed wil vergieten in Indië voor het welzijn van de katholieke kerk, maar nog niet eens de beet van een muskiet kan verdragen, 29 juni 1559 (Spaans en Italiaans); bevel van Ignatius dat de jezuïeten die van Spoleto naar Loreto willen gaan, eerst naar Rome moeten komen, 4 mei 1555 (Italiaans).

15. Tekst van grafsteen ter ere van Ignatius in een kapel waarin hij verbleef tijdens zijn reis naar Rome in 1537 om er de orde te stichten (grafsteen, 1700).

16. Onderzoek nopens het verblijf van Ignatius te Montserrat, waar pater Joannes Xanone, zijn biechtvader, hem binnenleidde in de geheimen van het innerlijke leven; voorzegging over Ignatius door Joannes Xanone, 24 januari 1599 (5 fol.).

17. Mededeling dat de paters theatijnen brieven bezitten, waarin vermeld staat dat Ignatius bij hen wilde binnentreden, 23 februari 1622 (Italiaans); loochening ervan en verbod verder daarover te redetwisten, z.d. (Italiaans).

18. Theologische uiteenzetting over de woorden: «Caro Xristi, Caro Mariae»; veroordeling, z.d. (5 fol., Italiaans).

19. «Commentarium rerum a P.N. Ignatio gestarum»: getuigenissen over de onverschilligheid van Ignatius tegenover geldzaken en de invloed van vorsten, en over het onwankelbare vertrouwen op God, z.d. (13 fol.).

20. Verslag van de vergadering van 4 maart 1541 om enige punten van de Constituties nader te bepalen, nl. die aangaande de armoede, de kleding en de houding jegens de coadjutoren (2 fol., Spaans)<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, serie III, *Constitutiones*, t. I, Rome, 1934, p. 34-48.

25. 21. Getuigenis door Vincentius Nigusantius, bisschop van Arbe, dat Ignatius de gelofte van eeuwige armoede had afgelegd in de handen van de kardinaal-legaat van Venetië, 27 juni 1537<sup>23</sup>.
26. 22. Beschrijving door Eduardus de Vitry, jezuïet, revisor te Rome voor de Franse provincie, van de inhoud van een werk van Edmondus Auger († 1591), jezuïet, waarin die veronderstelt dat de regel zal verzwakken, als de jezuïeten naar Frankrijk komen, z.d., (36 fol. Frans)<sup>24</sup>.
27. 23. Voortzetting van het *curriculum vitae* van Ignatius van 15 november 1536 tot 29 april 1541 (2 fol.), cfr. *supra*, n. 6.
28. 24. Opsomming van verschillende stichtingen in binnen- en buitenland tot de dood van Ignatius in 1556 met levensbeschrijving van Ignatius aan de hand van de plaatsen waar hij verbleef; lijst van de eerste tien jezuïeten en van de eerste algemeen oversten met opgave van geboorteplaats, plaats en datum van overlijden; gegevens over 83 paters en broeders door heidenen en ketters om het leven gebracht tot 1598 (8 fol.).
29. 25. Lof over het diep innerlijk leven van Joannes Polancus, secretaris van de sociëteit, z.d. (2 fol.).
30. 26. Uittreksel uit het proces tussen de jezuïeten en Matthias del Poste, die de jezuïeten van misdaden beschuldigde, 1546 (4 fol.)<sup>25</sup>.
31. 27. Verslag over een vergadering van de eerste leden van de sociëteit onder de leiding van Ignatius, waarin vooral over de gehoorzaamheid aan de paus, de armoede en het aanvaarden van nieuwe leden gehandeld werd, 1539 (8 fol.).
32. 28. Verklaring door Isabella Roser dat Ignatius nooit van haar iets heeft willen ontvangen en dat zij uit eigen beweging naar Rome kwam om Ignatius te zien, 2 april 1547 (2 fol.).

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio*, t. I, p. 545-546.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. F. TOURNIER, *S. François Xavier d'après un manuscrit inédit du P. Auger*, in *Études*, 109 (1906), 657-669.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. MHSI, *Scripta de S. Ignatio*, t. I, p. 659-666.

29. Beschuldiging van de sociëteit door de Sorbonne te Parijs, dat ze aan de godsdienst meer kwaad deed dan goed; weerlegging door Martinus Olavius, jezuïet, z.d. (7 fol.).
30. Bekendmaking van het aanvaarden der jezuïeten in Frankrijk, 1 december 1554.
31. Reeks maatregelen betreffende de algemeen overste, het lezen van missen en het oprichten van huizen en colleges, z.d. (4 fol., Spaans).
32. Beschrijving van de manier waarop men opmerkingen moet vragen en opmerkingen moet beantwoorden, z.d. (Italiaans).
33. Uitroeping van Sint-Ignatius tot patroon van de stad Catana in Sicilië, 1669.
34. Korte uiteenzetting over prestaties om de oude *Academia Carolina* van Osnabrück te doen herleven en over de toewijding van de kerk aan Sint-Ignatius, z.d. (2 fol.).

#### 4 (register)

1. Uiteenzetting van Joannes Wamesius, professor te Leuven, aan de kanselier en de leden van de Raad van Brabant over het nadeel dat de jezuïeten vooral aan de Leuvense universiteit berokkenen door overal faculteiten van theologie en *artes* op te richten, 24 oktober 1588 (9 fol.).
2. Over jezuïet Petrus a Costa, die door de Hollanders slecht behandeld werd, omdat hij voor de Fransen spioneerde, en die later in vrijheid gesteld werd, 1692 (3 brieven, Latijnse, Franse, Nederlandse).
3. Uiteenzetting over de houding van de protestanten in de Verenigde Provinciën tegenover de jezuïeten, z.d. (1692) (2 fol.).
4. Uittreksel uit het register der resoluties van de Staten-Generaal der Verenigde Provinciën: alle jezuïeten moeten het grondgebied verlaten tegen 1 juli eerstkomende, 7 mei 1720 (3 pag., Nederlands).



43. 5. Bericht van M.V. Scheltinga, lid van de gedeputeerde Staten van Friesland, dat het bevel van 7 mei 1720 strikt zal uitgevoerd worden, 25 mei 1720 (Nederlands).
44. 6. Protest vanwege een protestant op de resolutie van 7 mei 1720, met de redenen van het ongepaste en onredelijke besluit waardoor de gedeputeerden van de Hollandse provincie al de religieuzen willen verbannen (Franse vertaling uit het Nederlands), z.d. (5 fol.).
45. 7. Verslag door jezuïet Joannes Baptista Arendts over de verheffing van Joannes Baptista Salernus, jezuïet, tot kardinaal, 10 februari 1720.
46. 8. Uitspraak van de soevereine Raad van Brabant in het proces tussen Rombout Van Vianen, suppliant, en Jacobus Pires, rector der jezuïeten te Brussel, met Ludgerus Janssens, jezuïet, aangaande de al dan niet teruggave aan R. Van Vianen, van de door hem in bewaring gegeven zakken goud, geld en versierselen, 24 september 1742 (15 pag., Nederlands, gedrukt), cfr. A. PONCELET, *o.c.*, p. LII en LIII.
47. 9. Lijst van biechtvaders (*paenitentarii*) uit de Nederlanden in het college van Loreto vanaf 1559 tot 1706.
48. 10. Bevestiging van Florentius de Montmorency, jezuïet, dat men aan de bisschop de jurisdictie tot prediken en biechthoren moet vragen, november 1625.
49. 11. Enkele opmerkingen van huishoudelijke aard door Ludovicus de Camargo, jezuïet, 1683.
50. 12. Verslag van Isaac de Bruyne, jezuïet, over een bezoek bij de paus als voorbereiding op de verkiezing van een algemeen overste en goedkeuring van de moraal leer der jezuïeten, 24 januari 1706.
51. 13. Bericht van Franciscus de Cleyn, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, over de goedkeuring door paus Alexander VII in de algemene vergadering der jezuïeten van de oude manier waarop de jezuïeten bestuurd worden, 16 februari 1663.
52. 14. Mededeling van een schrijven van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, van 24 augustus 1647 betreffende de aan te nemen

houding tegenover hen, die de sociëteit willen verlaten, 31 oktober 1647.

15. Aansporing door Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, gericht aan Philippus a Burgundia, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Gent, om zich met meer enthousiasme te wijden aan de kleine scholen, wat toch de taak der jezuïeten is, 28 juli 1646.

16. Schrijven over de manier waarop de rekeningen moeten gemaakt worden, 31 maart en 30 april 1640.

17. Schrijven van Joannes Baptista Engelgrave, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, over het biechthoren van zusters en over het feest van Sint-Franciscus-Xaverius, 14 mei 1647.

18. Schrijven van Joannes Baptista Engelgrave, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, over het in retraite gaan, het lezen van het martyrologium bij het ontbijt en het niet mogen beschikken over geld door scholastieken, 11 juni 1648.

19. Verbod door Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, om propaganda te maken voor zich zelf of anderen ten einde hogere ambten te bekomen, 22 juni 1647.

20. Bevel van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, uniformiteit in de afstand der goederen na te streven, 7 december 1647 en 2 april 1648.

21. Vraag van Joannes Baptista Engelgrave, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, aan Franciscus de Seclin, rector van het jezuïeten-college te Gent, voor de toestand in Polen te willen bidden, 6 februari 1649.

22. Antwoord van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, op vragen van de provincialen in de achtste algemene vergadering van 1646 (3 pag.).

23. Bevestiging door Georgius Poth, jezuïet, vanuit Mainz aan Laurentius van Schoone, overste van het professiehuis van de jezuïeten te Antwerpen, dat er te Mainz geen gevaar is voor jansenisme, 3 april 1677.

24. Schrijven van Andreas Judoci, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, aan Henricus Nobelaer, rector van het college te Gent,

over het beter onderhouden van de armoede o.a. bij het bouwen en het eten, 6 april 1643.

63. 25. Voorschriften van particuliere aard, o.a. over het gebruik van wijn in plaats van «potagie» op bepaalde dagen, 27 januari 1648.
64. 26. Mededeling door Joannes Baptista Engelgrave, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, van een schrijven van Goswinus Nickel, algemeen overste, over het strikte verbod te roken en de herroeping van alle ooit gegeven toelatingen, 15 maart 1653.
65. 27. Aansporing door Andreas Judoci, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, tot het verwijderen van het overtollige in moeilijke tijden, 1 mei 1645 (2 fol.).
66. 28. Allerlei verordeningen door Andreas Judoci, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, o.a. over het rekenschap geven van het reisgeld, over het smokkelen van brieven binnen en buiten het klooster, over het verbod aan de gasten elkander op hun kamer te bezoeken, 20 augustus 1641.
67. 29. Verordening door Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, gericht aan Philippus a Burgundia, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Gent, i.v.m. wie de jezuïeten aan tafel mogen uitnodigen, en bij wie zij zelf mogen gaan eten en hoe zij zich moeten gedragen, 14 april 1646; aansporing door V. Caraffa aan de provincialen zich aan de algemene verordening te houden, 28 april 1646 (2 fol.).
68. 30. Uiteenzetting door Emmanuel da Silva over de geestelijke toestand in Malabar met zijn Thomas-kristenen en syro-antiocheense schismatieken en over bemoeilijking van het apostolaat der jezuïeten met de komst van de karmelieten, 2 februari 1772 (3 pag.).
69. 31. Beschrijving door Petrus Cloek van zijn woelige reis naar Curaçao en van zijn goede ontvangst door de overheden aldaar, 9 september 1738 (2 fol.).
70. 32. Vraag van Emmanuel da Silva uit Malabar geen jansenistisch-gezinde religieuzen of seculieren te zenden, daar zij de evangelisatie bemoeilijken en de aanwezige karmelieten al genoeg herrie veroorzaken, 25 februari 1720.

- . 33. Over het probleem of de kleurlingen uit Mozambique, door kooplieden meegevoerd, gevangenen zijn of gekochte slaven, 23 juni 1709 (2 fol., Spaans).
- . 34. Verslag over het geval Mamet Célébi, oudste zoon van Amat Day, koning van Tunesië, die het ouderlijke paleis ontvluchtte, in Sicilië belandde, er gedoopt werd, naar Rome reisde en door de katholieke koning aldaar ontvangen werd, mei 1646 (2 fol.).
- . 35. Mededeling door Philippus Sibin, jezuïet, over de droevige toestand in China (twee jezuïeten waren er gemarteld en de anderen buitengezet) en over de betere toestand in Siam. Hij trouwt op de komst van schepen uit Oostende, 20 november 1742 (2 fol.).
- . 36. Schrijven van de overste van Amsterdam over de terugkomst van pater Joannes de Britto († 1693) uit Madurai, 3 april (z.j.).
- . 37. Mededeling van de verkiezing van Michaël Angelus Tamburini tot algemeen overste, 2 februari 1706.
- . 38. Mededeling van nieuwtjes door Joannes de Francqueville uit Brussel aan Joannes Renterghem, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Leuven, 30 maart 1662.
- . 39. Aanklacht door Franciscus Guesti uit Tartarije dat de jezuïeten niet onderdanig zijn aan de paus, gehecht aan de Chinese riten, beweren de eerste orde te zijn en geen andere religieuzen in China wensen (Latijnse vertaling uit het Chinees), z.d.
- . 40. Schrijven van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, aan de provincialen over het aanbevelen van het *exercitium missionum* én het aanstellen van een *praefectus missionum* in iedere provincie, 8 juni 1647.
- . 41. Lof door jezuïet Georgius Poth aangaande de gezonde leer die Nicolaus Dubois in Mainz verspreidt, gericht tot Laurentius van Schoone, overste van het professiehuis te Antwerpen, 30 juni 1677.
- . 42. Herinnering door Joannes Baptista Engelgrave, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, uit Leuven aan verschillende uitspraken van de algemeen overste, o.a. over het verbod buiten het klooster te ver-

blijven, het bestuur en het onderwijs van de kleine scholen, de vakantie; 6 december 1646.

43. Idem, 8 augustus 1643.

81. 44. Discussie tussen jezuïeten en dominicanen naar aanleiding van de thesis *de Deo uno et trino*, verdedigd op 19 november 1732 onder voorzitterschap van Petrus van Alen, jezuïet, z.d.
82. 45. Nieuws van jezuïet Adamus Weidenfelt uit Lissabon over de missiën in Oost-Afrika: overal veel bekeringen, algemeen succes, 19 november 1679 (3 pag.).
83. 46. Schrijven van jezuïet Ludovicus de Camargo aan Rumoldus Smidts, jezuïet, te 's-Gravenhage, dat veel geld wordt uitgegeven bij de tractaties en dat men zich in Den Haag goed moet gedragen, 28 november 1677.
84. 47. Raadgevingen van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, en vraag om inlichtingen over de jezuïeten, 11 mei 1647 - 18 april 1648 (2 fol.).
85. 48. Bericht door Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, aan Philippus a Burgundia, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Gent, over het decreet dat de oversten slechts drie jaar mogen aanblijven, 16 juni 1646.
86. 49. Bevel van Andreas Judoci, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, aan Henricus Nobelaer, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Gent, alle boeken van Cornelius Jansenius en zijn volgelingen uit de bibliotheken te doen verwijderen, 21 oktober 1641.
87. 50. Aankondiging van de dood van kardinaal Joannes de Lugo met de verplichting voor de priesters vier missen te lezen en voor de niet-priesters een rozenkrans te bidden, 2 augustus 1660.
88. 51. Getuigenis door baljuw en schepenen van Ieper dat Joannes Van Laer, voor de tweede maal rector van het jezuïetencollege aldaar, elders ambten had bekleed met de meeste bekwaamheid, 30 januari 1699, bekrachtigd door de brigadier van de legers van de koning, 2 april 1699 (Frans), cfr. *infra*, nr. 55.
89. 52. Verklaring van Joannes Baptista Boddens, rector te Maastricht, aan de hertog van Bouillon dat hij, hoewel ter dood veroordeeld,

onschuldig is aan het verraad van Jean Lansmann, 20 juli 1638 (Frans).

53. Beschrijving van de folteringen en de dood van Joannes Baptista Boddens, rector te Maastricht, van Philippus Notijn en Gerardus Pasmaan, jezuïeten, alle drie gevangen genomen op 18 maart 1638, z.d.

54. Beslissing van Filips V dat de stad Kortrijk de overeenkomst met het college der jezuïeten moet nakomen, 21 september 1701, 27 januari 1702 (Frans).

55. Cfr. *supra*, nr. 51, doch gedagtekend 4 maart 1699 (Frans).

56. Bullen en decreten van pausen, vorsten en steden, goedgekeurd door Karel II, koning van Spanje, en de gouverneurs-generaal der Nederlanden, waarin verklaard wordt dat de societas Jesu een bedelorde is en zij bijgevolg moet genieten van alle voorrechten aan de mendicanten geschonken, o.a. een vrijstelling van belasting, 4 mei 1680. Dit als antwoord op een vraag van Karel II van 25 februari 1679 (5 fol., Frans).

57. Opgave van het jaarlijks inkomen van het college van de jezuïeten te Sint-Winnoksbergen van 1688 tot 1691 (Nederlands).

58. Beslissing van de regering als antwoord op een klacht van Gillis van Poecke, provinciaal der Vlaamse provincie, dat de jezuïeten aan niemand rekenschap moeten geven tenzij aan hun oversten betreffende hun recht onroerende goederen aan te kopen voor een som van 5.000 florijnen per jaar voor het stichten van colleges, 12 maart 1677 (Frans).

59. Uittreksel uit de registers van de Raad van State: gebod aan de jezuïeten de goederen aan te geven, verworven sedert 1655, vermits die niet vrij zijn van de rechten van de dode hand, 31 december 1697; koninklijk decreet dienaangaande, 20 september 1681 (gedrukt, 6 pag., Frans).

60. Verhaal van de feiten die zich in 1735 te Leuven afspeelden tussen Joannes Baptista Schoeps, plebaan van Leuven, en Joannes Baptista De Smet, jezuïet, aangaande de plaats waar kinderen moeten mishoren en catechismus volgen (2 fol.).

97. 61. Verklaring door de president van het Rekenhof te Brugge dat de jezuïeten mendicanten zijn en bijgevolg vrij van lasten, 12 juli 1668 (Frans).
98. 62. Beslissing van Demadrijs, raadsman van Karel II, dat de jezuïeten mendicanten zijn en bijgevolg vrij van lasten, 30 oktober 1696 (Frans).
99. 63. Veroordeling van Pierre Durye tot het teruggeven aan de jezuïeten van elf pond en vier stuivers, als belasting op de bossen, 6 november 1696 (uittreksel uit het dagvaardingsregister van de stad Duinkerke, 2 ex., Frans), cfr. *infra*, nr. 66.
100. 64. Weerlegging van de bewering dat Majolez op grond van het bezit van een beurs van het college van 's-Hertogenbosch te Leuven geschikt was om het voorzitterschap van dat college waar te nemen, 1 april 1724.
101. 65. Verklaring van Lodewijk XIV dat de huizen en de colleges der jezuïeten vrij zijn van belasting zoals onder het Spaanse bewind, 4 mei 1680 (Frans).  
66. Cfr. *supra*, nr. 63.
102. 67. Lijst van al de voorrechten aan de jezuïeten verleend door bullen en decreten van pausen, door beslissingen van vorsten en steden vanaf de stichting tot 1666; verbod van de regering belastingen te eisen van de mendicanten, 5 november 1667 (4 fol.).
103. 68. Uiteenzetting van een proces, ingespannen door de erfgenamen van Pierre Pasqual De Deckeren en gravin de Clermont tegen Marie de Haze, die geërfde goederen liet verhuren en verkopen door jezuïeten te Antwerpen alsof die de ware erfgenamen waren (± 1672) (6 fol., Frans).
104. 69. Geschil tussen het college der jezuïeten te Kortrijk en de stad die de beloofde bijdrage niet wou betalen, 5 januari 1703 (6 fol., Nederlands).
105. 70. Bevestiging door Lodewijk XIV van al de voorrechten der jezuïeten in de gewesten hen toegewezen door de vrede der Pyreneeën, 12 augustus 1680 (3 pag., Frans).

5. 71. Protest vanwege de rectoren der jezuïeten tegen de te betalen belasting op kolen en brandhout, 26 november 1697 (3 fol., Frans).
7. 72. Vraag of de jezuïeten feodale goederen mogen aanvaarden; vraag of zulke goederen, gekregen bij legaat, mogen bewaard worden of moeten verkocht worden, z.d. (14 pag., gedrukt).
3. 73. Verhaal van het onderhoud tussen Jacobus Gilebert, pastoor te Kortrijk, en een jezuïetenpredikant, waarin de pastoor opmerkingen maakt vooral aangaande de te gemakkelijke absolutie; onderhoud later voortgezet in tegenwoordigheid van Gilbertus de Choiseul, bisschop van Doornik, 28 maart 1677 (4 fol.)<sup>26</sup>.
9. 74. Korte mededelingen door Henricus Calenus, deken van het district Brussel, over de toestand van de parochies rond Brussel, na 1630 (9 fol.).
9. 75. Vraag vanwege Joannes de Brier, rector van het jezuïetencollege van Kortrijk, aan Gilbertus de Choiseul, bisschop van Doornik, om een verklaring over de *ignorantia invincibilis*, 15 april 1677; antwoord van de bisschop, 1 juni 1677 (16 fol.), cfr. *supra* nr. 73.
1. 76. Vraag vanwege Gilbertus de Choiseul, bisschop van Doornik, aan Joannes de Brier, rector van de jezuïeten te Kortrijk, om het geschil met de pastoor aangaande de predikatie minzaam op te lossen, 12 april 1677; mededeling vanwege Jacobus Gilebert, pastoor te Kortrijk, dat hij weggaat omwille van de achterklap van de jezuïeten, 5 september 1678 (6 fol.), cfr. *supra* nr. 73.

#### 5 (register)

2. 1. Beschrijving van de driedaagse jubelviering van Jacobus Stratius (Van der Straten), rector der jezuïeten te Leuven, 1629 (3 fol.).

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. A. JANSSEN, *Contritionisme tegen attritionisme te Kortrijk (1677)*, in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis Van der Essen*, t. II, Brussel-Parijs, 1947, p. 837-841, zie *infra*, nrs. 75 en 76.



113. 2. Verhaal van twee mirakelen te Rome op voorspraak van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Onbevlekt Ontvangen in 1652, naar een brief van 1 februari 1653 van jezuïet Nadasi vanuit Rome aan Guillelmus de Wael van Vronesteyn, jezuïet, en van een mirakel te Ath in België in 1653.
114. 3. Bijzonderheden over deugden, werken, ziekte en afsterven van Carolus de Noyelle, algemeen overste der jezuïeten, 25 januari 1687 (2 fol.).
115. 4. Verslag over de verkiezing en de dood van Claudius Aquaviva, algemeen overste der jezuïeten, 1615.
116. 5. Verslag over de dood van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste der sociëteit, († 8 juni 1649) z.d. (3 fol., Italiaans).
117. 6. Verslag door Everardus Mercurianus, jezuïet, over de dood van Franciscus Borgia, 3 oktober 1752.
118. 7. Verordeningen van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, en Florentius de Montmorency, jezuïet, binnen de 60 dagen een generale vergadering te houden te Rome; maatregelen voor de reis naar Rome en het verblijf aldaar, resp. 23 oktober 1646 en 10 juni 1649 (3 fol.).
119. 8. Lofrede door Ferdinandus Alberus, vicaris-generaal van de sociëteit, op Claudius Aquaviva, algemeen overste († 31 januari 1615), 7 februari 1615 (2 fol.).
120. 9. Ondervraging van Stanislas Kostka en van Rodolf Aquaviva resp. op 28 oktober 1567 en op 2 april 1568, voor aanvaarding in de sociëteit.
121. 10. Graftschrift van kardinaal Sfortia Pallavicino, jezuïet († 1667), in de kerk van het Sint-Andreasnoviciaat te Rome; beschrijving van andere inschriften en afbeeldingen in dat noviciaat.
122. 11. Hulde aan kardinaal Sfortia Pallavicino, z.d. (gedrukt).
123. 12. Graftschrift van Petrus van Hingen (= Petrus van Enghen), jezuïet en beroemd predikant, overleden in het college te Roermond († 17 september 1691), toen hij naar Mechelen wou weerkren, z.d. (gedrukt).

4. 13. Melding van het overlijden en beschrijving van het deugdzaam leven van Michel le Tellier, gewezen provinciaal van Frankrijk en gewezen biechtvader van Lodewijk XIV, 21 september 1719 (4 fol., Frans).
5. 14. Verklaring over de vondst, na 40 jaar, van het ongeschonden lijk van Gaspar Duzbrich, wiens kleren en kist in stof en as waren vergaan, 19 januari 1667.
5. 15. Voorspellingen door Franciscus Borgia en andere jezuïeten, 1624.
7. 16. Voorspelling van Martinus Stredonius, tweemaal provinciaal van de provincie Bohemen, overleden op 26 augustus 1649 te Brünn in Moravië, cfr. *infra*, nr. 19.
3. 17. Uittreksel uit de levensbeschrijving van jezuïet Martinus Stredonius, geboren in Opper-Silezië, door Wenceslas Schwitzer, gedrukt te Praag in 1673; eigen gezegden van Martinus Stredonius, cfr. *infra*, nr. 20.
2. Voorzeggingen door Joannes Brughman (sic), minderbroeder (+ 1468) (afschrift uit de archieven van de Nederlandse provincie der minderbroeders).
  19. Cfr. *supra*, nr. 16.
  20. Cfr. *supra*, nrs. 16 en 17.
  21. Cfr. *supra*, nrs. 16 en 19.
2. 22. Verslag over de intrede van Joannes Casimir, de latere koning van Polen, in de Sociëteit, 1646. Cfr. *infra*, reg. 6, nrs. 39 en 42.
1. 23. Lofrede over de deugden van Paulus Segneri, jezuïet, geschreven in naam van Joannes Petrus Pinamonti, jezuïet, aan de rector van het college van Firenze, Rome 18 december 1694 (5 fol., Italiaans).
2. 24. Lofrede vanuit Madrid over de deugden van Balthazar Loyola de Mendez, jezuïet, 5 januari 1668.
3. 25. Beschrijving van het lijden en de overgave van Franciscus Piccolomini, algemeen overste (+ 17 juni 1651); lofprijzing, 5 juli 1651 (4 fol., Italiaans).

134. 26. Schrijven van de rector van Paderborn aan de provinciaal over het moedig gedrag van Everard Meiradt (Meyradt), novice, 14 juni 1614 (4 fol.).
135. 27. Verslagen door Joannes Rho, jezuïet, over de dood en de deugden van Franciscus Piccolomini, algemeen overste, 1650-1651 (11 fol., Italiaans en Latijn), cfr. *infra*, nr. 29.
136. 28. Voorschrift bij het verkiezen van een algemeen overste, 21 februari 1645 (2 fol.); eedformulier (gedrukt).  
29. Cfr. *supra*, nr. 27.
137. 30. Graftschriften van jezuïeten-kardinalen te Rome o.a. van Robertus Bellarminus (+ 1621), Joannes de Lugo (+ 1660), Joannes Everhardus Nithard (+ 1681), Sfortia Pallavicino (+ 1667), Petrus Pazman (+ 1637); levensbeschrijving van de in 1722 in leven zijnde jezuïetenkardinalen, nl. Joannes Baptista Ptolomaeus Perusinus, Joannes Baptista Salerno uit Napels, Albarus Cienfriegos (alleenlijk vernoemd) (2 fol.).
138. 31. *Curriculum vitae* van Petrus Pázmány, uit edele doch ketterse ouders geboren in Hongarije en ingetreden in 1586 (2 fol.).  
32. Lange alfabetische lijst van namen, z.d. (10 fol.).  
33. Namen van jezuïeten die voor zaligverklaring in aanmerking komen; lijst van heiligen en zaligen van de Sociëteit z.d.

## 6 (register)

139. 1. Aanmoedigingsbrief van Innocentius XI aan Ferdinand Verbiest, jezuïet en missionaris in China, 3 december 1681.
140. 2. Breve van Alexander VII waarin hij aan de Camillianen (*clerici regulares congregationis ministrantium infirmis*) het privilege verleent van het geven van volle aflaat aan een stervende die een kruisbeeld kust, 25 januari 1656.
141. 3. Verlening door Sixtus V aan de nog te stichten huizen en colleges der jezuïeten van al de aflaten en privileges, door de pausen aan het generalaat te Rome gegeven, 5 januari 1586 (gedrukt).

2. 4. Bepaling door Innocentius X van de tijd waarop de generaal en de officiales der jezuïeten moeten herkozen worden, 1 januari 1646 (4 fol.).
3. 5. Vier brieven, getekend door Antonius Florebellus Lavellinus, aan de koning en de koningin van Frankrijk, aan de nuntius, aan de parlamentsleden van Parijs, waarin de verdediging en ondersteuning van de jezuïetencolleges warm wordt aanbevolen, 29 mei 1565 (2 fol.).
4. 6. Bepaling van Benedictus XIII dat de jezuïeten die voor de plechtige geloften weggezonden worden, geen aanspraak kunnen maken op ondersteuning door de Sociëteit, 14 juni 1728 (gedrukt).
5. 7. Lofbrief van Urbanus VIII aan de christenen in verscheidene steden van Japan om hun getrouwheid aan het geloof en met belofte van hulp, 14 oktober 1626 (6 fol., Italiaans).
5. 8. Vraag van Clemens VIII aan Hendrik, koning van Frankrijk, om de jezuïeten zo niet in Parijs dan toch in andere steden van zijn land toe te laten, 20 januari 1593.
7. 9. Lijst van voorrechten verleend door Gregorius XIII aan de jezuïeten die in de Noordelijke provinciën de ketterijen gaan bestrijden en de wankelende kerkelijke jurisdictie ondersteunen, 25 juni 1573 (2 fol.).
3. 10. Verklaring door Paulus III over de vrij spraak van Ignatius van Loyola van al de beschuldigingen door kwade tongen verspreid, 13 oktober 1537.
9. 11. Uitspraak van de Rota ten voordele van Paulus Aler, jezuïet, en ten nadele van Joannes Forsbach, gewezen rector van de universiteit van Keulen, die Paulus Aler van de namenlijst der universiteit had doen schrappen en een boek van hem had doen verbranden, 5 maart 1706 (gedrukt).
3. 12. Beslissing door de congregatie ter interpretatie van het concilie van Trente nopens het voldoen van de paasplicht door de gelovigen bij de reguleren, 31 januari 1682 (gedrukt).
1. 13. Goedkeuring door de Congregatie der Riten van de oratie ter ere van Franciscus Regis, jezuïet, 9 mei 1716 (gedrukt).

152. 14. Verbod door de Congregatie van de Index het boek *Monita privata Societatis Jesu* <sup>27</sup>, anoniem uitgegeven te Notobirga in 1612, te lezen of te bewaren, 28 december 1616 (gedrukt).
153. 15. Antwoord op vragen aangaande de missiën der jezuïeten, z.d. (Italiaans).
154. 16. Decreet van Innocentius XII van 17 augustus 1695 volgens welk jezuïeten niet vallen onder de bepaling van 14 december 1693 die de regulieren het voorrecht ontzegt de interstitiën voor de wijdingen niet te moeten onderhouden (4 pag., gedrukt).
155. 17. Decreet van de *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* aangaande de moeilijkheden tussen de *vicarii apostolici* in Tonkin en de jezuïeten, 2 oktober 1725; verlening van de faculteit aan de generaal der jezuïeten zijn missionarissen de opgelopen censuren kwijt te schelden, 14 december 1725. Cfr. *infra*, nr. 19.
156. 18. Voorstel door sommige kardinalen dat de paus zelf de congregatie zal kiezen, die zich zal belasten met de *causa neapolitana*: de terugkeer van de jezuïeten, 28 februari 1722.  
19. Cfr. *supra*, nr. 17.
157. 20. Verbod door de Algemene Inquisitie van alle twisten onder de regulieren en streng optreden tegen diegenen die de jezuïeten beschimpen, 30 juni 1634 (3 pag., Spaans).
158. 21. Vraag aan de *Congregatio Concilii* of de maatregelen tegen de regulieren-apostaten van 21 september 1624 ook de jezuïeten treffen; antwoord, z.d.
159. 22. Verklaring van de algemene overste der jezuïeten nopens de volledige onderdanigheid aan de bepalingen van de *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, z.d. (Italiaans).
160. 23. Verklaring van de congregatie van het Concilie dat de *Ignatiani* zich niet *societas Jesu* mogen noemen, gereserveerd voor de jezuïeten, 29 januari 1625.
161. 24. Schrijven over de onderwerping aan de *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, over het aantal missionarissen in verschillende lan-

<sup>27</sup> Bedoeld is *Monita secreta*, cfr. L. KOCH, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, Paderborn, 1934, col. 1225-1227.

den, over het niet beschuldigen van de hele Sociëteit, als er een jezuïet iets misdoet, z.d. (2 fol., Italiaans).

2. 25. Vraag of de novicen der jezuïeten afstand moeten doen van hun goederen alvorens hun geloften uit te spreken, z.d.
3. 26. Weerlegging door de jezuïeten van de klachten die de *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* had gekregen over het feit dat zij in de missies de richtlijnen van de H. Stoel niet naleefden en de hiërarchie niet gewillig waren, z.d.
4. 27. Negatieve antwoorden van de Congregatie voor de interpretatie van het Concilie van Trente op de vraag van Georgius Vaccarinus om steun na zijn weggagen (*expulsio*) uit de sociëteit, 17 mei 1695 (Latijn); schrijven van Franciscus Farnese hieromtrent aan Sfortia Pallavicino, jezuïet en secretaris van de Congregatie, 17 mei 1695 (Italiaans).
5. 28. Verplaatsing van het feest van Franciscus Borgio door de Congregatie der Riten van 3 oktober op 10 oktober, 24 juli 1683 (gedrukt).
6. 29. Uitspraak van de Congregatie van de Inquisitie dat de jezuïeten in geen betrekking meer mogen staan met zuster Maria Elisabeth a Cruce Jesu om een soort nieuwe congregatie te stichten, op straffe van excommunicatie, 20 september 1648.
7. 30. Verklaring aangaande de toelating ten huize biecht te horen, 25 juli 1625 (Italiaans).
8. 31. Toelating aan de jezuïeten-missionarissen om te dispensereren in de derde en de vierde graad, 8 april 1671; voorlegging aan de paus van aanvragen tot dispensaties in de tweede graad, 2 mei 1671.
9. 32. Vraag van Felice Barbarito, jezuïet, om gevangenisstraf verder te mogen uitzitten in een klooster van zijn sociëteit z.d. (Italiaans).
0. 33. Toelating door Clemens XI om bij de zaligverklaring van jezuïet Franciscus Regis in bepaalde plaatsen een eigen mis te celebreren en het officie te lezen, 8 mei 1716.

171. 34. Bewijs dat aan de bul van Paulus V van 5 september 1606 aangaande de stichting der jezuïeten en hun voorrechten niets mag veranderd worden; bewijsredenen geput uit de instructies van Joseph Agnelli, jezuïet, van 1698, z.d., cfr. *infra*, nr. 36.
172. 35. Verslag over de uitlatingen van een Romeinse prelaat over het nepotisme der pausen, over de algemeen overste der jezuïeten die te zwak optreedt jegens sommige jezuïeten die niet gehoorzamen aan de paus en de Romeinse congregaties, over de jezuïeten in Indië die een catechismus hadden laten drukken waarin slechts over de verheerlijkte Christus en niet over de gekruisigde gesproken wordt, en over de jezuïeten die een jansenistische moraal verkondigen, z.d. (Italiaans).
173. 36. Bewijsvoering over de echtheid van de bul van Paulus V, die de jezuïeten goedkeurde en voorrechten toekende, en tegen de aanklacht dat de bul subreptief zou zijn daar de handtekening van de paus ontbreekt, z.d. (2 fol.), cfr. *supra*, nr. 34.
174. 37. Pleidooi bij de paus om de algemeen overste der jezuïeten niet tot het kardinaat te verheffen, z.d. (Italiaans).
175. 38. Pleidooi bij de paus om niets te veranderen aan de bestuurswijze der jezuïeten, de verkiezing van de algemeen overste en zijn macht, z.d. (6 fol., Italiaans).
176. 39. Dankbetoon van Joannes Casimir aan de koning van Polen voor al wat die deed om zijn roeping tot jezuïet aan te moedigen, z.d. (Italiaans).
177. 40. Toelating van de koning van Perzië aan de jezuïeten-missionarissen om zich in Ispahan, hoofdstad van Perzië, en in de naburige stad Dschulfa te vestigen, 9 november 1647.
178. 41. Vraag van Joannes Casimir, koning van Polen, uit Warschau, aan de algemeen overste der jezuïeten alles te doen om de jezuïeten tegen de laster te beschermen, 22 oktober 1666.
179. 42. Gelukwensen van keizer Ferdinand uit Wenen aan Joannes Casimir bij zijn beslissing bij de jezuïeten binnen te treden, 3 december 1643; schrijven vanwege paus Urbanus VIII om zijn vreugde te uiten bij de intrede van Casimir, 10 oktober 1643.

0. 43. Lof door keizer Ferdinand aan paus Innocentius XI over de jezuïeten voor hun verdediging van het geloof in Oostenrijk en in de naburige landen, 6 juni 1682.
1. 44. Schenking door Ferdinand, aartshertog van de Oostenrijkse erflanden, aan de jezuïeten van al de goederen van het klooster van Millstatt met toelating om andere kloosters te stichten in zijn domein en met bekrachtiging van al de rechten der jezuïeten, gegeven door zijn voorgangers, 1 januari 1602 (5 fol.).
2. 45. Verzoek bij Lodewijk XIV tegen een pamflet van 2 februari 1668 uitgegeven door Ludovicus Henricus de Gondrin, aartsbischop van Sens, waarin die de jezuïeten ervan beschuldigt de jeugd door hun onderwijs te verderven, 29 februari 1668 (8 pag., Frans, gedrukt).
3. 46. Plechtige verklaring van 40 advocaten het gezag van Lodewijk XV te erkennen en hem te gehoorzamen, wat de plicht is van al de onderdanen, de geestelijken niet uitgezonderd, 25 november 1730 (Frans).
4. 47. Verklaring door hooggeplaatste ambtenaren aan Hendrik IV, koning van Frankrijk, dat katholieken en ketters niet slaags zijn geraakt in de stad Agen op aanstoken der jezuïeten, 27 augustus 1599 (Frans).
5. 48. Bewijsstuk dat Filips II op 20 augustus 1556 en in mei 1584 aan de jezuïeten het recht schonk alle gronden, behalve *feodalia cum jurisdictione* aan te kopen (8 pag., gedrukt).
6. 49. Verdedigingsgeschrift van Hendrik IV, koning van Frankrijk, tegen allen die hem wilden beletten de jezuïeten opnieuw in Frankrijk toe te laten, z.d. (2 fol., Italiaans).
7. 50. Verzoekschrift van de geestelijkheid en de adel om de jezuïeten het college van Clermont te Parijs terug te geven en hen ook toe te laten in andere streken colleges op te richten, 1603 (Frans).
8. 51. Opmerkingen bij een historisch werk van Petrus Mattheus, Frans geschiedschrijver, waarin onwaarheden staan over de jezuïeten, 1606 (3 fol.).



## 7 (register)

189. 1. Apologie door Jacobus Sirmondus, jezuïet († 1651), tegen Antonius Arnauld, Frans theoloog, waarin hij 1. uiteenzet waarom men niet luisteren moet naar de vijanden van de jezuïeten, die hen uit Frankrijk willen verdrijven, wat ellendige gevolgen zou hebben voor Kerk en Staat, 2. al de beschuldigingen weerlegt die de vijanden van de jezuïeten aanvoeren nl. dat zij vijanden van Frankrijk zijn, ondersteund worden door Spanje, oproer in verscheidene steden veroorzaken, de moord op koningen en vorsten verdedigen, rijkdommen opstapelen, ongehoorzaam zijn aan de wetten van de Staat, het volk bedriegen, misbruik maken van de biecht en onoprecht zijn in hun handel en wandel z.d. (7 fol.).
190. 2. Schrijven van Dionysius de Sempul de Pigonza, jezuïet, aan de inquisitor-generaal van Spanje met pleitrede voor het behoud der jezuïeten in Spanje en met verdediging tegen de lasterpraatjes dat zij zich bemoeien met de troonopvolging in Spanje, 20 december 1668 (5 fol., Spaans).
191. 3. Verdediging van de jezuïeten door Ludovicus Richeome, provinciaal der jezuïeten, gericht aan de Silleri, kanselier van Frankrijk en Navarra. Sommigen beschuldigden hen van koningsmoord op grond van het boek *De rege et regis institutione* van Jean Mariana, jezuïet, dat verbrand werd te Parijs en van wie men beweerde dat hij de moord op Hendrik III goedkeurde, omdat hij in zijn boek uitviel tegen de tyrannen, 4 juli 1610 (11 fol., Frans); schrijven van Ludovicus Richeome dat hij zijn verdedigingsstuk heeft laten drukken, en enkele opmerkingen dienaangaande, 25 september 1610 (Frans); opmerking van Bartholomaeus Petrus aan Franciscus Flerontinus, provinciaal van de Gallo-Belgica te Douai, aangaande het laten drukken van de verdediging van Richeome te Rome, 13 december 1610; vraag van Franciscus Flerontinus, gericht aan Franciscus Pratanus, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Brussel, om het drukken van het boek van Richeome tegen te houden, ten einde goed te blijven staan met het parlement van Parijs, 29 oktober 1610.
192. 4. Lofprijzing van de vijf jezuïeten en een advocaat, die in Engeland tijdens de vervolging van 1679 om het leven kwamen (2 fol.), cfr. *infra*, nr. 6.

3. 5. Beschrijving van de folteringen, de laatste woorden en de dood van Henricus Garnetus, jezuïet, uit Londen, 4 juli 1606 (4 fol.).
4. 6. Drie gedrukte pamfletten resp. over de valsheid van de beschuldigingen i.v.m. de vermeende medewerking der jezuïeten aan het buskruitcomplot (resp. 12, 25 en 11 pag., Frans); met het verloop van het proces in de gerechtszaal Old Bayly, 1679, met de toespraken van dezen van op het schavot, cfr. *supra* nr. 4.
5. 7. Lange uiteenzetting van Jacobus Payva Andradius, Portugees jezuïet, aan Sebastianus, koning van Portugal, over de oorsprong, de uitbreiding en de deugden der jezuïeten als weerlegging van de aanval op de jezuïeten door Martinus Kemnicius (Chemnitz) (1566), met tot slot de opsomming van al de privilegiën aan de jezuïeten gegeven door Pius IV, 1564 (49 pag.).
6. 8. Hulde aan de jezuïeten op het kapittel der franciscanen te Valladolid in 1565 (Spaans).
7. 9. Protest van het algemeen kapittel der karmelieten tegen de nieuwe uitgave van het boek *Gloria S. Ignatii*, waarin stukken van de H. Theresia met betrekking tot de jezuïeten werden weggelaten, 16 mei 1650.
8. 10. Decreet van Antonius Carneiro, abt-generaal van de benedictijnen, en zijn staf, die betreuren dat Leo a S. Thoma, Portugees benedictijn, in zijn boek minder aangename zaken over de jezuïeten had verkondigd, 29 oktober 1645.
9. 11. Bevel van Thomas Turco, magister-generaal der dominicanen, aan zijn onderdanen, de jezuïeten goed te behandelen en hun werk niet te beknibbelen, 23 april 1644 (2 ex.).
0. 12. Uiteenzetting betreffende de overdracht van vervallen kloosters in Duitsland aan de jezuïeten door bemiddeling van paus en keizer, Keulen, mei 1652 (2 fol.).
1. 13. Over het geschil tussen Franciscus Roales en Joannes Baptista Poza, jezuïet: Franciscus Roales had in zijn werk, uitgegeven in 1633, de ketters veroordeeld, tot wie hij ook de jezuïeten rekende; decreet van de Spaanse koning al de boeken tegen de jezuïeten te verbranden, 29 juni 1634; verantwoording door F. Roales; aanklacht tegen Joannes Baptista Poza, jezuïet; beslissing van de

aartsbisschop over de zaak te zwijgen, 20 december 1641 (6 fol. en 1 plaat, nl. een afbeelding met uitleg van oordeel, decreet en uitvoering van het verbod van Filips IV in Spanje van de boeken waarin misprijzend over jezuïeten werd geschreven, 1634, Latijnse en Duitse tekst).

202. 14. Betwisting tussen jezuïeten en theatijnen aangaande de aanwezigheid van het *Corpus Christi et Mariae* in de eucharistie, 16 februari 1630 en 11 januari 1647 (Italiaans).
203. 15. Uiteenzetting over de waarachtigheid van de openbaring gedaan aan Franciscus Borgia, dat geen enkel jezuïet die trouw blijft tot het einde, verloren zal gaan, z.d. (8 fol., Italiaans).
204. 16. Verhaal over de verheerlijking van dame di Lionne door de dominicanen die hen haar goederen had overgemaakt; antwoord der dominicanen; twist tussen dominicanen en jezuïeten of het al dan niet noodzakelijk was de Chinese riten af te zweren vooraleer gedoopt te worden; beschrijving van de weerslag van die twist tot in Europa; bevel tot zwijgen uit Rome aan beide partijen (4 fol., Italiaans).
205. 17. Dagboek van 1 juni 1599 tot 11 september 1599 aangaande onderhandelingen met Hendrik IV, koning van Frankrijk (i.v.m. de stichting van een huis te Parijs?).

#### 8 (register)

206. 1. Lijst van boeken, brieven en andere schriften voor en tegen de sociëteit, chronologisch gerangschikt, (vanaf 18 november 1538 tot 28 mei 1558) met verwijzingen naar het archiefdepot (4 fol.).
207. 2. Verwijzingen naar het archiefdepot over de troebelen in Venetië en Engeland, de geloften, Jacobus Laynez, Franciscus Xaverius, de naam *Societas Jesu* (8 fol.).
208. 3. Verwijzing naar stukken in het archiefdepot, met beschuldigingen tegen de jezuïeten en weerleggingen ervan, i.v.m. hun gehechtheid aan Spanje, hun opvoeding van de jeugd, hun inmening in de politiek, hun handeldrijven, hun gierigheid, ambitie, uiterlijk vertoon en hoogmoed, hun leer nopens het biechtgeheim (3 fol.).

9. 4. Verwijzing naar stukken in het archiefdepot over de eerste algemeen oversten der jezuïeten, de geloften, het koor, de moord op Henricus III en Henricus IV, koningen van Frankrijk, levensbeschrijvingen van jezuïeten; een lijst van werken tegen de jezuïeten o.a. dat van Ludovicus Maimbourg, ex-jezuïet (1682), met vermaning door Mutius Vitelleschi, jezuïet, van hen die een lakser moraal voorstaan, (4 januari 1617) (27 fol.).
0. 5. Uittreksel uit drie brieven van Louis Duvaucel, agent te Rome, die beweert dat de jezuïeten wegens hun anti-jansenisme slecht aangeschreven staan bij paus Innocentius XI, 14 en 21 november, 19 december 1682.
1. 6. Lijst van boeken door of over jezuïeten geschreven, 16de-17de eeuw.
2. 7. Beschrijving van herinneringen aan de kamer, waarin Sint-Ignatius werkte en bad, en over de verering die men verhoopt.
3. 8. Plannen van een van de kloosters der jezuïeten, in Romeinse handpalmen en Brusselse voeten opgemeten (3 pag.).
4. 9. Uittreksel uit het *Diarium archivi Romani* van 1610 tot 16 juni 1613; uittreksel uit het eigenhandig geschreven dagboek van Franciscus Sacchini, jezuïet, vanaf 5 juli 1619 tot 23 januari 1645: aantekeningen uit te Rome verdedigde thesissen over de genade, de *scientia media*, de biecht (ook door andere religieuzen), 1687-1720; uittreksel uit het dagboek van Tiburtinus vanaf 21 juni 1605 tot 23 februari 1617 met bijzonderheden over de verering van Ignatius, Stanislas Kostka en Franciscus Borgia (geheel, 8 fol.).
5. 10. Inventaris van de inhoud van de kast met opschrift: *Ad commendationem Societatis* vanaf 1543: eerst algemene inventaris dan afzonderlijke over Italië, Duitsland, Polen, Spanje, Portugal, Frankrijk; opsomming van de boeken, die de jezuïeten tegen de ketters schreven, van processen en akten m.b.t. de vervolging en de smaad aan de sociëteit; inventaris van wat zich in andere kasten bevindt (5 fol.).
6. 11. Inventaris van de stukken (1537-1648) in de grote kast van de achterkamer van de pater secretaris: inventaris van de stukken in de kamer van pater archivaris; stukken betreffende de Romeinse

congregatie van de Riten, van de Index, van de Propaganda, van de reguleren, van het H. Officie en van de Paenitentiarie; inventaris van het geheime archief in de grote kasten in de voorkamer van pater secretaris (10 fol.).

217. 12. Inventaris van de inhoud van de kast met opschrift: *Persecutiones et calumnia contra Societatem*, eerst een algemene inventaris, dan een afzonderlijke over Italië, Spanje, Portugal, Frankrijk, Duitsland, Polen en de Nederlanden (4 fol.).
218. 13. Inventaris van de inhoud van de grote kast: stukken over Sint-Ignatius en de eerste jezuïeten, over de geschriften van Sint-Theresia in verband met de oorsprong van de sociëteit, over getuigenissen bij de verkiezing van de generaal, over beschouwingen nopens het binnentreden in de sociëteit (6 fol.).
219. 14. Lijst van geschriften waarin de jezuïeten worden aangevallen van 1586 tot 1712; twee lijsten van geschriften waarin ze worden verdedigd, resp. van 1572 tot 1689, en van 1591 tot 1709 (13 fol.).

#### 9 (register)

220. *Bibliotheca pro et contra Societatem Jesu ordine chronologico proposita*: inventaris van boeken, brieven en andere geschriften (1343 in aantal) in de bibliotheek der jezuïeten voor en tegen de sociëteit onder de zes algemeen oversten, chronologisch gerangschikt (1506-1644), en met opmerkingen of verwijzingen naar het archiefdepot, 124 fol.

#### 10 (bundel)

221. 1. Breve van Gregorius XIII van 28 februari 1573 waarin hij toelaat het officie alleen en niet in koor te bidden en de wijding te ontvangen vóór de eeuwige geloften.
222. 2. Lijst van priesterwijdingen van jezuïeten-alumni van het seminarie van Leuven met aanduiding van diegenen die hen tot priester wijden, 1560-1683, en van de afstanden in mijlen van Leuven tot de steden: Antwerpen, Atrecht, Brugge, Brussel, Doornik, Gent, Ieper, Kamerijk, Keulen, Mainz, Namen, Sint-Omaars.
223. 3. Disputen tussen aartsbisschoppen van Mechelen en jezuïeten aangaande het z.g. privilege van de jezuïeten geen interstitiën bij

de wijdingen te moeten onderhouden, geen examens te moeten afleggen voor het ontvangen van wijdingen en voor het bekomen van jurisdictie, geen *litterae dimissoriae* van de plaatselijke bisschop nodig te hebben; Romeinse tussenkomsten, 1672-1685, 1697, 1760 (gedrukt en geschreven).

4. 4. Opdracht aan Joannes Buycx, aartspriester van Leuven, om bewijsstukken te leveren van de wijdingen te Mechelen, 9 juni 1679; bewijsstukken van wijdingen te Mechelen, 1679.
5. 5. - Klacht tegen het misbruik dat te veel leken in de geestelijke stand opgenomen worden die dan een werelds leven leiden, 5 april 1681.  
- Uiteenzetting door Henricus Cuyckius, officiaal te Mechelen, tegen de lange haren, de baard en de tonsuur der jezuïeten, z.d.

#### 11 (bundel)

5. 1. Breve van Innocentius X van 14 mei 1648 waarin de moeilijkheden tussen de bisschop van Santo Angelo (Brazilië) en de jezuïeten worden opgelost. De jezuïeten wilden zich namelijk aan de jurisdictie van de bisschop onttrekken, en beriepen zich daarvoor op hun exemptie inzake biechthoren, prediken en onderwijzen. Uiteenzetting van het standpunt van de bisschop door gezanten die hij naar Rome zond, en van dat van de procureur-generaal der jezuïeten die te Rome verbleef (gedrukt, 9 blz.).
7. 2. Lange memorie van de bisschop van Santo Angelo (Brazilië), op 8 januari 1649 naar Innocentius X gezonden, met aanklacht tegen de jezuïeten in zijn bisdom en in andere bisdommen omdat zij volgens hem de bisschop aanvallen en proberen af te zetten, zijn gezag bij het volk vernietigen, valse leerstellingen onder de gelovigen verspreiden en zo er de oorzaak van zijn dat het volk oproerig wordt; vraag om hulp aan de hogere overheid te Madrid (27 fol.).

#### 12 (bundel)

8. 1. Antwoord van de Congregatie van het Concilie op de vraag van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes of hij straffen mag toepassen op de re-

gulares die de H. Hostie naar de zieken dragen zonder licht en aangepaste kleding, 22 augustus 1643.

229. 2. Naamloze getuigenis aanwezig te zijn geweest bij de predikatie van jezuïet Arnold Spillebeen in de kerk der jezuïeten (s.l.) waarin hij de ouders ertoe aanspoorde te onderzoeken of hun kinderen geen ketterse begrippen aangeleerd werden, 11 oktober 1676 (Nederlands).
230. 3. Protest tegen het sermoen van een jezuïet die predikte dat men dagelijkse zonden met wijwater of door een goed werk kan uitwissen; de jezuïeten prediken niet meer *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* volgens de leer van hun stichter; voorstel van Don Carlos de Gurrea Aragon y Borja, hertog van Villa Hermosa, aan aartsbisschop A. De Berghes dat om verdere moeilijkheden te voorkomen de jezuïeten catechismus zouden geven op de zondagen en de pastoors op de donderdagen en dat deze in geval van beletsel, de hulp van de jezuïeten moeten inroepen, 8 juni 1679 (3 ex.); beklag van de aartsbisschop bij de paus over de machtsoverschrijding van de gouverneur-generaal en vraag of hij die aan de geestelijke rechter mag voorleggen, 16 juni 1679; drie briefjes daaromtrent, 17 en 28 augustus 1680, 7 september 1680. Cfr. *Verzameling Amatus Coriache*, reg. 12, fol. 120.
231. 4. Beslissing van de *Congregatio Concilii*: de jezuïeten hebben niet het recht catechismuslessen te geven zonder toestemming van de pastoor, 8 maart 1681 (4 exemplaren).
- 231a. 5. Antwoord van de *Congregatio Concilii* op de vraag of de jezuïeten en andere reguleren de communie mogen uitdelen aan de gelovigen van Palmzondag tot Beloken Pasen, 31 januari 1682 (gedrukt).
232. 6. Verzoek van aartsbisschop Alphonsus de Berghes aan Karel II en tegenverzoek van Ignatius Diertins, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Brussel, in verband met Franciscus Ewin die zonder toelating de vastenmeditaties in de kapel van het Hof hield (Frans); vraag hem te straffen (1688-1689).
233. 7. Schrijven van aartsbisschop Joannes Henricus de Franckenberg aan de rector der jezuïeten van Leuven dat de kinderen van het weeshuis, dat onder toezicht van het stadsbestuur en onder de

geestelijke leiding van de jezuïeten staat, hun eerste communie slechts na onderzoek door de plebaan in de kapel der jezuïeten mogen doen, 15 mei 1762; antwoord van de rector, 16 mei 1762; decreet van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg dat de eerste communie in de parochiekerk moet gebeuren, 13 januari 1763 (gedrukt).

- i. 8. Overeenkomst tussen Franciscus Van der Burch, vroeger bisschop van Gent en nu aartsbisschop van Kamerijk, en Jacobus Boonen, bisschop van Gent, met de jezuïeten aangaande het geven van catechismus in het bisdom tegen betaling, z.d. (tussen 1617-1621).

### 13 (bundel)

Vier documenten m.b.t. het *peccatum philosophicum*, cfr. L. CEYSENS, *Autour du pêché philosophique*, in *Augustiniana*, 14 (1964) (392-404, 378-425), zie *Jansenistica minora*, IX, 71.

- i. 1. Verwittiging gezonden aan Thyrsus Gonzalez de Santalla, algemeen overste van de jezuïeten te Rome, over de weerstand tegen de jezuïeten in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en Frankrijk, niet alleen omdat zij een lakse moraal voorstaan, maar ook omdat zij in de bestrijding van het jansenisme te ver gaan en valse thesissen verdedigen over het *peccatum philosophicum*; vraag aan de rectoren om die thesissen goed te onderzoeken, alvorens ze te laten drukken, z.d.
5. 2. Pleidooi van Thyrsus Gonzalez, algemeen overste van de jezuïeten, van 29 augustus 1690 bij Alexander VIII om de verkeerde opvattingen van enkele jezuïeten i.v.m. het *peccatum philosophicum* niet aan de hele sociëteit toe te schrijven (Italiaans).
7. 3. Schrijven van Thyrsus Gonzalez waarin hij de professoren van Leuven vraagt niet te ver te gaan bij de verdediging van het *peccatum philosophicum*, 22 juli 1690.
3. 4. Schrijven uit Rome om de stand van de uitvoering van het bevel van het H. Officie te kennen, 1 november 1690 (Italiaans).



## 14 (bundel)

239. 1. Bul van Clemens XIV van 21 juli 1773 betreffende de opheffing van de jezuïeten waarvan Maria-Theresia de uitvoering in onze provinciën had geëist; breve van Clemens XIV van 13 augustus 1773 met verzoek een commissie op te richten tot uitvoering van de bul der afschaffing (Latijnse en Franse tekst, gedrukt).
240. 2. Decreet van die commissie met verbod aan de bisschoppen jezuïeten met een functie te belasten zonder toestemming van de H. Stoel, 1 september 1773.
241. 3. Verklaring van Maria-Theresia i.v.m. de verzachting voor de financiële toestand van afgeschafte jezuïetenkloosters, 2 september 1773 (Frans, gedrukt).
242. 4. Ordonnantie van Maria-Theresia aangaande de bezittingen van de afgeschafte jezuïetenkloosters, 15 september 1773 (Frans, gedrukt).
243. 5. Verbod van Maria-Theresia aan de jezuïeten nog publiek missen te celebreren en gebod voortaan het kleed der seculieren te dragen, 15 september 1773 (Frans).
244. 6. Opdracht van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg aan de aarts-priesters van Aalst en Leuven, aan Carolus Leijniers, officiaal van Brabant, aan Henricus Haenen, deken van het Sint-Rombouts-kapittel en vicaris-generaal, de bul uit te voeren en de maatregelen van Rome toe te passen, 18 september 1773; antwoorden, 20-21 september 1773.
245. 7. Schrijven van de fiscale raadsheren over de afschaffing van al de „sodaliteiten onder leiding van de jezuïeten”, 20 oktober 1773 (Frans).
246. 8. Bericht van Karel van Lotharingen aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg dat men slechts uit noodzaak en mits aanvraag een beroep mag doen op een jezuïet voor de parochiedienst, 6 september 1775 (Frans).
247. 9. Schrijven van Pückler, secretaris van Maria-Theresia, vanuit Wenen aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg dat hij zijn best doet

bij hare Majesteit ten voordele der jezuïeten in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 7 november 1775 (Frans).

1. 10. Schrijven van Cornelius Franciscus de Nelis, academicus, over het gebruik van de kerk der jezuïeten te Brussel voor alle wereldse aangelegenheden, 30 oktober 1779 (Frans); bericht van Karel van Lotharingen dat die kerk buiten dienst gesteld is met verzoek deze te ontheiligen, en de gewijde altaarstenen weg te nemen, 20 november 1779 (Frans); antwoord van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg waarin hij de plebaan van Brussel met de uitvoering van het decreet belast, 30 november 1779.
1. 11. Vraag of twee ex-jezuïeten zouden mogen gaan eten in de herberg „De koning van Spanje” te Aalst, 26 november 1782; advies van Dominicus Vandevoorde, deken van Aalst, 2 december 1782.
1. 12. Bekendmaking door de Rekenkamer dat de dode hand eigendommen der afgeschafte jezuïetenkloosters mag kopen op voorwaarde dat het fiscaal ter controle wordt medegedeeld, z.d. (Frans).
1. 13. Voorstel de ellende in het onderwijs te verhelpen, ontstaan door de afschaffing der jezuïetenkloosters, z.d. (Frans).
2. 14. Lijst van de priesters (ex-jezuïeten) met geboorteplaats en -datum, en dag van intrede in de sociëteit, die te Antwerpen of te Lier verblijven, 1 juni 1802.

## 15 (bundel)

3. 1. Schrijven van kardinaal Christophorus Migazzi, aartsbisschop van Wenen, aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg over de goddeloosheid en het zedenbederf, die nog groter geworden zijn sinds de afschaffing van de jezuïeten, en voorstel om zich tot de keizer te richten in akkoord met zijn suffragaan-bisschoppen, 11 december 1793 (Frans).
4. 2. Schrijven van Carolus Alexander d'Arberg, bisschop van Ieper, over de grote geloofsafval, een gevolg van persvrijheid, 25 en 31 december 1793 (Frans).

255. 3. Akkoord van de bisschoppen van Antwerpen, Brugge, Gent en Ieper met de vraag van aartsbisschop Christophorus Migazzi om keizer Frans II het voorstel voor te leggen, 30 december 1793 - 17 januari 1794 (Frans).
256. 4. Antwoord van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg aan kardinaal C. Migazzi dat de memorie die door C.F. de Nelis, bisschop van Antwerpen, werd opgesteld en die door hen beiden ondertekend werd in akkoord met de overige bisschoppen naar de keizer zal gezonden worden, 6 januari 1794 (Frans); schrijven van kardinaal Migazzi dat men die memorie best aan Ferdinand, graaf van Trauttmansdorff, zou bezorgen, 20 februari 1794 (Frans).
257. 5. Gezamenlijk schrijven van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg en de bisschoppen van Antwerpen, Brugge, Gent, en Ieper aan kardinaal Christophorus Migazzi over de erbarmelijke toestand van het geloof en de zeden, nog verergerd sinds de afschaffing van de jezuïeten, met verzoek de paus daarvan op de hoogte te stellen, 1794 (Frans).
258. 6. Schrijven van Cornelius Franciscus de Nelis, bisschop van Antwerpen, aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg over zijn onderhoud met François, graaf de Metternich Winneburg, 20 maart 1794; antwoord, 21 maart 1794 (Frans).
259. 7. Schrijven waarin aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg aan Ferdinand, graaf van Trauttmansdorff, verzoekt er bij de keizer op aan te dringen dat die paus Pius VI zou vragen de jezuïetenorde te herstellen, 2 april 1794 (Frans); antwoord van Trauttmansdorff dat hij zal doen wat hij kan, maar dat hij weinig hoop op succes koestert, 30 april 1794 (Frans).
260. 8. - Verhaal van de stichting te Rome van de *compagnie de la foi de Jésus* door Nicolas Paccanari, ex-jezuïet, in 1795 (Frans). De bedoeling was de eigen volmaaktheid na te streven en die van anderen te bewerken. De leden zouden hetzelfde kleed als de jezuïeten dragen en de buitenwereld zou de stichting als de vervulling der profetie beschouwen dat de jezuïeten in ere zouden hersteld worden; poging tot de stichting van een vrouwelijke afdeling.
261. - Uittreksels van brieven uit Wenen van 4 en 11 november 1801 met betrekking tot de paccanaristen, *frères du Sacré-Coeur*,

en later *Société de la foi de Jésus* (congregatie der paters van het geloof) (Frans).

## 16 (bundel)

2. 1. Privilegiën door Gregorius XIII geschonken aan de jezuïeten-colleges voor Engelsen, Schotten en Ieren, 25 november 1581 en 6 maart 1585.
3. 2. Toelating van Filips II aan de jezuïeten om renten, huizen en colleges te bezitten, vrij van alle belasting en zonder betwisting, mei 1584.
4. 3. Getuigenis van Jacobus De Zeelander, jezuïet, over de echtheid van het boetekleed van Sint-Ignatius, bewaard te Brussel, 10 februari 1604.
5. 4. Lijst van aflaten die Paulus V aan allen verleende die zich met catechisatie bezighielden, 2 januari 1611 (Frans, gedrukt).
6. 5. Brief waarin Carolus Scribani, provinciaal van de Flandro-Belgica, Jacobus Nicolai, jezuïet, als biechtvader bevestigt, 1615.
7. 6. Brief op 21 augustus 1613 van Franciscus van Sales, bisschop van Genève, aan Leonardus Lessius, jezuïet, met lof om zijn boek *de Justitia et Jure*, 26 augustus 1613; bevestiging van de authenticiteit van die brief in 1727.
8. 7. Jurisdictie voor prediken en biechthoren door Franciscus Vander Burch, aartsbisschop van Kamerijk, aan de jezuïeten voor heel zijn aartsbisdom verleend, 7 februari 1621, cfr. *infra*, fonds A. *Coriache*, nr. 3.
9. 8. Decreet van de Congregatie voor de Voortplanting van het Geloof dat de regulieren Grieks, Latijn en Hebreeuws moeten studeren op straffe van afzetting en weigering van waardigheden, 16 oktober 1623.
10. 9. Bekentenis van de Italiaanse priester Vitalianus Olinarius relikwieën te hebben gestolen te Keulen om ze mee te nemen naar Italië waar ze beter zouden vereerd worden, 2 mei 1624.

271. 10. Antwoord op de voorstellen van de Flandro-Belgica provincie aan de achtste algemene congregatie in 1645.
272. 11. Schrijven waarin Adrianus Cools, jezuïet, inlichtingen verstrekt nopens het legaat van Marie Marguerite de Grobendoncq, 13-20 december 1646 (Frans).
273. 12. Brief van Vincentius Caraffa, algemeen overste, over de *missae de caritate* die door de jezuïeten moeten gelezen worden, 30 augustus 1647; schrijven van Joannes Baptista Engelgrave dienaangaande, juli en oktober 1647; instructies over het geestelijk leven en het onderhoud van de regel door J.B. Engelgrave, gericht tot Philippus a Burgundia, rector van het jezuïetencollege te Gent, 1647.
274. 13. Vraag van de Congregatie voor de Voortplanting van het Geloof aangaande de missies waarin de jezuïeten werkzaam zijn: hun aantal, de vooruitgang in het geloof, de mislukkingen en de middelen om er wat aan te doen, 9 augustus 1657 (Italiaans).
275. 14. Uiteenzetting van de rector van de jezuïeten van Namen, aangaande een bisschoppelijke synode aldaar, waarin de privilegiën van de exempten in gevaar werden gebracht, 1659.
276. 15. Dankbetuiging aan aartsbisschop Andreas Cruesen door Ludovicus de Scildere, jezuïet, voor de steun aan zijn boekje tegen het jansenisme, 16 augustus 1664.
277. 16. Onvolledige stukken aangaande preken die onrust en verwarring brachten, mei - juni 1676.
278. 17. Brief van sympathie aan Thyrsus Gonzalez, algemeen overste van de jezuïeten, ondertekend door Lodewijk XIV en Colbert, Frans staatsman, 28 februari 1691 (Frans).
279. 18. Vraag van Christophorus de Beaumont, aartsbisschop van Parijs, aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg om een Vlaams jezuïet als biechtvader naar Parijs te zenden, 21 juli 1770 (Frans).
280. 19. Vraag van Joannes Clé, jezuïet, om een relikwie van Sint-Franciscus Xaverius ten einde de devotie tot die heilige op te wekken, 13 november 1776 (Frans).

1. 20. Aanvraag tot verlenging van jurisdictie voor Cornelius Smet, jezuïet en biechtvader in de Kapellekerk te Brussel, 22 juni 1794.
2. 21. Verdediging van een boek (over de antichrist, waarzeggerij en toverij) van Thomas Maluenda, dominicaan. De jezuïeten vielen het aan om de onrust die het bij de gelovigen zou verwekken; eigenlijk uitten ze maar hun jaloersheid ten opzichte van het werk der dominicanen, z.d.
3. 22. Waarschuwing aan de pastoors om te waken over de bezittingen van de kerken, vooral tijdens de Franse overheersing, en aanklacht tegen Clemens XIV, die de jezuïeten afschafte en zo hun bezittingen aan de tijdelijke macht overmaakte, z.d. (Frans).
4. 23. Wonderbare genezing van Pieter Gansman uit Gent, z.d. (Nederlands)..
5. 24. Oordeel van de faculteit van theologie te Leuven over de mirakuleuze genezing van Joannes Baptista van Onraet (1679-1743), jezuïet, z.d.<sup>28</sup>
6. 25. Lofprijzing van Jean Philippe Roothaan, algemeen overste, door David Jacob van Lennep, zijn oud-leermeester van Amsterdam, 1804.
7. 26. Weerlegging door Albertus Albert, jezuïet, van twee boeken die Gaspar Scioppius in 1634 schreef, 24 blz.
8. 27. *Curriculum vitae* van Aegidius Estrix, jezuïet († 1694); gegevens over de familie Estrix, 1870.

#### 17 (bundel)

9. 1. «Utrum Scholae Societatis obsint bono publico vel etiam universitatibus» (kopie, 17de eeuw, Latijn): verdediging door een jezuïet van de colleges der jezuïeten en van hun onderwijs in de oude talen en in de filosofie. Vermeld worden de Franse koning

<sup>28</sup> Het mirakel gebeurde te Mechelen in 1702 door aanroeping van de H. Franciscus Xaverius, cfr. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, t. V., Brussel-Parijs, 1894 (anastatische herdruk, 1960), col. 1921-1922. Zie hierover Ph. VERHEYEN, *Vera historia Joannis Baptistae Onraet*, Leuven, 1708.

Hendrik IV (1589-1610), de bestaande colleges: Antwerpen, Brussel (gesticht 1603), Gent (gesticht 1591), Valenciennes (gesticht 1592), enz.

290. 2. *Appointement du Parlement de Paris* (kopie, 17de eeuw, Frans): de provinciaal en de paters van de Sociëteit van Jezus schikken zich naar de doctrine van de Sorbonne (Parijs) i.v.m. de rechten van de koning en de vrijheid van de Gallicaanse kerk.
291. 3. Tachtig brieven van Carolus Scribani (1561-1629), tussen 1624 en 1629 vanuit het professiehuis van Antwerpen geschreven <sup>29</sup>.
292. 4. Veroordeling door Urbanus VIII van de jezuïetessen, een congregatie van jonge dochters („certae mulieres seu virgines jesuitissarum nomine assumpto”) die zonder het kerkelijke gezag te erkennen, samenleefden, geloften uitspraken en oversten aanstelden; bevel aan de bisschoppen de congregatie te ontbinden en de leden van hun verplichtingen te ontslaan, 13 januari 1630 (gedrukt, 2 ex.) Cfr. C. VAN DE WIEL, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het archief van het aartsbisdom*, Leuven, 1988, p. 50, nr. 265; schrijven waarin Fabio de Lagonissa, nuntius, aan aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen beveelt het decreet uit te voeren, 22 juli 1631; schrijven van G. Corselius uit Brussel over het decreet, 8 augustus 1631 (Frans).
293. 5. Over Joannes Baptista Bisschop, jezuïet, die na zijn vlucht uit het college van Winnoksbergen naar Middelburg (Zeeland) een proces tegen dat college voor de Raad van Vlaanderen aanspant om wat hem toekomt terug te krijgen, nl. een koffer met documenten, de opbrengst van een stuk land van 7 bunder te Ruiselede en 14 schilderijen: antwoord van de Raad van Vlaanderen te Middelburg en van de jezuïeten; antwoord van J.B. Bisschop waarin hij beweert dat zijn geloften ongeldig zijn, 23 augustus 1675 - juli 1676.
294. 6. 85 brieven van Stefanus Amiodt, jezuïet, voornamelijk aan Joannes Baptista Velle, rector van de jezuïeten te Leuven, waarin hij de jezuïetenorde vurig verdedigt, Brussel, 1730-1742.

<sup>29</sup> Deze brieven werden uitgegeven door L. BROUWERS, *Brieven van Carolus Scribani (1561-1629)*, Antwerpen, 1972, 272 blz.

5. 7. Brief van jezuïet Ignatius Kampmiller uit Wenen aan aartsbischop Thomas Philippus d'Alsace, 2 april 1757.
6. 8. *Monita secreta Patrum Societatis Jesu*: richtlijnen voor en waarschuwingen over de manier waarop de jezuïeten na het vierde geloftejaar ten opzichte van de rijken en de hooggeplaatsten moeten handelen, 1761.

### 18 (bundel)

7. 1. Over een erfelijke rente van drieduizend gulden 's jaars, die Georgius Dellafaille, heer van Nevele, schonk aan het college van de jezuïeten te Gent, 1837-1842 (Frans).
8. 2. Verlening van een volle aflaat op het feest van Sint-Franciscus de Hieronymo in de kerken van de jezuïeten waar zijn nagedachtenis gevierd wordt, 23 maart en 25 april 1840; andere documenten m.b.t. aflaten, 1843-1852.
9. 3. Dossier over de vraag of de jezuïeten en hun oratoria aan de ordinarius van de plaats onderhorig zijn of niet, 1836-1863 (Latijn, Frans).
0. 4. Verklaring van Petrus Beckx, algemeen overste, dat de sociëteit zich niet mengt in politieke aangelegenheden, 10 januari 1855 (Frans).
1. 5. Briefwisseling m.b.t. de zaligverklaring van Alphonsus Rodriguez, jezuïet, 1866 en 1887 (Latijn, Frans).
2. 6. Toelating tot het uitgeven van *Evangelia dominicarum et festorum totius anni homilisticis explicationibus secundum mentem SS. Patrum et catholicorum interpretum illustrata* van Franciscus Xaverius Schouppe, jezuïet, mei 1867.
3. 7. Faculteiten aan de jezuïeten verleend door aartsbisschop V.A. Dechamps en de andere bisschoppen van België, 1868-1869.
4. 8. Dossier m.b.t. de aartsbroederschap van Sint-Franciscus Xaverius voor de bekering der zondaars, opgericht door Ludovicus Van Caloen, jezuïet, met lijst van de parochies en de kloosters van het aartsbisdom waar zij opgericht werd, 1877-1888 (Frans).



305. 9. Schrijven waarin Joannes Baptista Van Derker, jezuïet, aangesteld in de *causa* van Karel de Goede door kapittel en clerus van Brugge, de paus er om verzoekt de publieke cultus voor Karel de Goede goed te keuren, 1880 (Latijn en Frans).
306. 10. Pauselijke privileges voor de jezuïeten i.v.m. het toedienen van wijdingen vanaf Paulus III tot Leo XII.
307. 11. Breve van Leo XIII waarin de jezuïeten op basis van hun constituties de leer van Sint-Thomas mogen volgen, 30 december 1892.

## B. LOCALIA

### Brussel

In maart 1586 vestigden zich enkele jezuïeten in het huis van Carolus Scribani in de Terarkenstraat te Brussel niet ver van de Sint-Goedelekerk. Op het einde van datzelfde jaar richtten ze in dezelfde buurt hun residentie op in een huis dat toebehoorde aan de weduwe de la Torre. In oktober 1587 verhuisden ze naar een huis op de Zavelberg, dicht bij de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk. In 1589 kochten zij het hof van Grimbergen, een groot goed met stallingen, tuin en vijver, gelegen tussen de Ruysbroekstraat en de zg. straat Halfbunder.

De jezuïeten openden er een college dat tot de opheffing van de sociëteit in 1773 zal blijven bestaan. In de 17de en 18de eeuw beoefenden ze vele vormen van zielzorg: predikatie, catechisatie, werken van barmhartigheid. Tijdens het bestuur van aartshertogin Maria-Elisabeth (1725-1741) genoten de jezuïeten nog veel aanzien aan het Hof, maar met haar opvolger Karel van Lotharingen (1741-1780) veranderde die toestand. College en kerk werden op 23 september 1773 gesloten. Er waren toen veertien priesters, vijf scholastieken en negen broeders. Op 1 november 1834 vroeg men kardinaal E. Sterckx om een college te mogen oprichten te Brussel. Op 29 augustus 1835 betrokken de jezuïeten een huis in de

Ursulinenstraat. Het Sint-Michielscollege werd er ingehuldigd op 29 september 1835<sup>30</sup>.

18. 1. Getuigenis door Joannes Baptista Van Hollant, rector van het college te Brussel, over de predikatie nopens het lijden van Ons Heer door Florentinus de la Haye, jezuïet, in 1672 te Brussel gehouden en later ook elders, 6 april 1675 (Frans).
19. 2. Protest van de onderpastoors van Brussel tegen de jezuïeten die de kinderen tot de eerste communie voorbereiden, februari 1686 (2 ex.).
0. 3. Vraag om de zegen van de aartsbisschop voor Adrianus Cuinghien, jezuïet, vooraleer hij in de kerk van de jezuïeten te Brussel predikt, 10 januari 1689.
1. 4. Protest van de parochianen van Sint-Gaugericus te Brussel bij hun pastoor Ambrosius de Vrise tegen de catechismuspredikaties van Godefridus Croes, jezuïet, z.d. (1711) (Frans, gedrukt); twee klachten van de Sint-Katelijneparochie te Brussel tegen de predikatie van Godefridus Croes, 29-30 juli 1711 (Nederlands).
2. 5. Klacht van Petrus Steenen, plebaan van Sint-Goedele te Brussel, over het catechismusonderricht van de jezuïeten vooral in verband met de voorbereiding tot de eerste communie, 9 september 1761.
3. 6. Vraag aan de magistraat van Brussel om meer catechismusscholen in Brussel, z.d. (Nederlands).
4. 7. Geval door de aartsbisschop aan de Raad van Brabant voorgelegd: de pastoor van Sint-Katharina te Brussel is gekrenkt in zijn

<sup>30</sup> C. VAN GESTEL, *Historia sacra et profana archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, t. II, Den Haag, 1725, p. 37; J. LE ROY, *Le grand théâtre sacré du duché de Brabant*, t. I, Den Haag, 1729, p. 272; A. HENNE - A. WAUTERS, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, t. III, Brussel, 1845, p. 140-148; A. PONCELET, *La compagnie de Jésus en Belgique. Aperçu historique. A l'occasion du 75e anniversaire de l'érection de la province belge 3 décembre 1832 - 3 décembre 1907*, s.l., s.d., p. 59-64; L. VAN NECK, *Vieux Bruxelles illustré*, Brussel, 1909, p. 166-170; A. PONCELET, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, t. I., Brussel, 1927, p. 395-403; L. BROUWERS, *De jezuïeten te Brussel, 1586-1773, 1833*, Mechelen, 1979, 147 blz.

recht, omdat Leo Gilkens, jezuïet, een Hollandse soldaat had be-  
diend, z.d.

315. 8. Waarschuwing aan de pastoors van Brussel i.v.m. de jezuïeten die op hun eigen houtje kinderen tot de eerste communie voorbereiden, z.d. (2 ex.).  
9. Cfr. *infra*: *Episcopalia Mechliniensia*, nrs. 5, 6, 15.
316. 10. Vraag van Joannes Baptista Boone, rector van het jezuïeten-college te Aalst, om een college te Brussel te mogen oprichten, 1 november 1834 (Frans).
317. 11. Over de afgescheurde „Congrégation flamande” van madame Struye, 1846 (Frans).
318. 12. Over de eerste communie van niet-leerlingen in de kapel der jezuïeten, juni-juli 1850.
319. 13. Wijding van de kerk van het college door kardinaal E. Sterckx op 10 september 1852; volle aflat, verleend door Pius IX, bij het bezoeken van de kerk, 13 september 1852.
320. 14. Vraag om een nieuw klooster te mogen oprichten tussen de Koningstraat en de Komeetstraat aan de Schaarbeekse poort, 31 augustus 1856; toelating van aartsbisschop E. Sterckx, 8 september 1856.
321. 15. Breve van Leo XIII voor de aggregatie van de broederschap van Sint-Jozef, opgericht bij de jezuïeten van Sint-Joost-ten-Node, aan de broederschap van Sint-Jozef te Angers, maart 1879.
322. 16. Verzoeken om allerlei gunsten en toelatingen, 1834-1910 (Latijn en Frans).

### Leuven

Toen in 1542 alle Spaanse onderdanen Frankrijk moesten verlaten, kwamen zeven jezuïeten uit Parijs naar Leuven om er hun studies aan de universiteit te voltooien. Zij woonden eerst verspreid in de stad en groepeerden zich in 1547 in een gehuurd lokaal dicht bij het kerkhof van Sint-Michiël. In 1549 kregen ze een huis in de Nieuwstraat, rechtover het klooster der clarissen, voor 12 jaar. In 1560 openden zij een college, dat in 1610 tot een groot complex uitgroeide in de huidige Sint-Michielsstraat.

In 1650 begonnen zij naast hun huis in de Naamsestraat een kerk, de huidige Sint-Michielskerk, te bouwen.

Door de breve van Clemens XIV van 21 juli 1773 werd het college opgeheven en het huis met zijn 47 paters en broeders op 20 september gesloten. Zij verlieten het op 3 december van datzelfde jaar. In 1837 kwamen zij te Leuven weer in het oude klooster der minderbroeders in de Minderbroedersstraat dat hun door kardinaal E. Sterckx geschonken werd. Op 22 februari 1838 kochten zij de refugie van de abdij van Park, waarin de ursulinen ooit een school voor meisjes hadden opgericht. Die refugie lag recht over hun klooster. Op 10 oktober 1839 werd de eerste mis gelezen in de nieuwe kapel en begon de cursus van theologie voor de scholastieken <sup>31</sup>.

3. 1. Verslag van de magistraat van Leuven aan Margaretha van Parma over de voorwaarden die de stad Leuven aan de jezuïeten stelde om er een college op te richten (Frans); toelating van de magistraat van Leuven aan de jezuïeten om er een college te bouwen, augustus 1560 (Nederlands).
4. 2. Vraag van de magistraat van Leuven aan Robert II de Berghes, bisschop van Luik, akkoord te gaan met de overdracht van huizen aan de jezuïeten, 30 november 1560 (Nederlands).
5. 3. Moeilijkheden i.v.m. thesissen van jezuïeten: onderzoeken, veroordelingen, verbod tot openbare verdediging, 1645-1761 (34 stukken).
6. 4. Over Johannes-Baptista de Smet, jezuïet, die het decreet van het Concilie van Trente over het mishoren op zon- en feestdagen in de parochiekerk betwistte en zich in de catechismuslessen te Leuven mengde; getuigenissen van priesters, schoolhoofden en ouders over zijn uitspraken; briefwisseling van de jezuïeten met de aartsbisschop over de gerezen moeilijkheden; antwoord van aartsbisschop Thomas-Philippus d'Alsace, 1735 (Latijn en Nederlands).

<sup>31</sup> C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 167; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 127; E. VAN EVEN, *Louvain dans le passé et dans le présent*, Leuven, 1895 (anastatische herdruk, Leuven, 1974), p. 489-494; A. PONCELET, *La compagnie de Jésus en Belgique. Aperçu historique*, s.l., s.d., p. 68-73; *Id.*, *Histoire de la compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, t. I, Brussel, 1927, p. 118-141.

327. 5. Cfr. *infra*, *Episcopalia Mechliniensia*, nrs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 21, 22, 26, 28.
327. 6. Verzoek van Joannes Judocus Peetermans, pastoor van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Predikheren te Leuven, om de privé-kapel der jezuïeten geen publiek karakter te geven, 20 december 1837.
328. 7. Vraag aan de aartsbisschop door Aloysius Le Grelle, jezuïet, of de eigendomsverwerving van de abdij van Valduc te Hamme-Mille door baron Oscar de Dieudonné geoorloofd is. Die zou dat goed erven van zijn echtgenote Alix Craninx, wier vader nu eigenaar is, 8 oktober 1869 (Frans).
329. 8. Verzoeken, gericht tot de aartsbisschop, om gunsten en toelatingen, 1862-1881.

### Mechelen

Op 6 september 1611 kwamen veertig jezuïeten (novicen, paters en broeders) zich vanuit Antwerpen vestigen te Mechelen in het oude vervallen Keizershof, hen welwillend door de aartsheretogen geschonken. Die kwamen hen op 22 september reeds bezoeken. De jezuïeten openden er weldra een noviciaat en een college dat van in het begin een groot succes en veel sympathie kende. Op 21 juni 1664 werd de eerste steen gelegd van een nieuw huis dat eerst in 1669 voltooid was. Van 1670 tot 1676 bouwden men een nieuwe kerk. Die dient nu voor de parochie van Sint-Pieter. Bij de opheffing van de jezuïetenorde door Clemens XIV in 1773 werden de paters ook uit Mechelen verdreven. In 1870 hadden zij te Mechelen een kleine residentie aangeworven. In 1900 kochten zij de kerk van Leliëndal en een jaar later het daarnaast gelegen gebouw van de apostolische school der Witte Paters<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 76; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 72; J. SCHOEFER, *Historische aantekeningen der stad Mechelen*, Mechelen, z.d., p. 465-482; J.B. DAVID, *Geschiedenis van de stad en de heerlijkheid van Mechelen*, Leuven, 1854 (anastatische herdruk, Mechelen 1983 en Kortemark-Handzame, 1985), p. 376; W. VAN CASTER, *Namen der straten van Mechelen en korte beschrijving hunner vorige of nog bestaande oude gebouwen*, Mechelen, z.d., p. 138-140; H. CONINCKX, *L'église SS. Pierre et Paul et les jésuites à Malines*, in *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines*, 2 (1891), 214-230; H. CONINCKX, *Een woord over de jesuiten en hun collegie te Mechelen*, in *Bul-*

0. 1. Brief van Guillielmus de Wael, provinciaal van de Flandro-belgica, en Fredericus Tassis, rector van het college en van het noviciaat te Mechelen, aan aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen aangaande het recht van de jezuïeten om in de scholen van Mechelen te onderwijzen, 19 november 1630.
1. 2. Oordeel van Ferdinandus Van der Laen, aartsdiaken en officiaal, en getuigenissen omtrent predikaties van een jezuïet gehouden in de metropolitane Sint-Romboutskerk te Mechelen, juli 1685.
2. 3. Verbod tot prediken aan jezuïet Aegidius Huyghens, protest, 1692, 1697 (Frans).
3. 4. Verlening van een aflaat van 100 dagen aan de jezuïeten van het college die in de tuin van het noviciaat bidden ter ere van Sint-Franciscus Xaverius, 22 juni 1743.
4. 5. Uittreksel uit de admissiebriefen van de jezuïeten in de Nederlanden betreffende de vrijwaring van de rechten van de diocesane geestelijkheid, 1556; twee stellingen en antwoord van de pastoors van Brussel op 12 januari 1682 betreffende de belijdenis van zonden, enz.

*letin du cercle archéologique ... de Malines*, 5 (1894), 5-7; A. PONCELET, *La compagnie de Jésus en Belgique. Aperçu historique*, s.l., s.d., p. 115-118; R. VAN AERDE, *Les jésuites à Malines*, in *Mechlinia*, 1 (1922), 140-143, 157-160; *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, t. I, Brussel, 1927, p. 444-446; ID., *Les jésuites à Malines, 1611 à 1773. L'installation du noviciat*, in *Handelingen van den Mechelschen kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst*, 34 (1929), 87-102; R. FONCKE, *Bij de verering van de heilige-Franciscus-Xaverius te Mechelen*, in *Mechelchse Bijdragen*, 9 (1942), 12-16, 37-53; 111-121; L. BROUWERS, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Leliëndaal, 1674-1974*, in *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen*, 78 (1974), 122-159; L. BROUWERS, *De jezuïeten te Mechelen in de 17de en 18de eeuw en hun Xaverius-kerk. De huidige parochiekerk SS. Petrus en Paulus*, Mechelen, 1977, 101 blz.; G. DEPOURCQ, *De afschaffing van de jezuïeten-orde te Mechelen en de verkoop van de kloostergoederen (1773-1792)*, in *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen*, 83 (1979) 139-182; L. BROUWERS, *De residentie van de jezuïeten te Mechelen 1868 - heden. Historische schets*, Mechelen, 1988, 38 blz. (gestencild).

335. 6. Dossier m.b.t. de overbrenging van de parochiekerk Sint-Pieter en Paulus naar de Sint-Xaveriuskerk van het afgeschafte jezuïeten-college te Mechelen die ressorteerde onder de parochie van Sint-Jan-Baptist en Evangelist; Overzicht van de documenten m.b.t. de overplaatsing, 1777-1778, cfr. AAM, *parochialia*, Sint-Pieter-en-Paulus Mechelen; Archief *Kapittel Sint-Rombout*, *parochialia*, Sint-Pieter en Paulus.
7. Cfr. *infra*, *Episcopalia Mechliniensia*, nrs. 6, 10, 23, 24.
336. 8. Documenten m.b.t. de vestiging van de jezuïeten te Mechelen, 1868-1869.
9. Vragen om gunsten, 1879-1882.

#### C. VERZAMELING AARTSBISSCHOPPEN

337. 1. Verbod de gelovigen te beletten dat zij bij jezuïeten en mendicanten mishoren en biechten, 22 december 1592 (gedrukt) (M. Hovius, 5, 1).
338. 2. Schrijven van Goswin Nickel, algemeen overste van de jezuïeten, waarin hij meedeelt dat de jezuïeten te Rome het voor aartsbisschop Andreas Cruesen opnemen, 10 februari 1657, cfr. L. CEYSSENS, *La fin de la première période du jansénisme. Sources des années 1654-1660*, t. II (1657-1660), Brussel-Rome, 1965, nr. 597 (A. Cruesen, 2, 7).
339. 3. Gelukwensen van Joannes Paulus Oliva, algemeen overste van de jezuïeten, bij de benoeming van Alphonsus de Berghes tot aartsbisschop van Mechelen, 22 november 1670; antwoord, z.d. (A. de Berghes, I, 1).
340. 4. Lijst van jezuïeten die tot priester werden gewijd in 1675, 1676 en 1677 (A. de Berghes, XIX, 4).
341. 5. Getuigenis van Joannes Sanchez, hoofdkapelaan van San Cruz de Caravata, dat Jozef Altamirano, rector van het jezuïetencollege aldaar, het kruis is komen vereren en een dozijn kruisen aan de relikwieën deed raken, 1677 (A. de Berghes, XV, 3).

2. 6. Vraag om jurisdictie zonder examen voor de Engelse Nonnen ten voordele van pater Hermes, jezuïet, 14 februari 1686 (A. de Berghes, XVII, 20).
3. 7. Schrijven van Ferdinandus de Beughen, bisschop van Antwerpen, volgens welk hij zich met de zaken van de aartsbisschop niet wil bemoeien, doch er wel wil voor zorgen dat de twisten tussen de universiteit van Leuven en de jezuïeten ophouden, 17 april 1686 (A. de Berghes, XVII, 21).
4. 8. Brief van kardinaal Thomas-Philippus d'Alsace aan Vitus Tonneman, jezuïet en biechtvader van Karel VI, waarin hij de keizer vraagt degenen die de bul *Unigenitus* weigeren te ondertekenen, niet te steunen, en hem in zijn lastige strijd tegen het jansenisme te helpen, 31 oktober 1718 (Th.-Ph. d'Alsace, XIX, 3).
5. 9. Schrijven van Laurentius Millé, plebaan van Brussel, aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg over zijn opgelegd bezoek aan de vroegere kapel van de jezuïeten, 15 december 1777 (J.H. de Franckenberg, IX, 6).
5. 10. Verzoek vanwege keizerin Maria-Theresia aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg te letten op het gedrag van de jezuïeten die maar tijdelijk geduld waren, 4 mei 1766 (Frans); over de Franse ex-jezuïet de la Grange die de aartsbisschop had aangeduid om te Brussel te prediken, hoewel de regering er een dominicaan had aangesteld, 1774 (Frans) (J.H. de Franckenberg, XXVI, 8).
7. 11. Mededeling dat de orde van Malta alle huizen, kerken en goederen van de jezuïeten in bezit heeft genomen, z.d. (Frans) (J.H. de Franckenberg, XXIX, 14).

#### D. FONDS *EPISCOPALIA MECHLINIENSIA* (registers)

3. 1. Verlening van een aflaat bij het bezoeken van de jezuïetenkerk te Leuven, z.d. (einde 1599), (reg. 3, p. 275-276).
2. 2. Goedkeuring door aartsbisschop Matthias Hovius van de relikwieën in de jezuïetenkerk te Leuven, 20 januari 1603 (reg. 6, fol. 83-84).



350. 3. Toelating aan Franciscus Flerontinus, rector van de jezuïeten te Leuven, mis te lezen in privé-oratoria, 8 mei 1604 (reg. 6, fol. 128).
351. 4. Goedkeuring van de relikwieën gevonden in het college der jezuïeten te Leuven, 28 november 1605 (reg. 6, fol. 166).
352. 5. Consecratie van de jezuïetenkerk en van vier altaren te Brussel, 5 en 6 september 1627 (reg. 11, fol. 181vo-182vo).
353. 6. Verlening van een aflaat in de jezuïetenkerken in het aartsbisdom, 24 februari 1629, 5 januari 1640 (reg. 11, fol. 150 en 155).
354. 7. Volle aflaten voor jezuïeten-missionarissen, 30 maart 1647 (reg. 14, p. 103).
355. 8. Verbod door aartsbisschop J. Boonen van theses der jezuïeten m.b.t. het jansenisme, 29 maart 1651 (reg. 17, p. 13-16).
356. 9. Verbod aan Joannes Schapelinck, jezuïet te Leuven, te prediken, 22 augustus 1654 (reg. 17, p. 367).
357. 10. Goedkeuring van de mirakelen in de jezuïetenkerk te Mechelen op voorspraak van Sint-Franciscus Xaverius, 10 mei en 4 november 1660, 14 februari en 9 oktober 1661 (reg. 14, p. 298, 306-307; reg. 17, fol. 811, 871, 901); goedkeuring van relikwieën van Sint-Ignatius, 8 april 1660 (reg. 14, p. 295).
358. 11. Toelating aan de rector van Leuven om zijn theologanten voor predikatie uit te zenden, 22 februari 1661 (reg. 17, p. 871).
359. 12. Toelating aan de jezuïeten om in het aartsbisdom catechismus te geven en te prediken, 15 februari 1662 (reg. 21, p. 3-4).
360. 13. Toelating om de op voorspraak van Sint-Franciscus Xaverius verkregen weldaden te drukken, 14 februari 1661 en 26 februari 1662 (reg. 17, p. 871 en reg. 21, p. 4).
361. 14. Consecratie van de kerk der jezuïeten te Leuven door aartsbisschop A. de Berghes op 18 oktober 1671 (reg. 23, fol. 418vo).
362. 15. Verslag van de moeilijkheden tussen de jezuïeten en de pastoors van Brussel m.b.t. het catechismusonderricht, mei 1679 (reg. 28, p. 45-50); verklaring van de Congregatie van het Concilie ten gunste van de pastoors, 8 maart 1681 (reg. 28, p. 308).

- i. 16. Opdracht door aartsbisschop J. Boonen aan Joannes de Pape, professor te Leuven, tot het instrueren van de zaligverklaring van Leonardus Lessius, juli 1641 (reg. 12, fol. 107).
- ii. 17. Toelating door aartsbisschop Humbertus Guiliëlmus de Precipiano aan de jezuïeten om in het hele aartsbisdom te prediken en catechismus te geven, 3 april 1697 (reg. 35, p. 649-650).
- iii. 18. Overeenkomst tussen de jezuïeten en de dominicanen van Lier, m.b.t. de begrafenis van militairen, (31 oktober 1698 (reg. 36, p. 129-130).
- iv. 19. Verlening van 40 dagen aflaat aan degenen die de catechismus van de jezuïeten-novicen volgen, 26 maart 1717 (reg. 40, fol. 73).
- v. 20. Verlening van 40 dagen aflaat aan de jezuïeten van Aalst die met de kinderen de litanie van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw aan de veldkappen opzeggen, 31 mei 1717 (reg. 40, fol. 83vo).
- vi. 21. Overeenkomst tussen Petrus Loots, pastoor van Buken, en Bernardus Vanden Haute, procurator van het jezuïetencollege te Leuven, m.b.t. houthuizen, 31 mei 1718 (reg. 40, fol. 163vo-165).
- vii. 22. Aankoop door het jezuïetencollege van Leuven van drie dagwanden land in Egenhoven, toebehorend aan de kerk van Oud-Heverlee, 2 januari 1719 (reg. 40, fol. 194).
- viii. 23. Overeenkomst tussen Franciscus de Rauw, pastoor van Heffen, en het jezuïetencollege te Mechelen omtrent tienden op een bos gelegen te Heffen, 13 mei 1719 (reg. 43, fol. 122vo-123).
- ix. 24. Aankoop door de jezuïeten te Mechelen van een stuk land te Muizen, drie bunder en een dagwand groot en toebehorend aan de priorij Blijdenberg te Mechelen, 14 oktober 1719 (reg. 40, fol. 221vo).
- x. 25. Toelating aan de jezuïeten van Aalst om de generale communie in te stellen, 1 oktober 1721, 27 april 1723 (reg. 40, fol. 285 en 311 vo).
- xi. 26. Klachten van de jezuïeten te Leuven tegen theses van de ongeschoeide karmelieten aldaar; 24 maart 1724 (reg. 43, fol. 311).

- 374. 27. Over de weerstand van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Maartensparochie te Aalst tegen de bouw van een kerk door de jezuïeten, 15 en 29 april 1729 (reg. 45, fol. 268-270).
- 375. 28. Beschrijving van de plechtigheid van de overbrenging van de oude parochiale Sint-Michielskerk te Leuven naar de opgeheven jezuïetenkerk aldaar, 6 juli 1778 (reg. 53, fol. 146).

#### E. FONDS VICARIAAT

- 376. 1. Zalig- en heiligverklaringen van Sint-Joannes Berchmans en Petrus Canisius (I, 2). Zie ook Seminarie-archief, IV, A, 21/32.
- 377. 2. Uiteenzetting door Leonardus Lessius, jezuïet, over de macht van de bisschoppen i.v.m. het verlenen van aflaten, z.d. (II, 1).
- 378. 3. Twist tussen de pastoors van Leuven enerzijds en de mendicanten en de jezuïeten anderzijds over het biechthoren en het uitreiken van de communie in de paastijd, 1681 (IV, 3 a).
- 379. 4. Uiteenzetting van de beslissing van de wereldlijke macht i.v.m. het geschil tussen enerzijds de dekens en de pastoors en anderzijds de jezuïeten aangaande het geven van godsdienstonderricht, 1679 (IV, 3 e).
- 380. 5. Vraag naar de geldigheid van een huwelijk gesloten *parcho praesente sed invito*, 20 oktober 1616, eigenhandig ondertekend door Robertus Bellarminus (IV, 7 a).
- 381. 6. Mening van de jezuïeten Leonardus Lessius, Cornelius Corneli, Joannes Praepositus of Le Prévost en Aegidius de Coninck, professor in de theologie, aangaande de „genezers”, 1609 (V, 6).
- 382. 7. Dossier aangaande het recht dat de jezuïeten bij aartsbisschop A. de Berghes opeisen om in het aartsbisdom te mogen prediken zonder zijn toelating. De aartsbisschop had namelijk vernomen dat een Franse jezuïet zonder machtiging in het Frans in de koninklijke kapel gepredikt had, 1686-1689 (XIII, 5).

## F. FONDS JANSENISTICA

Cfr. C. VAN DE WIEL, *Jansenistica te Mechelen. Het archief van het aartsbisdom* (*Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia*, XXVIII), Leuven, 1988, 250 blz.

## Personenregister (jezuïeten):

Alegambe, Philippus, 76, 219, 649.  
 Amedeus Guimeneus Lomarensis, 844, 949, 1008, 1561.  
 Angelis, Bernardus de, 1567.  
 Annat, Franciscus, 613, 681.  
 Aquaviva, Claudius, 1576.  
 Arents, Joannes Baptista, 1429.  
 Arnouths, Guillielmus, 963.  
 Aviles, Petrus de, 1549.

Backerus, Joannes, 1784.  
 Basere, Andreas de, 1701.  
 Bastida, Ferdinandus de, 1567.  
 Beke, Aegidius Van der, 702, 727.  
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 Bettonville, Antonius, 1729, 1766.  
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 Bollandus, Joannes, 76.  
 Boot, Antonius, 294, 299.  
 Borgia, Franciscus, 883, 930.  
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 Cleyne, Franciscus de, 76, 664, 787, 1483, 1486, 1489.  
 Codt, Jacobus de, 1574.

- Coret, Jacobus, 1157, 1636.  
Croes, Godefridus, 1982.  
Croes, Jacobus de, 1422.  
Crom, Adrianus, 76, 226, 238, 287, 289, 295, 461, 811.
- Dechamps, Stephanus, 623, 794.  
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Dent, Maximilianus le, 727, 1501.  
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Doucin, Ludovicus, 1222.
- Espazza-Artieda, Martinus de, 790.  
Estrix, Aegidius, 173, 742, 993, 994, 1649.  
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- François, Joannes Baptista, 1152, 1153, 1154.
- Gobat, Georgius, 1377, 1408.  
Godscalk, Petrus Vedastus, 1633.  
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- Hazard, Cornelius, 1832.  
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Henschenius, Godefridus, 76, 1075, 1198.  
Hermite, François l', 1487.  
Hesius, Guillielmus, 1483, 1486, 1489, 1492, 1518.  
Hollandt, Joannes-Baptista van, 1501, 1515, 1518, 1584, 1667, 1671.  
Huygens, Aegidius, 1834.
- Inchofer Melchior, 76.
- Jonghe, Joannes de, 461, 500.  
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Judoci, Andreas, 1976.
- Kostka, Stanislas, 859, 883, 1429.

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Laloux, Theodorus, 1769.  
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Maes, Alexander, 1109, 1363.  
Meerhouts, Antonius, 819.  
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Monfort, Servatius, 1647.

Nickel, Goswin, 1905.  
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Pape, Libertus de, 628, 975.  
Papenbroeck, Daniël, 967, 1075, 1198, 1675.  
Payen, Ghislenus, 1144.  
Perez, Franciscus Xaverius, 1490, 1520.  
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### G. VERZAMELING AMATUS CORIACHE (registers)

3. Antwoord op de vraag of een jezuïet na zijn eenvoudige geloften de dispensatie van de geloften en van de beloofde gehoorzaamheid om te volharden mag aanvragen, 1637 (reg. 3, fol. 208-212).
4. Protest van de jezuïeten bij de Staten van Brabant tegen het betalen van belastingen, z.d.; schrijven daarover aan aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen, 5 januari 1633 (reg. 5, fol. 24-25).
5. Toelating van Franciscus Vander Burch, aartsbisschop van Kamerijk, aan de jezuïeten om te prediken, te onderwijzen en biecht te horen, 7 februari 1621 (reg. 6, fol. 473).



386. Goedkeuring door de wereldlijke overheid van de beslissing van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes dat de pastoors donderdags en de jezuïeten 's zondags catechismus zullen geven, 1680, (reg. 12, fol. 120), cfr. *supra*, *generalia*, 12/3.

H. PAROCHIALA, MECHELEN, SINT-ROMBOUT, oud archief<sup>33</sup>

387. nr. 354: bundel kapel H. Sacrament: verzoekschrift van plebaan Joannes Baptista van Trimpont, Cornil Lowijs en Michel Chedeville, proviseurs van de kapel, aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg om de relikwieën van Sint-Franciscus-Xaverius in de kapel van het H. Sacrament te laten, z.d.
388. nr. 595: Bekentenis van de kerkmeesters 16 banken te hebben ontvangen uit de gewezen jezuïetenkerk. Op verzoek van de Raad van financiën zullen zij die moeten weergeven, 22 mei 1975.
389. nr. 796: Brief van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano over de conflicten i.v.m. de predikatie van jezuïet Gummarus Huygens te Mechelen, 11 april 1698.
390. nr. 1068: Verklaring van de jezuïeten en de oratorianen aan de heren van de wet dat het houden van een college niet betekent dat zij zullen leren lezen en schrijven en dat zij zich aan de ordonnantie op de scholen zullen onderwerpen, 15 mei 1630.
391. nr. 1071: Stadsordonnantie om de toelage aan de Latijnse scholen van de jezuïeten en de oratorianen in te houden, zolang zij de wet overtreden door les te geven in lezen, schrijven, rekenen, Frans, enz. 29 mei 1634, 2 ex.
392. nr. 1126: Verklaring van de provinciale overste van de jezuïeten en de rector van het college en het noviciaat der jezuïeten te Mechelen over de patentbrief die ze van de Mechelse magistraat voor hun school verkregen hebben, z.d.

<sup>33</sup> Overname uit H. VERSTREPEN, *Inventaris en regestenboek van de verzameling Sint-Romboutskerk Mechelen*, deel oud-regime in het fonds *Parochialia* op het aartsbisschoppelijk archief Mechelen, Brussel, 1990.

13. nr. 1127: Vertoogsschrift van schoolmeesters Jacques Trapequier, Andries, H. de Ply en B. Wouters aan de Mechelse magistraat ten gunste van de catechisatie door de jezuieten en tegen het toevertrouwen van de scholasterij aan de oratorianen; die zouden ook catechisatie in hun parochiekerk (Sint-Jan) willen wat de schoolmeesters zeer ongelegen zou komen. Daarom verzoeken ze de scholasterij toe te vertrouwen aan neutrale personen, z.d., 2 ex.
14. nr. 1128: Vertoogsschrift van de rector van de jezuieten te Mechelen aan de magistraat betreffende nr. 1127, z.d. [1631], 2 ex.
15. nr. 1129: Notities in verband met de overdracht van de scholasterij door de stad, z.d.
16. nrs. 1130 en 1131: Verklaring van de rector van het college en het noviciaat der jezuieten te Mechelen dat de Mechelse magistraat de jezuieten wil laten voortgaan met de humaniora en de catechisatie, en dat de aartsbisschop de administratie en de leiding van de scholen en de catechismus voor zich wil behouden, z.d., 2 ex.
17. nr. 1132: Klacht dat de jezuieten catechismus houden op hetzelfde uur als in de parochies, z.d.
18. nr. 1133: Antwoord van aartsbisschop Matthias Hovius aan de Leuvense stadsmagistraat i.v.m. het openen van de scholen der jezuieten te Mechelen. Die meende namelijk dat de Mechelse grootschool en de universiteit van Leuven er nadeel van zouden ondervinden, 16 november 1615.
19. nrs. 1134 en 1135: Ordonnantie van landvoogd Albrecht en landvoogdes Isabella waarin de overgang van de leerlingen naar grootschool en jezuietencollege geregeld wordt, 19 oktober 1615<sup>34</sup>.
20. nr. 1136: Kladaantekeningen i.v.m. overeenkomsten aangaande het jezuietencollege, z.d. (17de eeuw).
21. nr. 1137: Over minervalia van en stadstoelagen voor grootschool en jezuietencollege, z.d. (omstreeks 1617).

<sup>34</sup> Gepubliceerd bij E. STEENACKERS, *La Grande École à Malines, 1450-1630*, Mechelen, 1921 (overdruk uit *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines*, dl. 26), p. 65; IDEM, *A propos de Saint Jean Berchmans*, in *La vie diocésaine*, maart 1921, p. 89-90.

402. nr. 1138: Omtrent het onderhoud van de grootschool, z.d. (omstreeks 1617).
403. nr. 1139: Brief van de aartsbisschop aan aartshertog Albrecht over het voortbestaan van de grootschool na de oprichting van het nieuwe jezuïetencollege, 8 december 1616 (?).
404. nr. 1140: Over het jezuïetencollege met verwijzing naar nrs. 1141 en 1142, z.d.
405. nrs. 1141 en 1142: *De scholaribus recedentibus ab uno paedagogio*, z.d.<sup>35</sup>: uittreksel uit de statuten van de *Facultas artium* te Leuven, hoofdstuk 14.
406. nr. 1143: Brief van aartsbisschop Matthias Hovius aan Engelbert Maes, president van de privé-raad en de tweede collaterale raad<sup>36</sup>, i.v.m. de grootschool en het seminarie, 14 april 1617.
407. nr. 1144: Klacht van François van Ophem, rector van de Mechelse grootschool, bij Jacobus Boonen, bisschop van Gent en aangesteld tot aartsbisschop van Mechelen, over de afschaffing van de toelage van 1000 florijnen voor grootschool en jezuïetencollege, waardoor de grootschool zal tenietgaan. Hij vraagt een decreet tot vrijgeving van de nederlandstalige brieven, 14 december 1620.
408. nr. 1145: Brief van Anthonius de Mot aan aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen te Brussel met het antwoord van het Mechelse schepencollege i.v.m. het pensioen voor het personeel van de jezuïetenschool en de grootschool, 20 januari 1622.
409. nr. 1146: Mededeling door Petrus Van de Wiele, aartsdiaken, aan aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen te Brussel: in de kapittelvergadering is gezegd dat de magistraat het honorarium aan de rector van de grootschool weigerde, 22 april 1622.

<sup>35</sup> Stemt naar inhoud, maar niet letterlijk overeen met hoofdstuk 13 van de statuten van de „*Facultas artium*” van 1639, gepubliceerd door P.F.X. DE RAM, *Codex veterum Statutorum Academiae Iovaniensis*, Brussel, 1861, p. 207. Te vergelijken met de oudere tekst uit het midden van de 16de eeuw, met wijzigingen van 1602, bewaard in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te Brussel, fonds universiteit Leuven, nr. 707 (cfr. inventaris H. de Vocht, 1927, nr. 707).

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. J. LEFÈVRE, *Maes (Engelbert), magistrat et haut-fonctionnaire in Biographie Nationale*, IX, Brussel, 1971, kol. 566-569.

0. nr. 1147: Brief van Joannes Van Wachtendonck, officiaal, aan aartsbischop Jacobus Boonen met verslag van de vergadering van de magistraat i.v.m. de jezuïeten, 12 juni 1630.
1. nr. 1148: Regeling van de uren waarop de leerlingen de groot-school en het jezuïetencollege moeten bezoeken, z.d.
2. nr. 1151: Verzoek aan aartsbisschop G.H. de Precipiano de dispensatie af te schaffen voor François Verfrangen, beursstudent aan het seminarie, die de humaniora bij de jezuïeten volgt in plaats van bij de oratorianen, 18 oktober 1699.
3. nr. 1230: Attest dat Petrus Joannes de Lièvre een goed lid is van de sodaliteit van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in de kerk der jezuïeten te Ath, 1742.

#### I. VERZAMELING KERKFABRIEK SINT-ROMBOUT

4. nr. 399: Proces tussen Joannes Baptista van Trimpont, plebaan van Sint-Rombout, en de provisoren van de parochiale of venerabele kapel enerzijds en de kerkmeesters anderzijds m.b.t. de toekenning van de relikwieën van Sint-Franciscus-Xaverius uit de jezuïetenkerk te Mechelen, 1775-1778; uitspraak ten gunste van de plebaan en de venerabele kapel op 8 juli 1778<sup>37</sup>. Zie ook parochie-archief Sint-Rombout, oud archief, nr. 331.

#### J. REGISTER „COLLÈGES ET PENSIONNATS” (hs.), 496 pag.

Akten en beslissingen van de commissies (Comité des affaires jésuitiques en de Koninklijke Commissie der Studiën), belast met

<sup>37</sup> J. IAENEN, *Histoire de l'église métropolitaine de Malines*, t. II, Mechelen, 1920, p. 270-271; L. BROUWERS, *o.c.*, p. 45 en 87; G. DEPOURCQ, *a.c.*, p. 179-180.

de reorganisatie van het openbaar middelbaar onderwijs na de opheffing van de jezuïeten in 1773<sup>38</sup>.

- a. p. 1-62: „Mémoire (sur les écoles et les études aux Pays Bas’'), door graaf De Neny<sup>39</sup>.
- b. p. 63-64 blanco: p. 65-187: „Extrait du Protocole du Comité établi pour les affaires des ci-devant Jésuites du 9 avril 1774’'.
- c. p. 188-192 blanco: p. 193-258: Uittreksels uit de notulen der vergaderingen van de „Commission Royale des Études’', zittingen van 10.05.1777 tot 23.09.1780.
- d. p. 259-264 blanco: p. 265-270: „Supplément aux Instructions de la Commission Royale des Études, extrait de la Résolution qui lui a été adressée sur le Rapport général du 14 juin 1777, concernant la partie Economique et la Régie des Fonds Scholastiques’'.
- e. p. 271-297: „Points arrêtés pour la Formation des Collèges, Pensionnats, l’Économie, la Régie, la Comptabilité et l’Admi-

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. J.B. LESBROUSSART, *De l'éducation belge ou réflexions sur le plan d'études adopté par Sa Majesté pour les Collèges des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, Brussel, 1783; E. HUBERT, *Les réformes de Marie-Thérèse dans l'enseignement moyen aux Pays-Bas*, in *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, t. XXVI, 1883; P. BONENFANT, *La suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens en 1773*, Brussel, 1925; F. CHANTERIE, *De Koninklijke Colleges voor Humaniora-onderwijs voor Jongens in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden, 1773-1794. Een aspect van de cultuurpolitiek van de Oostenrijkse regering*, onuitgeg. lic. verh., K.U.L., 1971; Algemeen Rijksarchief 's-Gravenhage, aanwinsten 1910, XII (papieren van Ewijck, nr. 7: belangrijke studie in hs. over de onderwijshervormingen van Maria-Theresia door L.P. GACHARD; J. JAGENEAU, *De afschaffing der Jezuïetenorde in 1773*, Brussel, 1973 (hs.); J. GAILLARD, *Inventaire sommaire du comité jésuitique*, Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel; IDEM, *Inventaire sommaire des archives de la Commission Royale des Études*, Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel, s.l., s.d.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. Kon. Bibliotheek Brussel, Handschriftenverzameling, nr. 17688. - Over de opsteller, zie C. LINTERMANS, *De Neny, een 18de eeuws politicus*, in *Spiegel Historiaal*, XI, 1976, 7-8, p. 421-425; IDEM, *Patrice-François De Neny (1716-1784). Zijn politieke betekenis en zijn visie over kerk en godsdienst*, onuitgeg. lic. verh., R.U.G., 1974; *Patrice de Neny (1716-1784) en de regering der Oostenrijkse Nederlanden*. (*Standen en landen*, nr. 88), Kortrijk-Heule, 1987, 188 p.

nistration générale de chacun de ces Établissements. Le tout par provision''.

- f. p. 298-312 blanco: p. 313-337: uittreksels uit de notulen van de vergaderingen van de Commissie i.v.m. rapporten van de Nelis; zittingen van: s.d., 21.08.1779, 16.10.1779 en 27.09.1780.
- g. p. 338-362: „Tableau historique des opérations du Gouvernement général des Pays-Bas pour la réforme des études et l'établissement des nouveaux collèges depuis la suppression (sic) des Jésuites jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1780''.
- h. p. 362-444: Uittreksels uit de notulen van 26.05.1781 tot 18.10.1783.
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- j. p. 477-496: Uittreksels uit de notulen van 31.07.1784 tot 06.10.1784.

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